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CHARU DEVA SHASTRI
FELICITATION VOLUME

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First Edition : *January, 1974*

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Published with the financial assistance of the Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Govt. of India

Published by Charu Deva Shastri Felicitation Committee, Delhi and printed at Amar Printing Press (Sham Printing Agency), 8/25, Vijay Nagar (Double Storey), Delhi-9

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PREFACE

It was in April, 1971 that the idea of presenting a Felicitation Volume to Prof. Charu Deva Shastri was conceived. Prof. Shastri was completing his 75th year in the second quarter of that year and it was thought that the occasion, might be celebrated in a suitable manner by presenting him with a Felicitation Volume. The idea, however, could not be executed till May, 1972 for one reason or another. An appeal was issued to scholars then to contribute articles to it. July 15, later extended to September 15, 1972 was the last date by which articles were to be sent. The time given, as is clear, was far too inadequate. Still the response of the scholars to the appeal was magnificent, exceeding all our expectations. The articles started pouring in by the middle of June itself and by September 15 as many as 120 articles covering a total of 1625 manuscript pages had been received. This strained our resources, financial, administrative and editorial to the utmost. The Editorial and Felicitation Committees have tried to withstand this strain to the best of their capacity.

While the printing was in progress it was felt that in view of the inordinately large size of the Volume it would be better to split it up into two parts medium-wise—for that was the most rational basis of splitting—part I comprising articles in English and part II articles in Sanskrit and Hindi.

The printing of the Volume begun in September, 1972 itself had to be suspended because the press was not equipped on the side of the types in Devanagari with Vedic accents. These types were not available locally and had to be procured from elsewhere. This inevitably entailed delay. Apart from this there appeared a few procedural difficulties. These could be overcome by November, 1972. It is only then that the printing could be resumed.

The Volume has been in the press for almost a year now. The editing, the reading of the proofs etc. could not require lesser time. As for the press we had no problem with it any time. It has been extending its cooperation to us throughout. We are sorry we could not send the proofs to all our authors however much we would have

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liked to do so because of practical difficulties. Had this been done delay would have been unavoidable and the Volume would still have been limping its way through. The correctness which could have been ensured by sending the proofs to the authors we tried to ensure locally. The proofs were faithfully compared with the manuscript and were very carefully and meticulously gone through. In this rather difficult task we were very ably assisted by Shri Jagdish Lal Shastri, Retired Professor of Sanskrit, Robertson College, Jabalpur, who has years of proof-reading experience behind him. He took the work more as a mission than as a profession. His love and affection for Prof. Charu Deva Shastri, his life-long associate, provided him with the prime motivation for putting in herculean efforts to keep down the number of printing errors in the Volume to the minimum. The Editorial Committee owes him a deep debt of gratitude.

The Committee also expresses its thanks to Dr. S. S. Rana and Dr. Krishna Lal, Readers in the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, for their very valuable help in the preparation of the Volume. Finally the Committee places on record its indebtedness to all those scholars who have enriched this Volume by their valuable contributions. The Committee views these as an expression of love, affection and admiration for Prof. Charu Deva Shastri who has kept burning the lamp of knowledge for well over half a century now.

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI
Convener
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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PROFESSOR CHARU DEVA SHASTRI : A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

A rare combination of a great Sanskrit scholar, a gifted writer, a fluent orator, a reputed philanthropist and an eminent educationist Prof. Charu Deva Shastri stands out among his contemporaries as one of the most remarkable personalities. His phenominal grasp of Sanskrit grammar, especially of the Pāṇinian School, has earned him the coveted title, Abhinava-Pāṇini, from his numerous friends and admirers. Ever engaged in the quest of knowledge, the main pursuit of his life, he keeps to 12 to 13 hour work a day schedule even at the age of 77 when he is all too worn out by age. Frail in body and beset with many an ailment he carries in him an indomitable spirit which has remained constant all through the years. His regularity of habits, his *penchant* for hard work and minute detail, his keen desire to pick up knowledge of anything that he does not know already, is a matter of surprise and envy for many. Quite a few of the Indian and foreign languages he has picked up only after retirement. It is the young spirit in his old body that impelled him to go in for his mighty project of the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, his *magnum opus*, at the age of 72. With his indefatigable energy, more of the spirit than of the body, he has been able to bring it to successful completion this year when he is 77 and more. The *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* (a complete and comprehensive grammar of the Sanskrit language) now stands published in five volumes with a total of 2332 pages in print. This project over, he has started work on another project of a study of the Use and Function of the Sanskrit Prepositions, the *Upasargārthacandrikā*. It is a sight to see him, arranging the cards, preparing the press copy and reading the proofs. In his beautiful caligraphic handwriting he goes on pouring on page after page his wisdom and learning born of half a century of intimate study of Sanskrit literature.

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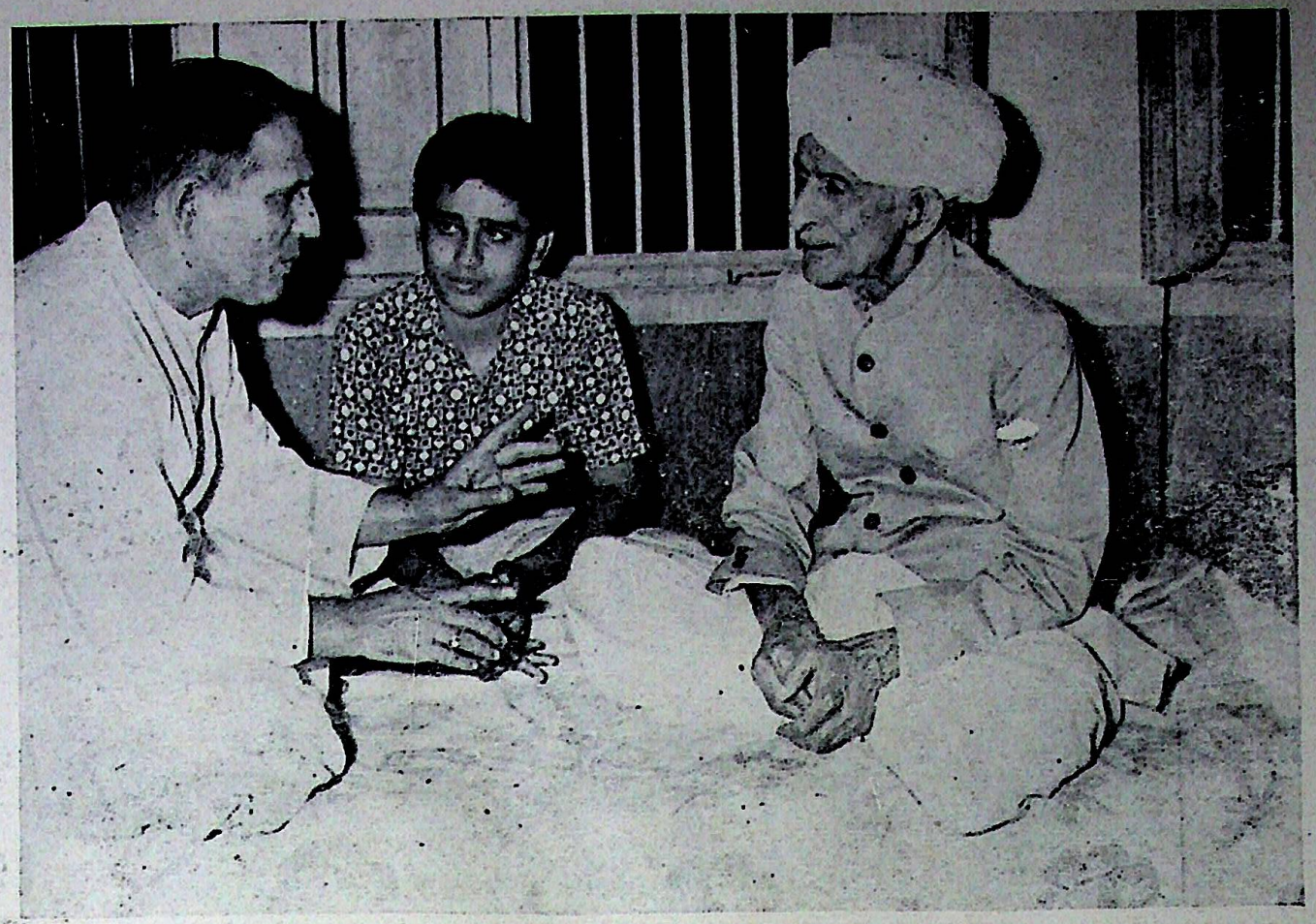
There is a well-known saying in Sanskrit :

अघटितघटितं घटयति सुघटितघटितानि दुर्घटीकुरुते ।
विधिरेव तानि घटयति यानि पुमान्नैव चिन्तयति ॥

Who could have imagined that the man who was destined to be one of India's greatest living exponents of the Pāṇinian School of Sanskrit grammar today could come of a family having no tradition of learning, least of Sanskrit learning. His father, mother and sister were all illiterate. His elder brother had his schooling upto the Middle Standard. His younger brother could not go beyond the Intermediate stage. Who could also have imagined that it would be only a chance accident in his life that would take him to Sanskrit weaning him away from Urdu and Persian in which he had developed interest in his earliest years. Had that accident not happened Shri Shastri would have been a scholar of Urdu and Persian today instead of being a scholar of Sanskrit.

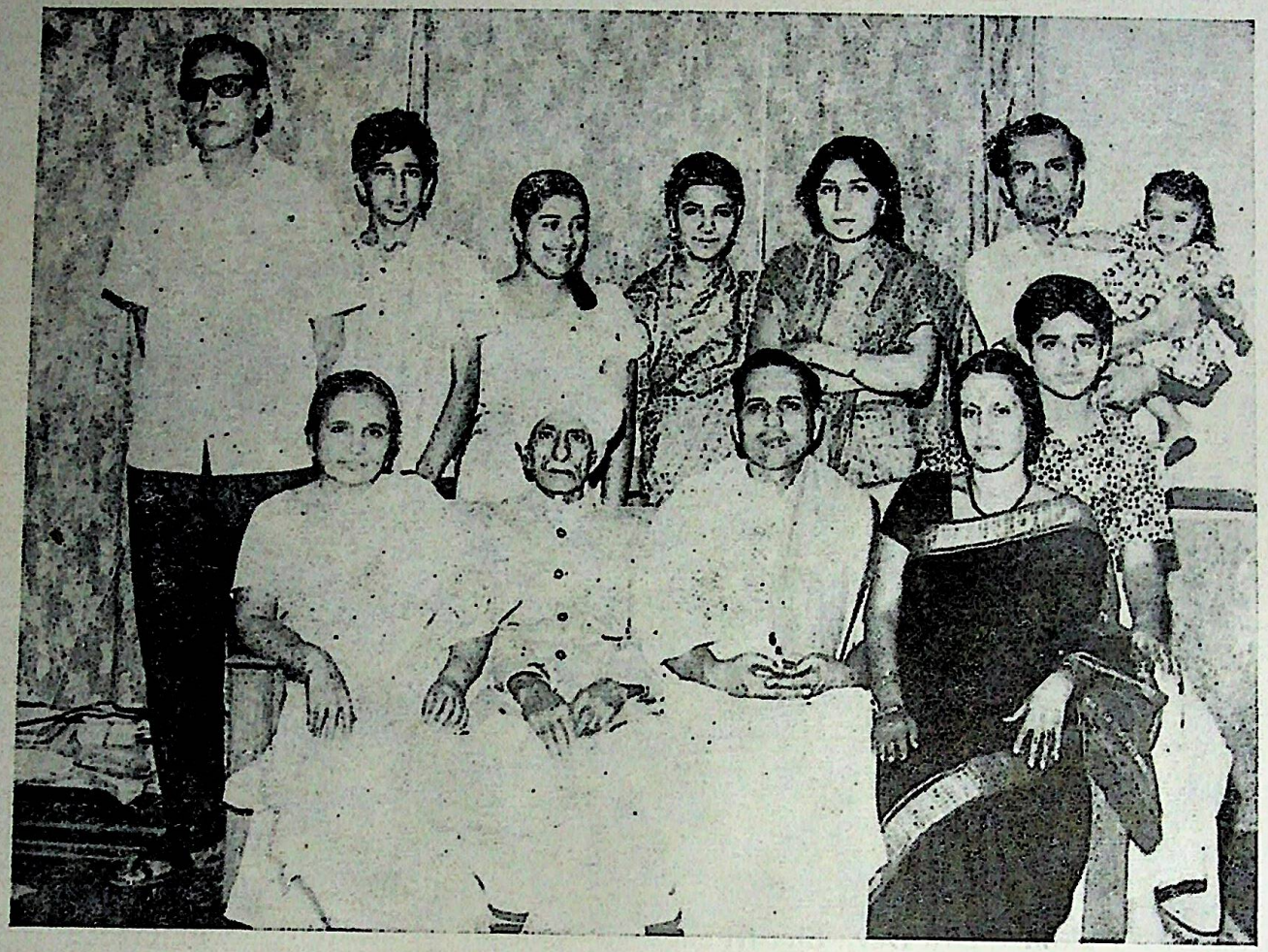
Prof. Charu Deva Shastri was born to Shri Ram Krishna and Shrimati Bhagawanti Devi on May 8, 1896 at Ahiapur, a village in the Dasuya Tehsil of the District of Hoshiarpur, Panjab. Of his two brothers and a sister it is only one, the younger brother Shri M. C. Jolly, a businessman and journalist at Ambala, who is alive today. The elder brother, Shri Sahib Dayal, a Railway Goods Clerk and the elder sister Shrimati Buddhimati died years ago. Shri Shastri received his early education at the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in the nearby village Tanda where the medium of instruction was Urdu. When in the 4th Standard, he read Selections from Sheikh Sadi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan* which were prescribed as compulsory texts at that time. The choice to the students to go in for either of the classical languages, Sanskrit and Persian was given in the 7th Standard. The Arya Samaj movement which aimed at revival of Sanskrit and Indian culture was making its impact in the country, especially in the Panjab during those days. Shri Shastri also came under that impact. He opted for Sanskrit. But un-accustomed as he was to it he could have no interest in it. One day he left the Sanskrit class and joined the Persian one, even without informing the Sanskrit teacher. The Persian teacher knowing his brilliance and sharpness—he was one of the best students in the school—warmly welcomed him. The Sanskrit teacher, Pandit Hari Ram, on coming to know of it lodged a complaint with the Head-master. The Head-master, a devout Hindu, reprimanded him and asked him to go to the Sanskrit class. At first he would not agree. When, however,

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Prof. Charu Deva Shastri engaged in intimate conversation with his son Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri. The grandson Sharaccandra looks on.

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Prof. Charu Deva Shastri with the members of his family.

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the Second-master also asked him to do so he was reconciled and went to the Sanskrit class. The Sanskrit teacher, contrary to his expectations, did not utter even a word of reproach for him and received him with warmth and affection. This attitude of the teacher deeply touched the pupil and he felt very much penitent. He decided to work hard for Sanskrit and ultimately developed interest in it. This one incident changed the course of his life.

After passing the Middle School examination from the school at Tanda, Shri Shastri came to Jullundur, a Divisional town in Punjab and joined the S. D. A S. High School there. After his schooling he joined the D. A. V. College, Lahore and got the Master of Arts Degree with a First Class First, for which distinction he was awarded Gold Medals. Earlier he had been awarded Scholarships for obtaining distinction in Sanskrit in Intermediate and B.A.

Shri Shastri entered service in 1921 in the D. A. V. College, Jullundur even before his M.A. result was out. Later, after a couple of months (by that time his result was out) he joined the D. A. V. College, Lahore which he continued to serve till the partition of the country in 1947. He resumed work in the same College in 1948 when it was restarted at Ambala City (Haryana). He retired from service in 1951 at the age of 55. Later on, for 2 years he served the newly started Gandhi Memorial National College at Ambala Cantt. and for a year the Punjab University Camp College at New Delhi.

Prof. Shastri had a happy married life. He was married to Shrimati Ram Rakhi of Shrihargobindpur (Panjab) at the age of 18 when he was studying in the 9th class. He was a devoted husband, all too caring and loving his wife. He lost her on March 9, 1969.

Prof. Shastri has two children—one son and one daughter, both of whom are well-settled in life. The daughter, Mrs. Usha, is married to Shri D. V. Kapoor, a Civilian Officer in the New Delhi Municipal Committee. The son, Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri is Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit at the University of Delhi. Winner of the nation's highest literary honour, the Sahitya Akadami Award, he is a noted poet, critic and author.

Prof. Shastri's daughter-in-law, Mrs. Usha, is also a Sanskritist. Winner of many a Gold Medal and Distinction she is a Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit in Kamala Nehru College, New Delhi. Keenly interested in Dramatics she has made her mark in the field of the study of modern Sanskrit drama. Her work, 'Sanskrit Dramas of Twentieth Century', the first of the many volumes projected, has

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recently been published. It has earned for her well-deserved laurels.

The family of Prof. Shastri wherein he, his son and his daughter-in-law are engaged in the pursuit of Sanskrit is unique in the country today. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the eminent Indologist, rightly, therefore, calls this triumvirate as the *trimūrti* of the Sanskrit world.

Prof. Shastri is a proud grandfather with two grandchildren, one grandson Sharaccandra aged 14 and one granddaughter Indu Bala, aged 16. He has especially worked hard with the grandson to initiate him into some of the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar. The young one has already acquired a proficiency in handling the language rare in youngsters of his age-group.

Prof. Shastri is intensely humane at heart. He is out to help any body in distress. As a more touching instance of it may be mentioned the sale by him of his Gold Medals to raise money for a penniless friend in the grip of disease. He has created two Endowments of Rs. 10000/- each with the Panjab and the Delhi Universities for stipends for the best pass girl students in B.A. going in for M. A. Sanskrit and for Sanskrit publications. He built a class-room in the Middle School founded by him at his home village and a room in the Hostel attached to the V.V.R. I. at Hoshiarpur. This money he saved out of his meagre income by denying himself even the barest minimum comforts of life. He had nothing to inherit by way of ancestral property. Coming of a very poor family he spent his earlier years in dire poverty. But for the scholarships he got in the school and the college and a few rupees which his elder brother, the late Shri Sahib Dayal, would send him now and then it would not have been possible for him to continue his studies.

Lack of proper facilities for school education at his native place, which had impelled him to go to the divisional town of Jullundur for High School education prompted him to open a D. A. V. Middle School there in 1925. The school was raised to the High School level in 1944. For little children he has started the Dayanand Model School and for girls a D. A. V. High School for Girls. He has thus built up an educational complex at his birth-place, providing its people with facilities for education and showing him in a new light of an educationist interested in the spread of knowledge. An account of his services to the cause of education would not be complete if mention is not made here of the fact that for years he had been meeting the deficit in the budget of

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the D. A. V. School in his earlier years from his salary. Every month he would send a big chunk of his meagre income to the Headmaster of the said School so that the institution founded by him with the noblest of objectives may not run into rough weather.

Not only money, he would lend his honorary services also for the cause of education. He served the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hashiarpur for some time honorarily.

Every year Prof. Shastri sends donations for an Eye Camp organized by the All India Seva Samiti in different parts of the country and the Virjanand Blind Girls College at New Delhi. He also helps many a poor student financially.

Pandit Ji's has been a life of sincere dedication to the pursuit of knowledge. Apart from Sanskrit he knows Hindi, Punjabi and Marathi among the Indian languages and German, French and Russian among the foreign. Most of these languages he has picked up, as stated earlier, after retirement. He is a true believer in the dictum 'अजरामरवत्प्राज्ञो विद्यामर्थं च चिन्तयेत्'. He passed the B. A. German examination of the Punjab University at the age of 59.

Among the other accomplishments of Prof. Shastri is his knowledge of classical Indian music which he learnt systematically in his earlier years. He has a melodious voice and sings delightfully well.

One of the unique features of Prof. Shastri's life has been his self-acquired knowledge of Sanskrit grammar after the traditional method. He had studied Sanskrit only in school and college. It is his interest in it that took him deeper into it. He acquired more intimate knowledge of it only by self-study. The Shastri examination of the Panjab University he passed in 1922 when he was already in service. It were the Saṁskāras of his previous births which were probably responsible for his acquiring proficiency in Sanskrit, its idiom and grammar rarely attained by others. It were these very Saṁskāras which were probably responsible for a unique event in his career : Even when he was studying in the Intermediate he had prepared and published a Sanskrit translation of Principal Apte's Progressive Translation Exercises, Part I !

Prof. Shastri has won national recognition by his valuable contributions to Sanskrit. He was awarded the title of Vidya-vachaspati at the Golden Jubilee Session of the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan in 1965 by Dr. Radhakrishnan, the then President of India. Recently, in 1971, the present President of India Shri V. V. Giri has awarded him a Certificate of Honour.

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Prof. Charu Deva Shastri is a Ṛṣi of the modern times. Simple and unassuming he impresses with his versatility and depth of knowledge every one who comes into contact with him. A conversation with him, however short, is an event in itself. His humility goes deep into the heart and touches its innermost chords. An institution in himself, he stands as a veritable lighthouse illuminating the hearts of the people with the light of knowledge.

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HOMAGE TO A SAVANT

TRILOKI NATH

I have many pleasant memories of Lahore, where first I received my education, and then, later on, worked as a lecturer for some years. Out of the mists of the past, a few figures stand out clear and well marked. The D. A. V. College, Lahore, had many scholars on its staff, each eminent in his own discipline. Out of them all, Prof. Charu Deva Shastri struck me as unique in many ways. He was the one person whose entire time and energy were devoted to the cultivation of Sanskrit language, especially its grammar. Sanskrit was the very breath of his life. I met him at different times of the day, but always found him preoccupied with his scholarly pursuits. He was a one-stringed instrument which played only one tune. He had put so much thought and energy into it, that, however, often you had heard it before, every time you heard it, you were charmed by the melody.

After the partition of India, Prof. Charu Deva Shastri shifted to D. A. V. College, Ambala City. But his interest in and zeal for his subject continued and I have pleasant memories of many a sweet day spent in his company.

Prof. Charu Deva Shastri's life amply illustrates that a teacher can carve out a place for himself in the love and affection of his students and the public in general if he has a deep interest in his subject. I have seldom come across such a single-minded devotion. He never paid any attention to examinerships or membership of University bodies. In fact, such desires never entered into his mind. He never talked in terms of academic politics. Such considerations never entered into his calculations. In Ambala, he was next only to the Principal in seniority, but I think he was oblivious of this fact and let a junior man officiate during the absence of the Principal. Such a disinterested pursuit of scholarship and academic excellence is very rare in our country.

We all pay our homage to our culture and religion which are enshrined in Sanskrit. But when we plan out the education of our

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children, we go with the current and send our children to Anglicised schools. The children of advocates of Hindi often receive their education in English medium schools. We have double standards. Something which we find highly valuable and useful must be imparted to our children also. This is one test of our sincerity of purpose. Prof. Charu Deva Shastri nurtured his son in Sanskrit lore from his very infancy. The young boy has today grown into an eminent scholar and teacher and the past has become fused into the present. I understand that the grandson of Shastri Ji is also being brought up in the same tradition.

All the time of the teachers today is taken up with matters which have not much connection with their profession. I can understand their economic difficulties and frustration. But the way out is not to neglect their studies. They can find mental satisfaction only in the cultivation of their subject. The life of Prof. Charu Deva Shastri is a beacon-light to them.

I am not competent to write about the scholarly achievements of Prof. Charu Deva Shastri. But his life has left an indelible impression on my mind. It is heart-warming to think about him and his sincere absorption in his subject. I feel mentally refreshed whenever I peep into the past and see with mind's eye Shastri Ji expounding the beauties of Sanskrit grammar during the morning and evening strolls in Lahore gardens. Such encounters with genuine scholars impart a delightful flavour to life.

I wish Prof. Charu Deva Shastri many, many more years of fruitful service in the cause of Sanskrit learning and literature.

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SHASTRI JI—A SCHOLAR AND A SAINT

SATYA VRAT (Śrīgaṅgānagara)

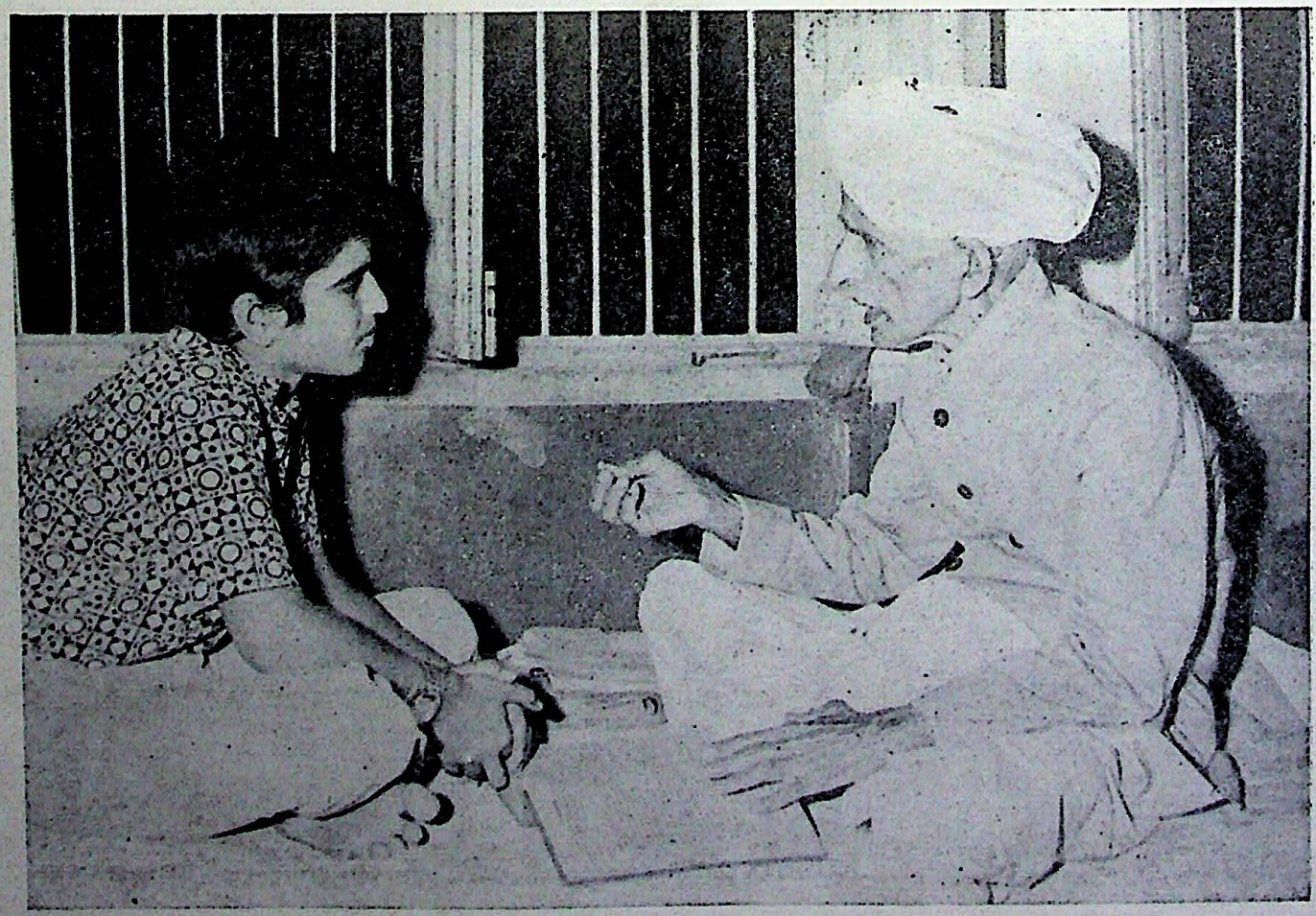
To write something about Prof. Charu Deva Shastri is to switch one's memory back to the early fifties. It was in the summer of 1953, after his retirement, that he was driven by circumstances to accept a job at the G.M.N. College, Ambala Cantt., though it did not at all correspond to his personal and intellectual stature. For the Sanskrit students of the College, however, it proved a veritable boon. I was one of those fortunate pupils who had the honour to be closely associated with him. That was a time when his intellectual potentialities had fully blossomed and his literary attainments had reached their zenith. He had already brought out the first critical edition of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, which coupled with his original works viz., *Gāndhicaritam*, *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*, *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* and research papers, had established him as a matchless scholar. To be sure, Shastri Ji is basically a grammarian and his writings attest to it in ample measure. He has the good fortune of having studied both oriental and occidental systems of Sanskrit learning. The addition of such an intellectual giant to the staff was a landmark in the annals of that College. He dominated the stage like a colossus. And in comparison to him all others appeared pigmies. It was an experience to attend his lectures, each one of which used to be a veritable Jñānasatra. Like lesser teachers he did not struggle to complete the syllabi alone. As a scholar and an idealist he aimed at enrichment of the student's knowledge and personality so that he might flower into a worthy citizen, useful to himself and the society. What more, he fired his pupils with true love for learning. A large galaxy of his scholar pupils owes its love for Sanskrit to him. On his part, he has completely identified himself with Sanskrit learning. That is his sole pursuit, his mission. So much so, he has never permitted his superannuation to interfere with his intellectual pursuits. I myself have seen his him work for 12 to 13 hours a day even in his sixties. Even now he is mentally as alert as ever. With his indefatigable zeal he has

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been working for the last five years bringing out his *magnum opus*, the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* in five volumes. The last volume was published in July, this year. The entire work covers as many as 2332 pages in print. Always engrossed in his intellectual pursuits he never aspired for recognition.

Shastri Ji blends his scholarship with rare modesty. He wears his scholarship with utmost ease. Simple living and high thinking constitute the bedrock of his life. Mundane needs could never overpower him. Even at the crest of his glory, he was living at Ambala in a tiny hamlet, almost like a recluse with few amenities of life. This self-denial has fashioned him into a Ṛṣi, a way of life fully worthy of a scholar so deeply merged into the ancient lore of the country. Shastri Ji is a great scholar and a great saint. He represents a tradition which is fast dying out. He has never craved for anything in life except learning and nobility. Immaculate fame born of intellectual achievements is his best asset. And there he has few equals.

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Prof. Charu Deva Shastri teaching Sanskrit to his grandson Sharaccandra.

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CREATIVE AND CRITICAL WRITINGS OF PROF. CHARU DEVA SHASTRI : A CRITIQUE

D. K. Gupta

Prof. Charu Deva Shastri is one of the most eminent scholars of Sanskrit today, and in the field of Sanskrit grammar he holds indisputably the supreme position. He has studied Sanskrit grammar, which has been his first love in life, with a singular devotion to it, and as a result, has gone to its utmost depths. He is as it were face to face with 'the spirit' of this divine language, manifest in the Pāṇinian school of its grammar. Of this grammar, which is perhaps the most consummate of all the grammars of the world, he commands a most precise vision, and the most intricate of its rules is as clear to him as *karatalāmalaka*, 'a myrobalan lying on the palm of the hand'. This is indeed an amazing phenomenon noticed quite rarely in the present-day scholarship, and it evokes, therefore, a spontaneous admiration of the students of Sanskrit grammar all over the world.

Prof. Shastri is, in the truest sense of the term, a *śiṣṭa*, one who is eminently disciplined in the language and is thoroughly acquainted with the nuances of its idiom and is, again, fully alive to their minutest functions in literature.

By dint of his great contributions in the field of Sanskrit grammar to which a detailed reference shall be made below, he has carved out a place of pride for himself in the glorious line of the great grammarians of the language. His contribution to the arena of Sanskrit literature, in a limited range though, is also of great value. He has edited a few Sanskrit dramas, and his editions of them are notable not only for the careful presentation of the text but also for its exposition with a thoroughly critical approach. His creative writings in Sanskrit, though very much limited in quantity and restricted in scope, are highly excellent in quality.

The present paper attempts a brief survey and a critical appraisal of Prof. Shastri's writings, both creative and critical, which

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form the rich and fine blossoms of his devoted learning and deep scholarship spread over a period of nearly forty-five years, from 1929 to this date. Before embarking on a critical estimate of his works, we may have here a list of them in their chronological order :

(a) *Annotated editions and creative and critical works*

1. *Vikramorvaśīya*, edited with Kāṭayavema's comm. (A.D. 1400), and with extracts from the commentary of Raṅganātha and grammatical explanations from Mallinātha and others, Lahore, 1929.
2. *Gāndhicarita*, the life-story of Mahatma Gandhi, Lahore, 1930.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, edited with extracts from the commentaries of Kāṭayavema and Nīlakaṇṭha, Lahore, 1933.
4. *Vākyapadīya, Brahmakāṇḍa*, edited together with Bhartṛhari's own *vṛtti* and Vṛṣabhadeva's gloss on it, Lahore, 1934. (A part (pp. 1-96) of the second (*Vākya-*) *kāṇḍa* was also published later, but no detail of it is available except a brief reference to it in the *Vākyapadīya*, ed. K. V. Abhyankar and V. P. Limaye, Poona, 1965, *intro.*, p. xi.)
5. *Kundamālā* of Diṅnāga, edited under the Tutorial Sanskrit Play Series, Lahore, 1937.
6. *A Manual of Sanskrit Translation*, Lahore, 1939.
7. *Anuvādakalā*, a Hindi version of the above book, Varanasi, 1950 (second edition, 1956).
8. *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*, a collection of essays, Varanasi, 1951 (second edition, 1963).
9. *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka*, Jullundur, 1954.
10. *Vākyamuktāvalī*, Jullundur, 1956.
11. *Mahābhāṣya*, *Āhnikas* I-III, with Hindi exposition, Delhi, 1962.
12. *Mahābhāṣya*, *Āhnikas* I-IX, with Hindi exposition, Delhi, 1968.
13. *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, vol. I, Delhi, 1969; vol. II, 1970; vol. III, 1971; vol. IV, 1972; vol. V, 1973.

(b) *Research Papers and Articles*

1. *Bhartṛhari—A Critical Study with special reference to the Vākyapadīya and its Commentaries*, presented to the fifth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, *Proceedings and Transactions*, vol. I (1930), pp. 630-55.

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2. *Āryan Culture in the Light of Sanskrit Language*, *D. A. V. College Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Jullundur, 1944, pp. 145-50.

3. *Kimupakārā upasargāḥ kimarthakāś ca*, *Sārasvatī Suṣamā*, Varanasi, V.2 (V.S. 2007=A.D. 1950), pp. 33-39; reprinted with additions in the *Journal of the Department of Sanskrit*, University of Delhi, I. 2 (July, 1962), pp. 81-94.

4. *Vāgvyavahāraḥ*, *Sārasvatī Suṣamā*, V. 4 (V.S. 2007=A.D. 1950), pp. 69-82; reproduced in the *Ṛṣikalpanyāsa*, the Rājeśvara Śāstrī Dravid Felicitation Volume, Varanasi, V.S.2027=A.D. 1970; section on grammar, pp. 89-96.

5. *Kiṁnibandhanā puṇyapāpayor vyavasthā*, *Sārasvatī Suṣamā*, VI. 2 (V.S. 2008=A.D. 1951), pp. 211-19.

6. *Viśvavidyālaye'dhyāpanavidhiḥ*, *Sārasvatī Suṣamā*, VII. 2 (V.S. 2009=A.D. 1952), pp. 139-45.

7. *Paryāyavacanavivekaḥ*, presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, XVI Session (1951), Lucknow, *Proceedings and Transactions*, Vol. II (1955), pp. 239-50.

8. *Pāṇinīye Dhātupāṭhe' rthanirdeśaḥ*, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XXVII, i-iv (1957-58), pp. 79-84.

9. *Śrīmadbhāgavatabhāṣāpariccheḍaḥ*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, II.2 (September, 1964), pp. 355-76.

10. *Saṁskṛtavāgvyavahāraḥ*, *Viśvasaṁskṛtam*, I. 4 (August, 1964), pp. 324-37.

11. *Dayārdracetāḥ Śrīlājapataḥ*, *ibid.*, III. 1 (November, 1965), pp. 52-4.

12. *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśaḥ*, *ibid.*, III. 3 (May, 1966), pp. 226-40.

13. *Pāṇinīyāṣṭake kāścid vyavahāradiśaḥ*, *ibid.*, IV.2 (February, 1967), pp. 107-13.

14. *Kavir Abhinandaḥ*, *Journal of the Department of Sanskrit*, University of Delhi, I. 1 (December, 1971), pp. 67-74.

15. *Kiṁsvid Vedāḥ pauruṣeyā utāpauruṣeyāḥ*, for the All-India Oriental Conference, XXVI Session (1972), Ujjain.

16. *Vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti*, *Saṁskṛtaratnākaraḥ*, 1972, pp. 1-11.

And it is indeed gratifying to note that Prof. Shastri, above 75 now, is still actively engaged in his studies and research, and has ambitious plans to work on various aspects of Sanskrit grammar.

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Prof. Shastri began his career as a scholar and a writer by editing the dramas, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and the *Kundamālā* of Diṅnāga. The first of these has been edited according to the southern recension of the play, which does not contain Apabhraṁśa verses in the fourth act. In the preparation of this edition, three manuscripts—two from Madras and one from Mysore—and S.P. Pandit's edition of the play have been used and most critically collated. The edition contains, besides Kāṭayavema's commentary and useful extracts from some other old commentaries, an introduction, English translation of the play and copious notes in Sanskrit and English, and a comprehensive vocabulary at the end. The Introduction (pp. i-xxv) touches in brief on Kālidāsa's life, his time and his works, and makes a critical assessment of his poetic and dramatic genius, and discusses the plot of the *Vikramorvaśīya* with a special reference to its sources, both Vedic and the Purāṇic. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* has been edited with elucidating extracts from the commentaries of Kāṭayavema and Nīlakaṇṭha. Besides, the edition contains an introduction (pp. i-xxii), exhaustive notes in Sanskrit and English, a literal translation of the play, and a number of useful appendices. The *Kundamālā* has been edited with exhaustive notes in English and with an introduction (pp.1-16) discussing the problems relating to the identity of the author of the play and the sources of its plot, and making a literary estimate of the playwright.

Of Prof. Shastri's creative writings, the *Gāndhicarita*, published with his own brief notes, is a prose *kāvya* on the life of Mahatma Gandhi, attempted for the first time in Sanskrit. It deals, in six chapters, with the main currents in the eventful life of the Mahatma up to about the middle of 1930 when he was arrested at Karadi, a village near Dandi in Gujarat, for the breach of the Salt Laws.

The work opens with a brief reference in ten beautiful stanzas to its theme, the magnanimous life and the magnetic personality of the Mahatma. There is in the work an obvious departure, both in its conception and execution, from the prose classics in Sanskrit inasmuch as it avoids setting forth the elaborate descriptive material and ornamenting it with the time-worn figures of speech. It thus stands far away from the prose romances of Subandhu, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, and approaches, both in spirit and style of story-telling, the prose writings in modern languages with of course the inevitable difference in the employment of diction. Prof. Shastri's

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diction is consciously modelled on that of the old classics, though happily it is not laboured and is not overdone. As one glides through the work from page to page, one is tempted to observe that its author has successfully revived the glorious past of the old classical speech by using it as a forceful vehicle of the modern thought, and the reader nowhere finds the old idiom limping under the burden of the newest ideas. The writer has carefully preserved the old classical impress in his work, and it is indeed exhilarating to watch a modern theme majestically clothed in the oldest linguistic garb. A few extracts may be given here to illustrate the diction of the work which is characterised throughout by a rare felicity of expression :

(i) आज्ञप्तास्तेऽग्निवर्षं वर्षत्सु तुमुलं संग्रामयमाणेषु सैनिकेषु मृत्युं तृणाय मत्वा क्षतविक्षतानामुद्दिधीर्षया श्रीगान्धिनमनु समराङ्गणं प्रति प्राद्रवन्। एवं श्रीगान्धिनाधिष्ठितास्ते तत्र दिवसे यत्साहसिक्यं यं मतिविभवं यां कर्तव्यपरतां च प्रादर्शयंस्तदैतिह्यपत्रेषु कातंस्वररसेन न्यस्ताक्षरं भविष्यति।

(pp. 25-6)

(ii) वैशाखसंक्रान्तिमुद्धवेनाभिनन्दन्ति हिन्दवः। तन्निर्वृत्तये च चैत्रत्रयोदश्यां जह्नोद्यानम् इत्याख्ये प्रकाशेऽवकाशे संमेलनं निरचिन्वन्। संनिपतिता जनाः सर्वे निरुपप्लवा निरायुधाश्चासन्। तेषु बहवः स्त्रियो बालाश्चाभूवन्। अतीतायां निशायां सेनापतिः सर्वजनीनाः सभाः प्रत्यषेधत्। परं न कोऽप्यवेदीत् प्रतिषेधम्। सेनापतिस्तु यन्त्रगुलिकाप्रक्षेपणीरादाय जह्नोद्यानमागात्। प्रबोधनमन्तरेणैव च निरायुधेषु तेष्वाग्नेयचूर्णप्रक्षेपं प्रारभत। अयं चाग्निविसर्गं आ चूर्णपरिसमाप्तेर्दश कला यावत् प्रावर्तत।

(p. 84)

(iii) नाहमत्र कांचिद्वार्तां श्रावयितुमागतोऽस्मि यया भवतां मम च परितोषः स्यात्। ममागमनकारणं च नाविदितं भवताम्। देहल्यां हिन्दवो मुहम्मदीयाश्च संग्राहृषतेति दूषितमस्या अवदातं यशः। उपक्रोशश्च महान् संभूतः। अनेन व्यतिकरेण सर्वोऽयं देशो विकारस्य गमनीयो भवेदित्याशङ्क्यते। अस्य च प्रसरः कथं वार्येतेति चिन्तयन्ति नेतृतमा नो बन्धवः। परमद्य यावन्न तैरुपायः कश्चिदुपलब्धो यमावेदयेय। अतोऽहं खिद्ये।

(pp. 128-9)

(iv) परमिदं मया भवतां पुरः प्रतिपत्तव्यं यदा संदेहा मे मानसमाक्रामन्ति, आशाभङ्गश्च बद्धलक्ष्यं मां प्रेक्षते तदाहं गीताः समाश्रये शोकापहं श्लोकं च लभे। लब्धमात्रे च तस्मिञ्शोकसमाकुलोऽप्यहमेकपदे स्मेराननो भवामि। दुरन्तैर्वृत्तान्तैर्व्याप्तं

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मे जीवितम् । परं यदि तेषामत्र किमपि दृग्गोचरमलोप्यं च फलं न लक्षये भगवद्-गीतानुशासनं तत्र कारणमिति ।

(p. 144)

(v) यूयम् [ख्रिस्तीयप्रचारकाः] एतद्देशजानां परितापकारणानामुपलम्भाय तदपनोदाय चेहोपेताः । संभावये चेहस्था यूयं वेद्यवेदनोन्मुखा इति । तेन यदि भरत-भुवा किंचिदुपदेष्टव्यमस्ति नहि यूयं कर्णौ पिधास्यथ दृशौ वा संवरिष्यथ हृदयं वा कठिनीकरिष्यथ, अपि तूभौ विवरिष्यथ हृदयं च विशिष्य समुत्तानयिष्यथ येन यदिहोपादेयं स्यात्सर्वं तदुपादीयेत । प्रत्याययामि वो भारते वर्षेऽनल्पमुपादेयमस्तीति ।

(p. 145)

The work contains a number of Gandhiji's speeches and a few letters penned by him, and these are robed beautifully into chaste and idiomatic Sanskrit. While going through them we are rendered oblivious of the fact that we are reading them not in their original but in translated form. We may cite below, in its classical rendering, the famous letter the Mahatma wrote to Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India, in January 1930, before he launched the civil disobedience movement by the breach of the Salt Laws :

प्रियसुहृद् ! यावदहं निष्प्रमाथं शासनातिक्रमं नातिष्ठामि तेन च यतः संशयादिमाः समा अहमभैषं तत्रात्मानं न पातयामि तावत्प्रकामं भवन्तमुपयामि विविदिषामि चौपयिकान्तरम् । विशदो मे स्वो धर्मः । नाहं कमपि जीवं जिहिंसिषामि किमुत सजातीयान् मानवान् यद्यपि ते महिष्ठं ममापकुर्युः । अतो यद्यप्यहं ब्रिटिशशासनं भरतवर्षस्याधि मन्ये तथाप्यहमेकमप्याङ्गलम्, उपपन्नं परिग्रहे तस्याधिकारं वा नोपजिघांसामि ।

नान्यथा ग्रहणीयं मे वचः । यद्यप्यहं ब्रिटिशशासनं भरतवर्षस्याङ्गारं मन्ये नाहं तत एव कारणादाङ्गलजातिं भूमिष्ठान्मानवजात्यन्तरादपकृष्टां गणये । अनेक आङ्गलाः प्रियतमा मदीयाः सखाय इत्यभिमन्ये । यत्सत्यं ब्रिटिशशासनकृतापायविषये यदहं वेद्मि तत्प्रायशो विक्रान्तानां स्फुटवादिनां ब्रिटिशशासनविषये निर्विशङ्कमप्रियं सत्यं च शस्तवतामाङ्गलानां निबन्धेभ्य एवावेदिषम् ।[1]

(pp. 166-7)

1. To enable the reader to appreciate how the thought-content of the original has been faithfully preserved in this translation, the corresponding part of the letter in original is reproduced below :

Dear Friend—Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow-human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold British rule to be a curse, I do not intend to

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The *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*, 'the billowed stream of essays', is a collection of short essays written by Prof. Shastri. The work, divided into five *billows*, contains sixty-three essays. Most of these are reflective in character, while others deal with narrative, descriptive and *śāstraic* topics. The *śāstraic* essays relate to some important aspect of grammatical and philosophical studies. Covering thus a wide range of subjects, these essays present a befitting model for the standard form both of content and expression in Sanskrit. The difficult ideal set in the *Preface* for a good essay, which demands of its writer to say the things in a most concise and in a measured form and to clothe them into a forceful and lucid diction,[1] has eminently been achieved by our author who has successfully brought his mellowed scholarship and mature thinking and his felicitous identity with the genius of the old idiom to bear upon the various topics essayed in the work.

The work contains a learned introduction defining the scope of an essay and setting forth the mental and the physical process in attempting a good essay, and its characteristic elements. Besides, it carries a rich purse of gems in the form of adages, numbering over 250, which are mostly drawn from the old classics.

Some of the essays deserve a particular mention both for the subject they deal with and the thoroughness they exhibit in its handling. One of such essays[2] gives an exhaustive treatment to the grammatical maxim that the *kārakas* are by and large governed by the speaker's intention to express a particular idea with an accent on a particular subject-verb relationship. Another essay[3] gives an interesting exposition of the universal application of √*kṛ*

harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest he may have in India.....

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as dearest friends. Indeed much that I have learnt of the evils of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.....

(Taken from the *Mahatma Gandhi*: *A Biography*, by B.R. Nanda, London, 1959, p. 291)

1. Cp. pp. 1-2.
2. *Vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti*, pp. 213-22; also cp. his paper on the subject in *Saṁskṛta-ratnākaraḥ*, 1972, pp. 1-11.
3. *Karotinā sarvadhātvarthānuvādaḥ kriyate*, pp. 222-26.

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which is employed in literature to express the meanings signified by other roots. Prof. Shastri has elaborated the point by illustrating its use to mean 'to bring about' or 'to produce', 'to place', 'to utter', 'to set forth' or 'to define', 'to rub' or 'to knead', 'to offer', 'to till', 'to analyse', 'to follow', 'to obey', 'to marry', 'to wait', 'to pledge', 'to learn', 'to narrate', and 'to trim' or 'to cut'. He has given, again, a few examples where nominal derivatives from √*kṛ* have meanings not at all connected with 'to do' or 'to make'. Some interesting instances he has cited are *karman* meaning 'physical excercise', 'cure' and 'offence'; *kārā* signifying 'jail' where hands and feet of the culprit are *bound*; *karaṇa* meaning 'a document'; *kriyā* meaning 'an atonement', 'education' or 'learning', 'worship', 'thinking', 'expedient' or 'means', 'movement', 'cure' or 'treatment', 'sacrament', 'obsequies', and 'a literary work'. Another essay on the semantic development of *padas*[1] treats the linguistic concept of gradual semantic development, with particular reference to certain interesting words which have followed in course of time a number of semantic directions. One such word is *nibhṛta-* (*ni*+ *bhṛta*<√*bhṛ*) 'filled with', 'full' : (1)>soundless, calm (a)>motionless>steady, firm, (b)>secret>hidden, concealed; (2)>reclining> humble, modest. Some other words discussed in the essay are *viśārada-*, *kṛpaṇa-*, *yāpya-*, and the root √*īkṣ* with *upa*.

Of other essays, those on poverty, contentment, truth, character, duty, forgiveness, love for the motherland, and friendship are replete with fresh ideas, and are thought-provoking. Some other topics, particularly of modern interest, are newspapers, a trip to a hill resort in Kashmir, and the horrors of a war, which have been taken up with much fresh life and vigour. There is at times a subtle wit, and there is a quiet humour also in some of his essays, such as those on the autobiography of an umbrella, of a horse or of a rupee, which are written in a lighter vein.

In one of the most brilliant essays Prof Shastri has brought out in a forceful manner giving the impression of a fine reminiscent mood the ancient glory of the city of Vārāṇasī. Of its varied snapshots the essay contains, the following is perhaps the most impressive :

परमद्यापि वाराणसी तामेव वहत्यविहतां पुराणीं सुषमाम् । अद्यापि सामगानां पुण्यो वेदध्वनिर्मूर्च्छति श्रवणयोः । अद्यापि बहूनां बद्धब्रह्माञ्जलीनां स्वाध्यायमधी-

1. *Padārthavikāsah*, pp. 248-52.

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यानानां द्यां स्पृशति पावनः श्रौतध्वानः। अद्यापि शास्त्रार्थप्रवृत्तानां विप्रवदमानानां विप्राणां विचरति कलकलः काष्ठाः। अद्यापि पूर्ववत्समवयन्त्यत्र यतस्ततो विद्याकमनाः प्रदीप्तप्रज्ञानाः। अद्यापीदं पुण्यतमं तीर्थमिति श्रद्धयोपयन्त्यपरस्परा इतस्ततो यात्रिकाः। अद्यापि स्थगितरोदसीकन्दराः समुच्चरन्ति देवालयेषु सायंप्रातिकास्तूर्यनादा मङ्गल्याश्च शङ्खस्वनाः। किं बहुना। कालपरिवासेनाप्यपर्युषितशोभाऽनुपहतयशाः पूर्ववद् विराजते नगरीयं सुरयुवतिरिव निर्जरा।

(*Second ed.*, p. 169)

Prof Shastri's genius, however, is basically scholastic and critical rather than poetic or belletristic. He is at the best of his talent not so much in his creative writings as in his scholastic attempts, particularly on grammar of the Pāṇinian school. He is essentially a grammarian, a grammarian *par excellence*. His deep love for the science of the classical language, his profound study of the Pāṇinian rules with reference to their correct application to the usage in the language, and his thorough grasp of the linguistic patterns of the classical writers of note make him as it were a modern incarnation of Pāṇini, or rather a collective manifestation of the trinity of the first grammarians, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

The *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* (in Hindi) in five volumes is Prof. Shastri's monumental work in the field of Sanskrit grammar. The work which covers 2332 pages in print constitutes the most brilliant of the jewels that have been churned out of the ocean of knowledge accumulated and constantly reinforced during the last more than half a century of devoted and sustained labours of a gifted intellect of today. The work heralds in fact the rise of the moon (*candrodaya*) on the horizon of Sanskrit grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), and even as the moon aims at dispelling nocturnal darkness, it seeks, as it declares at its very threshold, to remove ignorance and to correct mistaken knowledge and doubtful notions of those who wish to be initiated into this branch of learning.[1]

Prof. Shastri puts forward a distinct conception of grammar which, according to him, is the science that instructs in the correctness of words and correct use[2] by dissecting them into their component parts such as roots, suffixes etc. It thus analyses words already existing in a language, and is therefore rightly

1. अज्ञानमन्यथाज्ञानं ज्ञानं सांशयिकं तथा। भेत्स्यतीयं कृतिः कृत्स्नं तमश्चन्द्रोदयो यथा॥ (introductory verse 10).

2. *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, I, intro., p. 7; cp. *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka*, intro. p. 2.

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called *anvākhyānasmṛti*,[1] the science which refers to, with of course a view to explaining it by finding out the base and the affix or affixes, augments and substitutes, what has been in existence or is current. In cases where it tends to go against the established linguistic behaviour the preference must invariably be given to the latter, and this is exactly what Patañjali meant when he discarded at times the 'grammatical' forms for the simple reason of their not being current in use (*anabhidhānāt*). It is this approach to grammar that saves us from such awkward, though grammatically correct, forms as *sauva* and *sauvatantra*.[2] So helpless is grammar in the matter of following the linguistic usage, be it totally illogical and untenable, that it would allow such usage as *apamitya yācate* to signify 'having earlier begged (something) he gives it back', which sense should have normally been expressed by the sentence *yācitvā 'pamayate*.[3] In no way does grammar aim at, or can be used as a licence for creating new words, and those who use it for wantonly coining new vocables or who employ words in the meanings which cannot be justified either by their etymology or by convention come in, rightly enough, for strong criticism at the hands of Prof. Shastri. He is also against contravening the established modes of linguistic usage, enshrined in the ancient texts of the great grammarians as also of the classical poets of note, and he directs his criticism even against the grammarian-poet Bhaṭṭi who, as he has elaborated elsewhere,[4] is guilty of serious deviations from the established order of Pāṇini and his expositors including Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and the writers of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

His own monumental work on Sanskrit grammar professedly follows and vigorously defends the established order with regard to the exposition of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana.[5] Again, it tries for the first time to defend, according to the Pāṇinian rules of grammar, a number of usages occurring in the Upaniṣads, the Sūtra literature and the two Epics, heretofore branded as *ārṣa* or archaic ones, and also pleads for the acceptability of a number of others contained in them which do not

1. Cp. *Vākyapadīya* II. 231.
2. Cp. Pāṇ. VII.3.4; see *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, II, intro., p. 3.
3. Cp. Pāṇ. III.4.19, which notices in the northern regions the usage *apamitya yācate* for *yācitvā' pamayate*, current in other regions; see *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, II, intro., p. 3; also p. 176.
4. Cp. his paper *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśaḥ*, to be discussed later.
5. *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, introductory verse 7.

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evidently allow themselves to be governed by Pāṇini's rules.

The old works on grammar, Prof. Shastri holds, confined themselves for one reason or another to the words alone, entering nowhere, except by way of a casual stroll, into the arena of syntax, and later this resulted in the unhealthy tradition of studying 'grammatical words' in isolation, with no reference to their meaning or to their use in a sentence. The futility of such a tradition that has come down to the present day is self-evident, and it is here that Prof. Shastri's work makes a significant breakthrough from the worn-out tradition. He has studied words with a close reference to their use in a sentence and has examined the rules of the cases and the tenses and moods with a thorough reference to their application in the linguistic usage of the classical writers. Greater emphasis in his work has been put on the sentence than on words in their isolated position, and the utmost attention thus has been paid to the real purpose of grammar, which is to help the study of a language in a scientific manner. Prof. Shastri has in a way attempted for the first time to correlate the Sanskrit grammar with the living tradition of the linguistic usage in Sanskrit, and it may justly be said that even those who are well-versed in the traditional learning of Sanskrit grammar would find in his work much that they had been blissfully ignorant of or had been doubtful about, and this is more true in the field of Sanskrit syntax which has been given for the first time a thoroughly scientific treatment.

Again, there is a fresh light on some of the *sūtras* and the *vārttikas* which are today vaguely or wrongly understood or are generally skipped over even by the serious students of Sanskrit grammar. These have been accorded a most searching and a lucid exposition in his work. Some of such *sūtras* and the *vārttikas* are the following : *janikartuḥ prakṛtiḥ* (1.4.30) in vol. I, pp. 24-5, 74-5; *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (II. 3.50), *ibid.* pp. 55ff.; *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca* (II. 3.36), *ibid.* pp. 31-2, 63-4; *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam* (VI. 3.109), *ibid.* pp. 186-7; *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛnām* (II. 3.69), *ibid*, pp. 28-30; *ukapratiṣedhe kamer bhāṣāyām apratiṣedhaḥ* (a *vārttika* on II. 3.69), *ibid.* p. 29; *vā' sarūpo' striyām* (III. 1.94) in vol. II, pp. 222-4; *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* (III. 3.113), *ibid.* p. 14; *dhātusaṁbandhe pratyayāḥ* (III. 4.1), *ibid.* pp. 221-2; *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṁkhyānam* (a *vārttika* on III.2.5), *ibid.* p. 42; *janapadinām janapadavat sarvaṁ janapadena samānaśabdānāṁ bahuvacane* (IV.3.100), *ibid.* p. 325; *a iddhavad atrābhāt* (VI. 4.22) in vol. III, p. 74; *pūrvatrāsiddham* (VIII.2.

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1), *ibid.* p. 156; *kṛsṛbhṛvṛstudrusruśruvo liṭi* (VII. 2.13), *ibid.* pp. 296-8; *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* (III 1.87), *ibid.* pp. 494ff.; *pūrvavat sanaḥ* (I.3.62), *ibid.* p. 465; *ktād alpākhyāyām* (IV. 1.51) in vol. IV, pp. 47-8; *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām* (VII. 2.101), *ibid.* pp. 61-3); *udīcām ātaḥ sthāne yakapūrvāyāḥ* (VII. 3.46), *ibid.* pp. 47-8; *iko yaṇ aci* (VI. 1.77) in vol. V, pp. 417-20; *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* (VI. 1.84), *ibid.* pp. 423-4; *antādivac ca* (VI. 1.85), *ibid.* p. 425; *ato ror aplutād aplute* (VI. 1.113), *ibid.* pp. 441-2; and the significant trio of the *sūtras*, *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*, *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*, and *na padāntadvirvacanavareyalopasvarasavarṇānusvāradīrghajaścarvidhiṣu* (I. 1.56-8), *ibid.* pp. 486-96.

Prof. Shastri has explored, for suitable examples of the standard linguistic usage and the grammatical rules based thereon, the vast range of Sanskrit literature covering the two Epics, the Purāṇas, the scientific literature, and the extensive field of *belles-lettres*. Of the *belles-lettres* those belonging to the creative age and containing the most natural form of the language have been prominently exploited in preference to those of the decadent period and employing the artificial form of the i liom. Some select Vedic texts have also been referred to wherever the usages contained in them offered some help in understanding the classical linguistic patterns. As a result, the work has become a veritable treasure of choicest expressions exemplifying the standard linguistic usage of the ancient times, and a student of pure literature also can find herein much for his aesthetic pleasure and can also at the same time dive deep into the subtleties of Sanskrit grammar. At times there are as illustrations sentences of Prof. Shastri's own composition, which are natural, fresh and sweet. So closely do these sentences follow the standard classical pattern that they betray their modernity by their thought-content alone. Some such instances are given here : *saṁprati kumārya iva kumārā api tanūṁ alaṁkariṣṇavo bhavanti* (I, p. 28); *kecic chayyāta ujjihānā eva phāṇṭaṁ pibanti* (II, p. 503); *saṁpraty āveśaneṣu vaidyutenālokena divāmanyā rātrayaḥ saṁbādhasthiteṣu geheṣu ca rātriṁmanyāny ahāni* (II, p. 217); *iha deśe vidyāsnātakāḥ kṣudhā sīdantīti ṛtiṁkaro vyatikaraḥ* (II, p. 218); *yo hi jalena saṁnītaṁ payo vikrīṇīte sa narakaṁ jihīte* (III, p. 530); *idam adya niścinmo na vayaṁ viśramiṣyāmo yāvan na svātantryaṁ pratilapsyāmahe* (III, p. 535); *saṁskṛtaṁ saṁpratam iti vimarśasya no viṣayaḥ* (IV, p. 287); *parāri vayaṁ Kāśmīrān agāma tatra ca māsam asthāma* ((IV, p. 293); *pūrvaṁ paripavyāḥ paścād randhanīyāḥ śālayaḥ* (V, p. 422); *ācchāyā'sya taroḥ, asya ca pracchāyā, tenātra niṣīdāmaḥ* (V, p. 440); *ācchāyam atra tarutale*

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niṣatsyāmaḥ (*loc. cit.*), *argheṇa kreyārthānām uttarottaraṁ vardhamānena kadarthyate lokaḥ* (V. p. 470).

The first volume of the work deals with the *kārakas* and compounds. The *kārakas* have been discussed with copious illustrations from the standard classical works. The relation of the subject and the predicate and the position of the verb, the use of verbs with double accusative, the peculiar position of the *saṁbandha kāraka* making the genitive case, and the elaboration of *vivakṣā* of *śeṣatva*, particularly in the *avivakṣā* of other *kārakas*, are some of the topics on which much fresh light has been thrown for the first time. A good deal of supplementary matter that lay hidden in the corners of the *Mahābhāṣya* and in the commentaries on it by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, and generally bypassed by the students of Sanskrit grammar as being abstruse discussions not of much use, has been brought to the surface along with a number of fine examples of compounds that lay unnoticed in the depths of the ocean of the classical Sanskrit literature.

The second volume deals with the primary and secondary suffixes, which have received a most thorough and a lucid treatment. The process of word-formation in Sanskrit is both complex and multilineal, and a clear-cut system of analysing the process and arranging the varieties of the heterogeneous cases to be comprehended by it often poses a practical problem. Prof. Shastri has treated of the numerous varieties of cases in respect of these suffixes most methodically; he has taken them up one by one. For instance, in dealing with the forms in past passive participles, which register a variety of cases, those having the *ta* changed into *na*, those having an *i* augmented, those not having it, those having the semi-vowels changed into corresponding vowels, those allowing *guṇa* in the vowel of the root, and those allowing some formal change either in the root or in the suffix have been dealt with one by one. Again, the words thus formed have been explained with reference to their correct use in a sentence. Thus the use of the *kṛtya* suffixes, the past passive participles, the present active participles, infinitives, gerunds and the suffixes *uṇ* etc., has been explained with illustrations drawn both from the works on grammar and from the classical writings. These have been supplemented by the writer with suitable examples of his own composition also, which in some cases serve to substitute the traditional examples that look inappropriate or are insufficient. Thus, for instance, the example *dhanikadarśam arthayate'rtham arthī* has been given to substitute the

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traditional example *kanyādarsaṁ varayati* which is evidently not very much appropriate. Similarly, the old and stale examples have been profusely reinforced on the *sūtras*, *kaṛmaṇy aṇ* (III 2.1; pp. 37-8); *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca* (III. 3.117; pp. 169-70); *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca* (V. 1.1.4; pp. 397-9; *arśa ādibhyo'c* (V. 2. 127; p. 442); *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari cviḥ* (V.4.50; pp. 461-3); and on the *vārttika*, *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṁkhyānam* (on III. 2.5; p. 42).

At places, Prof. Shastri has ventured to suggest emendations of certain available readings of the traditional examples. He has thus suggested the reading *apalāṣuko vṛṣalasaṁgatam* for *apalāṣukaṁ vṛṣalasaṁgatam*,[1] which, though obviously incorrect, has traditionally been handed down to, and tacitly accepted by, us. He has convincingly justified his stand wherever he has had to differ from the old scholiasts.[2]

Prof. Shastri has rightly drawn our attention to the general apathy of the students of Sanskrit grammar to the study of the secondary suffixes, to which Pāṇini evidently gave a more comprehensive treatment (in 1108 out of the total 3978 *sūtras*) than he gave to the primary suffixes (in 539 *sūtras*). He has sought, through his lucid presentation of them supported by a profusion of examples drawn from the classical sources, to remove this indifference, and has considerably succeeded in his task. The suffixes have been arranged, as in Pāṇini, according to the various meanings (e.g. 'son of', 'descendant of', 'dyed with', 'student of', 'conversant with', 'born or coming of', 'told by', 'belonging to', 'possessed of' etc.) they signify.

The third volume deals with the conjugational system of the primary and the derivative verbs, the change in the *pada* (*ātmane-* and *parasmai-*) of the roots in conjunction with a particular preposition and to denote a particular sense with or without a certain preposition, the passive voice, and the uses of tenses and the use of the verbs with appropriate prepositions. Prof. Shastri in this volume has followed in the main the order of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* except that the roots have been grouped here into the ten *gaṇas* (according as they take ten different *vikaraṇas* before the verbal

1. On Pāṇ. III.2.154; cp. pp. 122-23.
2. E.g., on the *taddhita* formation *kārmuka-* (p. 389), on the restriction by the *vārttika* of the meanings of *paritas* and *abhitas* (p. 449) and of the word *rajasvala-* (p. 434).

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endings are suffixed to them) for the four *sārvadhātuka lakāras* only. The remaining *lakāras* which add the endings directly to the root have been treated as a separate group with no reference to the *gaṇa* to which the roots belong. This has evidently facilitated a clear understanding of the different courses these *lakāras* take and also of the different changes (e.g. *vṛddhi*, *guṇa*, augment etc.) certain roots or groups of roots undergo in each of them.

The roots of the *bhū* class, the largest in number, have been classified afresh and grouped into twelve sub-classes according as they betray affinity in having the application of a similar grammatical rule such as *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* or their absence. Another important point to be noted in connection with the roots is the defining of their exact meanings. The specification of their meanings in the *Dhātupāṭha*, traditionally ascribed to Pāṇini, is faulty;[1] a number of roots, for instance, have been recorded therein as meaning 'to go' with no reference to the type of 'going' each of them precisely denotes. Prof. Shastri has thoroughly examined such meanings with a frequent reference to the actual occurrences of the roots in literature. The classical examples of the use of the verbal forms which abound in the work throughout help us in determining not only the exact meaning or meanings of the different roots but also their semantic development in some cases.[2] In this process of studying the meanings of the various roots Prof. Shastri has supplemented them, and has in many cases worked out a further precision in them defining in a convincing manner their transitive or intransitive character so as to check, as far as possible, the present-day anarchy in their use. In some cases, he has corrected the explanatory comments of the old scholiasts on the meanings of certain roots.[3] Meanings have in a few cases been allotted to the roots only when prefixed with certain prepositions, facilitating thereby their correct use in literature. How the various roots have been used in multiplicity of meanings and how they go in some cases against their 'traditional' meaning or usage has been taken up in *Appendix I* (pp. 541-3). Some of such roots discussed are √*ikṣ*, √*sthā*, √*bhaj*, √*kṛp*, √*naś*, √*bhakṣ*, the causative of √*vah*, √*yā*, and √*vṛt*, and the desiderative of *ni* √*dhyai*. The cases where the causative forms have a non-causal meaning and *vice*

1. Prof. Shastri has elaborated this in a separate article, *Pāṇinīye Dhātupāṭhe' rthanirdeśaḥ*, to be discussed below.
2. E.g., √*day* 'to give', 'to go', 'to protect', 'to kill' and 'to take'.
3. E.g., in case of √*ucch* (p. 52) and √*vā* (p. 97).

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endings are suffixed to them) for the four *sārvadhātuka lakāras* only. The remaining *lakāras* which add the endings directly to the root have been treated as a separate group with no reference to the *gaṇa* to which the roots belong. This has evidently facilitated a clear understanding of the different courses these *lakāras* take and also of the different changes (e.g. *vṛddhi*, *guṇa*, augment etc.) certain roots or groups of roots undergo in each of them.

The roots of the *bhū* class, the largest in number, have been classified afresh and grouped into twelve sub-classes according as they betray affinity in having the application of a similar grammatical rule such as *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* or their absence. Another important point to be noted in connection with the roots is the defining of their exact meanings. The specification of their meanings in the *Dhātupāṭha*, traditionally ascribed to Pāṇini, is faulty;[1] a number of roots, for instance, have been recorded therein as meaning 'to go' with no reference to the type of 'going' each of them precisely denotes. Prof. Shastri has thoroughly examined such meanings with a frequent reference to the actual occurrences of the roots in literature. The classical examples of the use of the verbal forms which abound in the work throughout help us in determining not only the exact meaning or meanings of the different roots but also their semantic development in some cases.[2] In this process of studying the meanings of the various roots Prof. Shastri has supplemented them, and has in many cases worked out a further precision in them defining in a convincing manner their transitive or intransitive character so as to check, as far as possible, the present-day anarchy in their use. In some cases, he has corrected the explanatory comments of the old scholiasts on the meanings of certain roots.[3] Meanings have in a few cases been allotted to the roots only when prefixed with certain prepositions, facilitating thereby their correct use in literature. How the various roots have been used in multiplicity of meanings and how they go in some cases against their 'traditional' meaning or usage has been taken up in *Appendix I* (pp. 541-3). Some of such roots discussed are *√īkṣ*, *√sthā*, *√bhaj*, *√kṛp*, *√naś*, *√bhakṣ*, the causative of *√vah*, *√yā*, and *√vṛt*, and the desiderative of *ni √dhyai*. The cases where the causative forms have a non-causal meaning and *vice*

1. Prof. Shastri has elaborated this in a separate article, *Pāṇinīye Dhātupāṭhe' rthanirdeśaḥ*, to be discussed below.
2. E g., *√day* 'to give', 'to go', 'to protect', 'to kill' and 'to take'.
3. E.g., in case of *√ucch* (p. 52) and *√vā* (p. 97).

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versa have been discussed in great detail in the sections dealing with the roots of the *cur* class and the causatives respectively. The additional sentences following the discussion on each topic and also the incorrect sentences for correction further enhance the value of the work. The three appendices (pp. 538-97) at the end supplement the matter discussed earlier in the work, and also contain much additional information so useful for a student of Sanskrit grammar. The first of these discusses the semantics of certain roots and the use of double accusative with the causative of √*labh* and √*āp*, and also the multiple meanings of various roots. The *Appendix II* elaborates with copious examples the comprehensive use of √*kṛ* and its derivatives to express all conceivable actions. The *Appendix III* presents, after Vidyānanda's *Kriyākalāpa* and Bhaṭṭamalla's *Ākhyātacandrikā*, a useful thesaurus of Sanskrit roots with critical and explanatory notes.

Some special features of this volume are the division of the entire matter into articles facilitating their cross-reference, and the alphabetical index, at the end, of the *sūtras* and the *vārttikas* etc. and of the roots discussed in the body of the work, making their location easy.

The fourth volume takes up, in three chapters, the exposition of feminine suffixes, the declension and the indeclinables. The relation of the gender in Sanskrit with sex and with the formation of a particular word has been discussed before the feminine suffixes have been enumerated and the changes in stems accompanying the addition of the suffixes have been examined in detail. The declension has been treated in four sections dealing with (i) the words with the vowel stems, (ii) those with the consonant stems, (iii) the pronouns and, finally, (iv) the numerals. A novel feature of this chapter is its collection of a large number of words which follow the pattern of their model in declension, and this has considerably added to the usefulness of the work. The chapter on indeclinables first defines the various categories of the *avyayas* and then gives an exhaustive list of them, 251 in number, exemplifying them with apt quotations from various sources.

The last volume, the largest and perhaps the best, deals with *śikṣā*, phonetic rules; *saṁjñā*, grammatical terminology; *paribhāṣā*, the body of rules teaching the proper interpretation or application of other rules; *saṁdhi* or *saṁhitā*, rules of euphonic combination; and *liṅgānuśāsana*, the rules of grammatical gender. The phonetic rules have been discussed chiefly on the basis of the *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā*,

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though the views of modern philologists have been taken note of. The grammatical terminology used in Pāṇini's work has been given an elaborate and a lucid exposition with a detailed reference to its employment in the grammar of the Pāṇinian school. The author begins his discussion with the fourteen *pratyāhāra-sūtras* which he attributes, with convincing arguments, to Pāṇini himself as against the prevalent tradition of their having come from the god Śiva. Next come for a thorough and a critical exposition the *paribhāṣās*, 132 in number, discussed in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. In elucidating these, Prof. Shastri makes an attempt, the first of its kind as he justly claims, to resuscitate the real import and the significance of these important injunctions which remained long in swoon, as it were, under the stupefying effect of the language of the Neo-Nyāya school. His critical exposition of the *paribhāṣās* thus forms a significant contribution to the study and interpretation of the Pāṇinian school of Sanskrit grammar. The various issues involved in each of the *paribhāṣās* have been taken up by the author one by one, and they have been discussed threadbare with a thorough reference to their application and their scope. The views of earlier expositors of the *paribhāṣās*, namely, Puruṣottamadeva and Sīradeva, have also been taken into account, the latter's work appearing in abstract in a lucid Hindi translation in the volume. Some of the *paribhāṣās* receiving their fullest treatment perhaps for the first time are *kāryakālaṁ saṁjñāparibhāṣam* (3), *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante* (11), *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti* (12), *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam* (28), *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* (37), *sakṛdgatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitaṁ tad bādhitam eva* (40), *asiddhaṁ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* (50), *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo lug bādhate* (52), *vārṇād āṅgaṁ baliyaḥ* (55), *akṛtavyūhāḥ Pāṇinīyāḥ* (56), *saṁnipātalakṣaṇavidhir animittaṁ tadvighātasya* (85), and *upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* (102). The elaborate exposition of the *paribhāṣās* has been suffixed with the complete text of Nageśabhaṭṭa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (pp. 296-361) and Puruṣottamadeva's *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* (pp. 362-412). The treatment of *saṁhitā* or the rules of euphonic combination is also important on many counts. It sets aside, significantly enough, the arrangement of the matter effected in this regard by Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita, and instead observes in the main the order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which according to the author is more scientific and is more suited to the analytical approach to the study of Sanskrit grammar than that followed in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. The author has established

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with convincing arguments that the euphonic combination in Sanskrit forms an intrinsic feature and an ornament of the language. It is an excellent means, as he points out, of effecting simplification and assimilation of sounds of the language (*Preface*, p. 10); it is an integral part of the classical idiom, and is perfectly in keeping with its genius and its compact structure. It is, therefore, indispensable in all cases excepting of course a few specifiable cases in a sentence where it may be said to be at the speaker's option. On the basis of the possible places of its occurrence, the author has divided it into four broad categories, namely, *padānta-saṁdhi*, external combination; *apadānta-saṁdhi*, internal combination; *samāsa-saṁdhi*, combination in a compound word; and *upasarga-saṁdhi*, combination in an *upasarga*-prefixed word.

The last comes the topic of the grammatical gender in Sanskrit, which has been given one of the most exhaustive treatments in the work. The author has explained the traditional rules of gender, as embodied in the *Pāṇinīya-liṅgānuśāsana*, with copious illustrations from the standard lexicons, adding comments on the discrepancies between the two wherever noticed. He has, again, richly supplemented the topic with useful excerpts from Harṣavardhana's *Liṅgānuśāsana* and with an additional corpus of data, not covered in the ancient texts on gender and based chiefly on his own findings in the field. This additional corpus has been discussed by him under the following heads : words having no gender; words not dropping their original gender in any case; adoption in a sentence of the gender of the predicate; free choice in adopting the gender either of the subject or of the predicate in the case of pronouns; change in gender with the change in meaning; words changing their gender with the change of their grammatical form even when their inherent meaning is retained; adoption of feminine gender in case of certain words on the authority of the popular usage; adoption of neuter gender when no specific or particular gender is intended; adoption by a pronoun of neuter gender to replace nouns of different genders; and the miscellaneous cases. Much fresh matter has been introduced to the world of the learned for the first time under these heads, and the discussion is followed throughout by profuse examples from the classical texts. The detailed examination of the use of the word *śakya* may be quoted as a befitting example of this. Prof. Shastri has put forth two distinct patterns of its correct use : (i) its use in neuter gender and singular number at the beginning of a sentence when no specific

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object (*karman*) is intended to be expressed, and (ii) its use in accordance with the gender and number of the object governed by it in a sentence when it follows a specified object.

This volume, being the last one, takes upon itself to supplement the matter discussed in the earlier volumes and also to fill the lacunae thereof by giving indices of *sūtras* and *vārttikas* etc. of the first two volumes.

Prof. Shastri's other contributions to the study of Sanskrit grammar include his detailed exposition in Hindi of the first nine *āhnikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and his critical edition of the *Vākyapadīya*, first *kāṇḍa* and a part of the second. His Hindi exposition of the *Mahābhāṣya's* nine *āhnikas* is lucid and at the same time comprehensive and critical. It takes into account what *Kaiyaṭa* and *Nāgeśabhaṭṭa* have said in their rather scholastic commentaries, and presents their essence in a simpler and more acceptable form. A brief introduction to the topics taken up in each *āhnika* has been given in advance in order to facilitate the reader to identify himself closely with the detailed discussions on them to follow. The *paribhāṣās* have been explained with reference to the scope and purpose of their application. The exposition thus is useful both for the scholars and the students of Sanskrit grammar, with whom the first nine *āhnikas* are rather more popular than the remaining part of the great *bhāṣya*. We may, however, hope that this remaining portion of the work is also elucidated by Prof. Shastri in near future.

Prof. Shastri has given the first critical edition of the *Vākyapadīya* (first *kāṇḍa* and a part of the second) of Bhartṛhari together with his (Bhartṛhari's) own *vṛtti* and Vṛṣabhadeva's gloss on it. In preparing this he has used no less than twenty manuscripts and transcripts, a brief description of which he has given in the preface. These were obtained from different libraries in India and abroad. Apart from these many manuscripts, a large number of works which quote from the *Vākyapadīya* and interpret it were also ransacked by its learned editor. Again, he fully exploited the internal evidence of the *Vākyapadīya* for determining, to some extent, the acts of omission and commission the Time has committed on the text, and as a result, his critical edition of the work contains "the standard text of the *vṛtti* available so far".[1] In the learned introduction (pp. 1-26), written in Sanskrit, to his edition, Prof. Shastri

1. Cp. K.V. Abhyankar and V.P. Limaye in the *intro.* to their ed. of the *Vākyapadīya*, p. x.

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has dwelt upon the various aspects connected with Bhartṛhari and his *Vākyapadīya*. He has also given a brief account of the commentators of the work, namely, Vṛṣabhadeva, Puṇyarāja and Helārāja. He has, besides, set at length the quantum of authenticity of the two *vṛttis*, the elaborate and the brief, on the first *kāṇḍa* of the work both attributed to Bhartṛhari.

The *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka*, Prof. Shastri's other work on grammar, aims at giving the users of the Sanskrit idiom some practical aids to a correct understanding of the standard usage of the language in contradistinction to the corrupt one. The work is divided into two parts, the first setting forth a large corpus to be examined, and the second, thoroughly examining it with reference to its correctness or otherwise. The large corpus to be examined contains about 2700 sentences, some from the old classics including the two Epics, the Purāṇas, the Smṛtis, the standard works on grammar and the noted writings of the *belles-lettres*, and a large number of them from the Sanskrit periodicals and modern writings based on the common errors of the users. These sentences have been arranged topic-wise and the topics cover almost all the important aspects of Sanskrit grammar including euphonic combination, declension, feminine suffixes, use of the cases, the conjugational system, the use of appropriate prepositions, the primary and secondary derivatives, the compounds, the gender system, and finally, and most notably, the cases not strictly comprehended by the rules of grammar. The sentences in most cases appear flawless, and it is only when one turns to their examination conducted in the second part that one detects the error. In their re-shaped form these sentences appear as veritable gems in the form of choicest expressions covering a very wide range of the usage of the language. A few sentences may be cited here in their incorrect form to enable the reader to grasp in full measure the nature and the scope of the work :

१. आविष्कारप्रधाना विंशतितमेयं शताब्दी विलासप्रियत्वं वर्धयतीति न परोक्षम् (p. 13)

२. संस्कृतज्ञा लोकव्यवहारेण नितरामनभिज्ञा इति दूषणं न तु भूषणम् । (p. 21)

३. मासस्यावकाशमादाय स गृहं गतो बन्धून्द्रक्ष्यामि तैः संवत्स्यामि चेति । (p. 23)

४. पुस्तकभारवहनेऽपि जिह्रियतीदानींतनाश्छात्राः । (p. 24)

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५. कालोऽयं कलिराजगाम जगतीलावण्यकुक्षिभरिः । (p. 53)

६. महार्घतापिशाची मुखं व्यादाय निगिलितुमिव धावति । (p. 66)

७. पञ्चापदेशे सरहन्दपुरेऽस्त्यैतिहासिकः प्राकारो यं दिदृक्षवः प्रत्यब्दमुपयन्ति शतशो भक्तिमन्तो नराः । (p. 81)[1]

The work contains a learned introduction (pp. 1-54) which dwells upon the various aspects of linguistic usage in Sanskrit. It covers the general rules of syntax, the order of words in a sentence, the gender and the number, the verbs and their transitive and intransitive character, the *vivakṣā* in the employment of the *kārakas* and of the *sambandha*, the *vibhaktis* governed by the *upapadas*, the permissibility of a factitive object, syntactical concord of the subject or the predicate with the verb (predominance, in a sentence, of the subject or of the predicate), the relation of the substantive and the adjective, the use of the present participles, infinitives, and the tenses and moods, and the compounds. Some of the items have been taken up in more elaborate form in separate papers, to which a reference shall be made later.

A Manual of Sanskrit Translation, intended to be used by college students, is an excellent guide to the art of translation into Sanskrit. It also serves the young pupils as a brilliant mirror to view in a lucid manner the Sanskrit usage in. An ideal translation, Prof. Shastri points out, consists in preserving the original idiom and the way of expressing an idea, and it is something more than mere grammatical correctness, which is, of course, the minimum demand of a language. Prof. Shastri has in this short manual succeeded in presenting the ideal of a correct and at the same time an idiomatic translation in Sanskrit. The book, divided into four sections besides an introduction, deals with general structure of a sentence in Sanskrit and the essentials of its grammar. It embodies copious and

1. The correct form of these sentences along with the comments Prof. Shastri has made on them are given below :

(१) डटि तमडागमे च स्त्रियां ङीपि विंशतितमीति साधु । (२) लोकव्यवहारस्येति कृद्योगलक्षणा षष्ठीष्यते । (३) मासमवकाशमित्येव । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । (४) पुस्तकभारवहनेनेति हेतौ तृतीया प्रयोक्तव्या । (५) इदमा निर्देशात्संनिहितः कालोऽपरोक्षश्चेति लुङो विषयः । आगमदिति वक्तव्यम् । (६) गॄ निगरण इति धातुः । तुमुनि गुणे लत्वे च निगलितुं निगलीतुमिति च रूपद्वयम् । (७) आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ठंग्वक्तव्य इति ठकि ऐतिहासिक इति सिद्धयति । इतिहासमधीते वेद वेत्यर्थः । अत्रैवार्थेऽस्य प्रयोगो दृश्यते न त्वितिहासे प्रसिद्ध इत्यर्थे, इतिहासे भव इत्यर्थे वा ।

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In one of his illuminating articles, namely, *Vāgvyavahāraḥ* (the Usage of Speech), he examines in the sphere of language, with of course a particular reference to Sanskrit, the relative position of the grammatical precepts on the one hand and the established practice on the other. By the established practice he means that linguistic norm which has been set or patronised by the *śiṣṭa*, the disciplined speaker or the user of a language. The concept of grammar as envisaged in the ancient writings, both in theory and practice, gives of necessity an important place, or rather more important than it allows even for itself, to the usage adopted by the *śiṣṭa*, and the article puts a great emphasis on this fact.[1] It is with this concept of grammar in view that it sets forth at length those various areas and aspects of the usage in Sanskrit which are not covered, or are covered insufficiently, by the precepts of Sanskrit grammar. These areas and aspects have been collected and analysed in the article with a penetrating eye and with a scientific acumen. These relate *inter alia* to the use of a vocable in a sense in which it is 'prescribed' by grammar but is not allowed by the usage[2] or of a vocable which can be formed under the grammatical rules but is not evidenced by practice.[3] Some other aspects of the usage in Sanskrit not covered by its grammar and therefore to be defined by the practice adopted by the *śiṣṭas* alone are the ellipsis of a verbal form in a sentence,[4] some undefined cases of the government of the *kāraka* and of the use of tenses and moods, the substitution of the substantive by its attribute, and the concord of the subject or of the predicate with the verb. Prof. Shastri has thrown a searching light on these rather knotty problems. In substantiating his stand on these items he has fully exploited the ancient and medieval works on Sanskrit grammar and has also explored the vast and varied fields of Sanskrit literature.

Regarding the government of the *kārakas* he has maintained that it is determined to a great extent by the speaker's intention

1. Cp. p. 89 : *śiṣṭaprayogaḥ pradhānam upasarjanaṁ vyākaraṇam*; also cp. his article, *Pāṇinīyīṣṭake kāścid vyavahāraditaḥ*, in *Viśvasaṁskṛtam*, IV.2, p. 107. Also cp. *Mahābhāṣya* on III.3.133.
2. E.g. the word *śrāddha* to signify 'a devoted person'. Prof. Shastri, however, has himself used this word in this sense in his earliest writing, the *Gāndhi-caritam*, pp. 1, 7.
3. E.g. *Daivadattika* to denote 'that which is won by Devadatta', or *āṅgulika* to mean 'one who digs the earth with his fingers.'
4. E.g. in sentences like *asādhudarśī kilāsau, aho madhuram āsāṁ darśanam.*

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(*vivakṣā*),[1] but he has cared to qualify this *vivakṣā* by connecting it with the practice of the *śiṣṭas* and not at all with that of Tom Dick and Harry.[2] The question of the relative prominence of the subject and the predicate in a sentence is a more perplexing issue, for the practice observed in this regard in the works of the classical writers differs most widely. Prof. Shastri has eminently tackled this issue, and has been able to deduce some guiding principles towards its solution.

In another brilliant paper, namely, *kimupakārā upasargāḥ kimarthakāś ca*, he has dwelt upon the vital question of the functions and the meanings of the *upasargas*, and has examined the views in this connection of Śaunaka, Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya, Patañjali, Bhartṛhari and Kaiyaṭa, and has tried to coordinate them. He has culled exhaustive extracts from old texts, both Vedic and Sanskrit, to illustrate the various functions and meanings of the *upasargas*. The illustrations, of more than 150 roots standing alone or prefixed with *upasargas*, cover the cases where the prepositions follow, modify and intensify and sometimes totally reverse the meanings of the roots. The article touches, again, upon a very pertinent issue concerning the *upasargas*, that is, the process of semantic development of the roots prefixed with certain prepositions, and studies some stray cases in this regard tracing their semantic history.[3]

1. Also cp. his article on this in *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*, pp. 213-22; and in *Saṁskṛta-ratnākara*, 1972, pp. 1-11.

2. Cp. p. 91 :

   यच्चोद्गिरन्ति प्राणिका 'विवक्षातः कारकाणि भवन्ती'ति तत्रापि न यस्य कस्यचित्प्रयोक्तुर्विवक्षामनुरुन्धन्ति कारकाणि । लौकिकी हि विवक्षा प्रभवति न प्रायोक्त्रीत्याहुः । लोकश्चात्र शिष्टलोक एवाभिप्रेतो वाचि प्रमाणभूतः सर्वस्यावधेयवचनः । अन्यथा सर्वमिदमाकुलं स्याद्वाङ्मयम् । संकीर्येरन्प्रयोगा न व्यवतिष्ठेरन् । also cp. his paper in *Saṁskṛta-ratnākara*, 1972, p. 2.

3. Thus √*sthā* 'to cease to move' with *sam* means 'to cease to move for ever', i.e. 'to die'; similarly, √*dhā* 'to hold' with *abhi* means 'to hold from all sides' or 'to hold together', and then gradually develops into the meaning of 'holding together the meanings', and 'uttering words' or 'saying something'. More interesting is the case of √*vṛt* with *sam* which takes two opposite courses of semantic development; thus √*vṛt* 'to exist' with *sam* means 'to come to exist' and then is processed into meaning 'to be born'; on the other hand, √*vṛt* 'to be' with *sam* means 'to be united' and is then processed into the sense of 'uniting with or dissolving into the ultimate cause', and thus comes to refer to the final dissolution of the universe.

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Prof. Shastri proposes to write an independent book on the *upasargas* in Sanskrit, and it is hoped that this important phenomenon of the classical language will have an exhaustive treatment in his proposed *Upasargārthacandrikā*.

The roots also afford an interesting study in their semantic set-up and usage in literature, and Prof. Shastri has in another paper captioned *Pāṇinīye Dhātupāṭhe'rthanirdeśaḥ* drawn our attention to an important aspect relating to them. He has put to a searching analysis a number of roots with reference to their meanings as traditionally handed down in the *Dhātupāṭha* generally attributed to Pāṇini. He has pointed out a number of discrepancies in the traditional specification of their meanings. Thus in a number of cases,[1] as he points out, the traditional meaning is utterly inadequate, and is quite unable to convey the meaning of the root. A number of roots have been allotted an identical meaning,[2] and no effort has been made to indicate the different connotations they really make. The meanings in some cases[3] are not clear, the words that convey them being capable of more than one interpretation, and in one case[4] no meaning has been given at all. The most serious defect, however, is the element of vagueness that prevails with regard to the transitive or intransitive nature of a good number of roots.[5]

Questioning the authenticity of the traditional specification of the meanings in the *Dhātupāṭha*, Prof. Shastri records the evidence of the old grammarians, Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, according to which it is a patchwork of one Bhīmasena about whom, however, we do not know anything.

Other categories of words, particularly the nouns and adjectives, also make an interesting field for semantic study, and Prof. Shastri has done a pioneering work in the sphere also by discussing

1. E. g. in case of √*uñch*, √*ślok*, and √*bhikṣ*.
2. E. g. √*kard*, √*pard*, √*kās*.
3. E. g. √*hṛṣ* to denote '*alīka*'
4. E. g. √*kag*; it has been enumerated with the remark that its meaning is not specified, but no reason for this has been given.
5. Some such roots, particularly enumerated in the *div* class and in some other class, are √*ruṣ*, √*riṣ*, √*mī*, √*lī*, √*rādh*, *rī*√, √*kliś* and √*tṛp*. These are intransitive when conjugated with the *vikaraṇa* of the *div* class, but are, with the exception of the last, transitive when in a different *gaṇa*. The specification of their meanings in the *div* class gives the impression that they are transitive with the *div* class *vikaraṇa* also, and this goes against their actual use in literature

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the semantics of a number of groups of words generally taken to be synonymous, in his paper entitled *Paryāyavacanavivekaḥ*, presented to the sixteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Elucidating with suitable illustrations how in some cases different names of different kinds of a concept or an object or its different attributes were later merged into one common concept and how in some cases the process of semantic contraction and extension has operated in an unpredictable manner, Prof. Shastri has taken up for semantic scrutiny some thirty-three stray word-groups enumerated in the lexicons, as also understood by the people, as synonyms, and has traced out the different nuances of each word in the groups. Difference between these nuances, he points out, is subtle and, therefore, difficult to describe, yet it can be apprehended with a close reference to the usage in literature. Seldom indeed are two words, he maintains, identical in meaning, and those taken to be so only *approximate* to each other in their general connotation. Words have a jurisdiction, so to say, of their own, and Prof. Shastri has tried to define it in respect of some of them on the authority of the ancient *śiṣṭas*, who have used the words of the same word-group in juxtaposition, thereby distinguishing them from each other. He has also used the evidence of the old scholiasts including Patañjali, Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini, Kṣīrasvāmin on the *Amarakośa*, Rāma on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Nīlakaṇṭha on the *Mahābhārata*, Kaiyaṭa on the *Mahābhāṣya*, Jagaddhara on the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Kāmasūtra*, Cakrapāṇi on the *Carakasaṁhitā*, and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, who have casually pointed out the subtle distinctions between them.

Some of the word-groups, of particular interest to the present day users, are : *ṛta-satya*, *yaśas-kīrti*, *parivāda-apavāda*, *dīpti-kānti-dyuti*, *kopa-krodha*, *amarṣa-roṣa*, *mitra-sakhi-suhṛd*, *garva-māna-abhimāna-ahaṁkāra-darpa*, *piśuna-sūcaka*, *mud-prīti-pramada-harṣa*, *dhṛti-dhairya*, *sagotra-bāndhava-jñāti-bandhu-svajana*, *anarthaka-apārthaka* and *āśaṁsā-saṁbhāvanā*.[1]

An important article, namely, *Pāṇinīyāṣṭake kāścid vyavahāra-*

1. Similar studies of the 'synonyms' in Sanskrit literature may profitably be taken up by scholars of today, and these may usefully be exploited to study the Semantics in Sanskrit. A reference may be made here to Dr. Satya Vrat's similar study of some of the 'synonyms' in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in a paper in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, vol LI (March, 1971).

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diśaḥ, of Prof. Shastri takes upon itself to discuss some of the modes of Sanskrit usage which are implied in Pāṇini's own use of the language and for which there is no direct or specific prescription in his *sūtras*. This 'indirect prescription' of rules serves twofold purpose; it supplements on the one hand the rules of the Ācārya, and indicates on the other his deep regard for the popular usage to the extent even of setting aside in practice his own injunctions.[1] Some notable precepts implied in his *sūtras* are the use of *vi+ā √hṛ* 'to utter' with referenc to the animal sounds also,[2] the permissibility of the use both of the ablative and the locative with the word *adhika*,[3] and the use of *sam√bhū* both as transitive and intransitive verb.[4] Some of such suggestive precepts are to be found in the *svarasūtras* which have been explored for this purpose for the first time. These indirect precepts provide us with a number of interesting usages with peculiar meanings which in some cases are not noticed, or are noticed very rarely, even in the classical writings.[5] In some cases these precepts shed a welcome light on the meaning of certain usages which were evidently common in everyday use but are scantily represented in literature.[6] Prof Shastri is thus responsible for bringing to the surface some of the brilliant expressions that remained rather uncared-for for ages in Pāṇini's work. He has in this article also pointed out certain rules of Pāṇini

1. A typical example, as cited by Prof. Shastri, of Pāṇini's great regard for the accusative, instead of the genitive as prescribed by his own rule (II. 3.65), in *tad arham* (V. 1.117).
2. Cp. IV. 3.51 : *vyāharati mṛgaḥ*.
3. Cp. II. 3.9; V. 2.45.
4. Cp. IV. 3.41; V. 1.52.
5. We have, for instance, such usages as *padena* (instrumental of *pada-*) signifying 'under the pretext of' (cp. VI. 2.7), *śārada* meaning 'fresh' (VI. 2.9), *-cela*, *-kheṭa*, *-kaṭuka* and *-kāṇḍa* signifying, as second members in *tatpuruṣa* compounds, the censure of the first member (VI. 2.1 6), *mātrā* denoting 'equal quantity or measure' (VI. 2.14) and *-pūrva* as second member of the compound in the sense of *bhūtapūrva* (VI. 2.22). Of these, *-padena* is found used in *Śiśupālavadha* VII. 14.
6. Such usages are *bhāryāsauśruta* 'Sauśruta ruled by his wife', *kumārīdākṣa* 'one studying the works of Dākṣi with a view to obtaining a maiden (in marriage)', *odanapāṇinīya* 'one studying Pāṇini's grammar with a view to getting regularly boiled rice,' *bhikṣāmāṇava* 'one living the life of a *brāhmaṇa* for getting alms', *apaco brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a *brāhmaṇa* who cannot cook his food'. *prathamavaiyākaraṇa* 'a fresh student of grammar', and *kāṣṭha*, *dāruṇa* and *ghora*, as first members in compounds signifying 'wonderful' and hence 'venerable'.

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which imply the concept of secondary connotation though in its unconscious form.[1]

In one of his articles, namely, *Śrīmadbhāgavatabhīṣāparicchedaḥ*, he has examined in detail, mainly from the grammatical point of view, the language of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. This Purāṇa presents at times genuine difficulties of interpretation, and is therefore considered, rightly enough, to be the test of real scholarship. It is not that this Purāṇa treats of some abstruse philosophical subject; nor does it patronise the pedantic style characterising the works of Māgha, Murāri or Śrīharṣa. The reason for its being difficult of comprehension is instead the great liberty its poet has taken with the language. He has, as Prof. Shastri has shown in this article, deliberately made his work difficult by using a number of uncommon or obsolete words, some used in Vedic literature alone, or by attributing uncommon senses to common words, and sometimes using them in their etymological meanings in total disregard for the established convention. He has, again, as proved by Prof. Shastri with profuse instances, transgressed the established modes of usage in respect of compounds, cases, tenses, and of primary and secondary suffixes, and the prepositions which have in particular been used most indiscriminately. Certain other serious lapses, such as in *adyatanād ahnaḥ*, *anyatamo Mukundāt*, *nāhaṁ na yūyaṁ yadṛtāṁ gatiṁ viduḥ*, *ahaṁ tatare*, and *vinā te prāṇināṁ śucaḥ*, may even be taken to indicate that it was the work of an inferior hand. Some other lapses in the work, as pointed out in the article, are transgression of the natural order or sequence of words in a sentence, elliptical use of the language, tautology and the use of words in their deformed shape, which its poet has done for exigencies of metre.

Prof. Shastri has collected all these data and has examined them in a most scientific manner, and has eminently brought his profound scholarship of grammar to bear upon his thorough examination. His study of the language of this Purāṇa is important for reasons more than one. While it shows, on the one hand, the linguistic mannerisms of the Purāṇa writer, it tends to indicate on

1. Some words formed under these rules are *kalāpin* literally meaning 'feathered' but signifying 'the time of the rains in which the peacocks *develop their feather*', *naiśa* or *naiśika* literally meaning 'one who is used *to night*' but actually signifying 'one who is used *to studying at night*', and *vāsantika* literally meaning 'one who studies *the spring season*' but actually connoting 'one who studies *a poem on the spring season*'.

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the other hand the Purāṇa's relative modernity by bringing to the fore a number of usages which approximate to those current in modern vernaculars, particularly in Hindi. Some such cases specifically pointed out in the article are the use of the word *bhāvuka* to denote a person of poetic taste, the use of *punīta* for *pūta*, the employment of dative for the accusative in *pāpīyasī dhīr avijadevagobhyaḥ*, and the use of adjective for an adverb in *sā tajjugupsitaṁ matvā mahatī vrīḍitā tataḥ*.

Prof. Shastri has in another learned paper, captioned *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśaḥ*, studied the language of Bhaṭṭi, the author of the *Rāvaṇavadha*, a *kāvya* professedly written to illustrate the rules of grammar and poetics. The article deals with both the poetical and the grammatical aspects of this *kāvya*. The poetic beauty of the work has been brought out with apt quotations illustrating its exalted expression couched in the Vaidarbhī *rīti*. The chief interest of the article, however, lies in its thorough examination of the linguistico-grammatical aspect of the work. Bhaṭṭi has been taken to task in this article for some of his serious lapses in the form of the use of a number of words in their etymological but uncommon meanings in utter disregard for the established convention, inaccurate use of the prepositions, transgression at some places of the established usage, redundancy of words and, at times, elliptical use of the language. But still more serious lapse on the part of Bhaṭṭi, to which our attention has been drawn in this article as well as elsewhere[1] by Prof. Shastri, is the poet-grammarian's contravention of, or non-compliance with, the accepted interpretation of the rules of Pāṇini's grammar. He is, for instance, guilty of wrongly interpreting the *sūtra*, *chāyā bāhulye* (II. 4. 29), and using as a result thereof the word *āyudhacchāya* to mean 'abundance of weapons'. Some other *sūtras* wrongly exemplified by him evidently in consequence of an incorrect interpretation are I. 3.71; I.4.3; I. 4.39; II. 3.51; II. 3.54; III. 2.34; III. 3.4; III. 3.6; III. 3.31; III. 3.110; and III. 2.132. At places Bhaṭṭi has, it appears, deliberately contravened the traditional interpretation and has thus taken liberty with the *sūtras*, some of which are the following : *yamo gandhane* (I. 2.15); *upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe* (I. 3.56); *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca* (II. 1. 16); *karmaṇi dṛśividoḥ sākalye* (III. 4. 29); and *yathāmukhasaṁmukhasya darśanaḥ khaḥ* (V. 2. 6)[2]. Prof. Shastri has elaborately and in a lucid manner demonstrat-

1. Cp. *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya*, introductory verse 5.
2. See his article, *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśaḥ*, p. 230.

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ed in each case the inaccuracy of Bhaṭṭi's stand and has vigorously defended the traditional interpretation enshrined in the works of Patañjali and Vāmana and Jayāditya.

In another illuminating article, *Saṁskṛtavāgvyavahāraḥ*, Prof. Shastri has drawn our attention to the flagrant cases of erroneous usage noticed in the writings of the present-day Sanskrit scholars whom he would like to call *sāhasapriyas*. Many of these cases of erroneous usage move to an identical direction and hence appear to stem from a similar linguistic proclivity which can be well defined and analysed. Most of these may be attributed to the impact of the linguistic tendencies of the modern Indian vernaculars and to some extent of English also which is today for all practical purposes one of the Indian languages. The use of the ablative, instead of the accusative, to denote the duration of period of the gap that intervenes between the time of occurrence of a past event and the time of its description, which is a common practice with many of the Sanskrit writers today, is apparently due to the influence of the modern idioms. The coining of new words, such as *hārdika*, *pāraṁparika*, *āntarika*, *vaibhīṣika*, *vaiyañjanika* and *śāstrī* (for *śāsitrī*), is also attributable in numerous instances to the similar process observed in modern languages. The use of some old vocables, such as *dhārmika*, *upayukta*, *anurodha*, *viśva*, *svāgata* and *āvaśyakatā*, in newer meanings is due both to the semantic development taking place today in Hindi and other languages and to the user's ignorance of, and to some extent indifference to, the ancient specimens of their use and the subtleties of the grammatical rules operating in their case. A more deplorable anarchy reigns today in respect of the use of the *upasargas* with verbs or with verbal nouns and adjectives. Certain erroneous usages in the present-day Sanskrit, to which our attention has been invited, relate to the use of *pratyeka*, *jīvita*, *kṛte*, *cet*, *ud√car* (for *ud√car*, causative), and the suffix *tumun*. Some erroneous usages result from wrong notions about the general linguistic principles. One of such notions is that roots and the nouns developed from them have of necessity a semantic identity; and it is due to this notion that *prati+ud √tṛ*, *ā √śī*, and *ā √grah* are sometimes used today, on the strength of the nouns *pratyuttara*, *āśaya* and *āgraha*, to signify 'to reply', 'to mean' and 'to insist upon' respectively. Prof. Shastri has stamped such usages as wrong, and has elsewhere[1] quoted Nyāsakāra who has once remarked that *sam √khyā* is not used to mean 'to enumerate.'

1. See his article, *Bhaṭṭikāvyavimarśaḥ*, p. 230.

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One of his papers, written as early as 1928 and presented to the fifth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, attempts a critical study of Bhartṛhari with special reference to the *Vākyapadīya* and its commentaries. It dwells for the first time upon the questions (attending on the great grammarian and his work), namely, the name *Vākyapadīya* used with reference to the first two *kāṇḍas*, the lost portions of the text, Bhartṛhari's authorship of the commentaries on his own work, inter-relation between his *Vākyapadīya* and his commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, his religious faith, and his great commentators, Helārāja and Puṇyarāja. This fine article, one of the two written in English, formed the basis of his learned introduction in Sanskrit to the critical edition of the *Vākyapadīya* (first *kāṇḍa*), published in 1934.

Another article of his, written in chaste English and included in the D. A. V. College Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Jullundur, 1944), discusses a few salient features of Aryan culture in the light of language. These items relate to the Aryans' close association with water, their abhorrence even of a reference to the idea of sin, their genuine sincerity and amiability of habits, their utter distaste for miserliness, their reliance on omens and portents and particularly on bird-omens, their simple living and their food habits, their healthy attitude towards worldly possessions and their belief in the theory that all sufferings are confined to the senses alone and that the soul remains quite unaffected by them. Some of the words analysed for their cultural importance are *snātaka, abhiṣeka, niṣṇāta, nadīṣṇa, pāraga, uttara, anukūla, pratikūla, avadya, taskara, kṛpaṇa, śakuna, hṛdya, kuvinda, janaṁgama, divākīrti, bahuvrīhi, dhanya* and *duḥkha*.

The article *Vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti*, published recently in the *Saṁskṛta-ratnākara*, is an extended form of his study of the *kārakas*, appearing in an essay form in his *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī* (pp. 213-22). Amply reinforced with fresh matter, the article forms now a learned and an exhaustive study of the role of *vivakṣā* in the use of the *kārakas*.

One of Prof. Shastri's articles, published recently, namely, *Kavir Abhinandaḥ*, attempts a critical appraisal, from literary point of view, of the poet Abhinanda who wrote the poem *Rāmacarita* on the epic story of Rāma. The article brings out in an illuminating manner the merits of the poem in its exquisite use of the poetic figures, mostly ideal, and its successful employment of the poetic diction characterised by perspicuity, sweetness and elegance and

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above all in its profundity of thought and fine delineation of sentiments.

Some other articles written by Prof. Shastri are *Kiṁnibandhanā puṇyapāpayor vyavasthā*, *Viśvavidyālaye'dhyāpanavidhiḥ*, *Dayārdracetāḥ Śrīlājapataḥ* and *Kiṁsvid Vedāḥ pauruṣeyā utāpauruṣeyāḥ*.

One aspect of Prof. Shastri's writings, particularly those in Sanskrit, needs a separate mention, and this relates to the employment of language and diction in them. Prof. Shastri's language, it may justly be said, is consciously chaste and is of strikingly uniform standard throughout. There is indeed very little change in the pattern and the level of his language since 1930 when he published his first Sanskrit work. This uniform pattern and the standard in his use of the language, however, is by no means a sign of stagnancy; it is instead an indication of his characteristic love for maintaining a level and his great concern for purity of speech. There is, however, much evidence, in his writings, of gradual development in the forcefulness and communicability of his language and in particular in his diction and style which have during these years passed on from the pedantic to the rhetoric and, again, from the latter to the elegant and the aesthetic. We can at once observe this gradual growth to maturity in his diction and style if we just perch on his writings of different periods. A few passages from his works representing different stages of his Sanskrit writing are given below to enable the reader to spot out for himself both the uniform level of his language and his steady journey to maturity of diction and style :

१. नगरसंरावरहितेऽकृतकरामणीयकनिधाने कस्मिंश्चिद्ग्रामे भरतवर्षीयैः संवसन्नहमभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसयोरनुगुणं किमपि कर्म कुर्यामिति चिररात्रायोदकण्ठत श्रीमोहनः। अतो डरबनाधिष्ठानस्य नातिदूरे कृषिप्रधानां वसतिमेकां प्राकल्पयत्। तत्र भरतभूमिजैराङ्गलैश्च कैश्चित्सुहृद्भिः संवस्तुमारभत।

(From *Gāndhicarita*, 1930, p. 31)

२. सकलशास्त्रपारावारपारीणः प्रबुद्धो वागात्मनि ब्रह्मणि महामना महामहिमा तत्रभवान् भर्तृहरिर्वेदान्वयि कृत्स्नं प्रत्नं ग्रन्थरत्नं यथावदर्थतोऽग्रहीष्टेति मुक्तसंशयं समुपलभन्ते तद्ग्रन्थेषु पठितिनः। परिचिन्वन्ति चास्यासाधारणीं प्रयोगनैपुणीम्। संस्तुवन्ति च साधीयोऽस्य शिष्टविशिष्टतार्हन्तीम्। कल्पयन्ति च निर्विकल्पमस्य ऋषिकल्पताम्। अवस्यन्ति च संहितादिषु शब्दार्थसंबन्धेषु यथायमभ्यन्तरो न तथेतरे बहव इति।

(From *Vākyapadīya*, 1934, intro., pp. 4-5)

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३. 'हीरोशीमिये' ति प्रख्यातं पुटभेदनं तथा न्यक्षेणोज्जासितमभूद्यथा नात्र पुरा कदाचिदधिष्ठानं किमप्यासीदिति जायते प्रतीतिः। समतलापि भूरुत्खातिनी समजनि, निरुदका च सोदका, पुलिनवती च स्रोतस्वती। निर्दग्धानि राजसदनानि। संहृतानि हर्म्याणि। कषितानि कुटीराणि। भस्मावशेषतां च गतानि तरुलतानिकुरम्बाणि। .....किं बहुना? भूकम्पेनाप्लावेन वा न तथा ज्यानिर्जीवलोकस्य कदाचिदजनि यथानेनास्त्रेण नूत्नेन संस्कारातिशयविस्मितैरमेरिकास्थैः प्रयुक्तेन।

(From *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*, 1951, p. 184)

४. इह क्वचिद् धातोरर्थ एव न निरदेशि, यथा कगे नोच्यते इत्यत्र। तत्कस्मादिति। कश्चिदाह—तस्य क्रियासामान्यमेवार्थ इति नार्थस्तदर्थन्यासेन। तदापातरमणीयम्। यद्येवमसंदेहायैव कगे करणे क्रियासामान्ये वेति ब्रूयात्। अपर आह—अनेकोऽस्यार्थ इति नार्थस्तदर्थभूम्नो निवेशेनायासकेन। तदप्यपरीक्षितावदातम्। यदि नामावेरेकोनविंशतिरर्थाः शक्या निर्देष्टुमायासेन चात्मा योक्तुं तदा प्रकृते तत्परीहारः कथमुपपत्तिमान्त्स्यात्? किं च, कलिवली कामधेनू इति वैयाकरणनिकाये प्रथते प्रवादः, तथाप्युक्त एव कलेरर्थो बलेश्चेति सर्वथात्रास्यावचनं वचनीयमेव।

(From the article, *Pāṇinīye Dhātupāṭhe'rthanirdeśaḥ*, 1957, p. 79)

५. उपसर्गविषये व्यवहारं परिच्छिन्दन् सूत्रकारो महदुपकरोति लोकस्य। अद्यत्वे प्रायेण वहेः केवलस्य योऽर्थो धारणलक्षणः स एवाङ्पूर्वस्येति प्रतिपन्नाः प्रतिपत्तारः प्रतिपादयितारश्च व्यवहारमाकुलयन्ति। 'तद्धरतिवहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्यः' इति सूत्रे वहतिना सहचरितमावहति प्रयुञ्जान आचार्यः परिचाययति पृथगर्थावेताविति नैकत्रार्थे प्रयोगमर्हत इति। वहत्युत्क्षिप्य धारयति, आवहत्युत्पादयतीत्यर्थ इति हि तयोर्विवेकः।

(From the article, *Pāṇinīyāṣṭake kāścid vyavahāradiśaḥ*, 1967, pp. 108-9)

६. इदं तावदभ्युपेयं महानस्य भारः कवेः। यातयामोऽस्याख्येयोऽर्थः। पुराणमिदमाख्यानं रामायणं नाम। रामाधिकरणेयं कथादौ मुनिपुङ्गवेन वाचि प्रमाणभूतेन भगवता वल्मीकभवेनोपनिबद्धा, ततः शब्दवित्तमेन भगवता व्यासेनोपाख्याता, ततश्च कविसार्वभौमेन तत्रभवता कालिदासेनानूदिता। एवमसकृदुदितपूर्वाया अस्याः कथायाः पुनर्निबन्धनं यश्चिकीर्षति पौनरुक्त्यप्रसञ्जितं नैरस्यं वैरस्यं च परिजिहीर्षति स दुष्करं करोति।

(From the article, *Kavir Abhinandaḥ*, 1971, p. 67)

This rapid survey of the creative and critical writings of Prof. Charu Deva Shastri may give us an idea of the tremendous work he has done in the field of Sanskrit language and literature, and in particular of Sanskrit grammar. He has given us, through his rich contributions in the arena of Sanskrit grammar, a new think-

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ing and a fresh outlook to enable us to view and to appreciate in the right perspective the magnificent edifice of the great grammar of a great language. He has eminently drawn our attention to the close relation that existed between a language and its grammar. His great emphasis on the correct use of the language does not mean the imposing of unnecessary restrictions on its user; it only aims at standardising its use and at checking the anarchy in it which evidently results both in confusion and falling standards. Prof. Shastri would, of course, give due importance to the common users of a language, but would never perhaps agree to leaving it to their care alone.

What impresses us most in this devoted son of Sarasvatī is his diligent and continuous service to her with assiduous mind and unfading zeal. His deep understanding of the most intricate problems of the Sanskrit grammar as well as their constant retention in mind is simply amazing. This unique *siddhi* of his is combined with a very rare phenomenon of a thoroughly scientific outlook towards the linguistic studies of today with a pointed accent on studying a language and its grammar with a close reference to the linguistic usage in current life and literature. His creative writings most competently follow the classical model of the linguistic usage in Sanskrit and eminently set the standard for the younger aspirants in the field.

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VEDIC
AND
IRANIAN STUDIES

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APROPOS OF ṚGVEDA II. 1.1[a]

V. M. Apte

§ 1 From among the many problems that an interpreter of the *Ṛgveda* has to grapple with, a few rather difficult ones are :— (i) the peculiarities of the syntax and style of the *Ṛgveda*, which raise doubts about the sentence-construction (in the mind of the poet), in a particular *Pāda* or stanza; (ii) the difficulty of determining the exact sense of a key-word, in the particular context, in which it is embedded in a stanza; (iii) and the problem of explaining the grammatical structure of a word, which though *apparently* composite in structure is not analysed in the Pada-pāṭha. As just these three problems have to be tackled in the exposition of the first *Pāda* of the stanza : II.1.1, it is taken up here, for illustrating the nature and scope of such an inquiry.

In order that the problems presented by this first Pāda may be viewed in proper perspective, it is essential, *first*, to set before the reader, not only the text but also the translation of the whole stanza, *anticipating in a way, the conclusions reached in the investigation*, regarding this *Pāda*.

सं० पा० त्वमग्ने द्युभिस्त्वमाशुशुक्षणिस्त्वमद्भ्यस्त्वमश्मनस्परि ।
त्वं वनेभ्यस्त्वमोषधीभ्यस्त्वं नृणां नृपते जायसे शुचिः ॥१॥

प० पा० त्वम् । अग्ने । द्युऽभिः । त्वम् । आशुशुक्षणिः ।
त्वम् । अत्ऽभ्यः । त्वम् । अश्मनः । परि ।
त्वम् । वनेभ्यः । त्वम् । ओषधीभ्यः ।
त्वम् । नृणाम् । नृऽपते । जायसे । शुचिः ॥१॥

§ 2 **Translation** :—(a) "Thou, O Agni, (art born) day after day; thou (art born as) the resplendent One; (b) thou (art born) from the Waters, thou from the Stone; (c) thou (art born) from the trees, thou from the plants; (d) thou, O Lord of men, (in the interests) of men, art born bright."

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§ 3 Quite a few syntactic and stylistic peculiarities are met with in this stanza! The verb *jāyase* occurs but once in the stanza and that too, in the last *Pāda*, being related, not only to the subject *tvám* in the same *Pāda* but also obviously, to the *tvám* repeated twice, in each of the first three *Pādas*. There is no difficulty in construing *jāyase* with the *tvám* repeated twice in each of the second and third *Pādas*, but in the case of the first *Pāda*, there is uncertainty about the manner in which this verb should be construed with its two '*tvám*'*s* and this gives rise to more than one possible constructions of this *Pāda*.

§ 4 The possible alternative constructions of this *Pāda*, thus are :—

(i) (हे) अग्ने त्वं द्युभिः (जायसे)। त्वम् आशुशुक्षणिः (जायसे)।

This construction conforms to the expectation raised by the second and third *Pādas* that *jāyase* should be taken as understood uniformly with every *tvám*, in the other *Pādas*. The second sentence has, besides, a parallel in the analogous description, in the last *Pāda*, namely त्वं शुचिः जायसे।

(ii) (हे) अग्ने त्वं द्युभिः (जायसे)। त्वम् आशुशुक्षणिः (भवसि)।

Here आशुशुक्षणिः is a predicative adjective with *bhū* or *as* to be supplied. There is here a *prakrama-bhaṅga*, namely that we have *bhavasi* instead of the expected *jāyase*.

(iii) त्वम् आशुशुक्षणिः (सन्), [हे] अग्ने त्वं द्युभिः (जायसे)।

In this third alternative construction, one *tvám* is superfluous but the superfluity is perhaps, understandable as a feature of that peculiar stylistic trait of the *Ṛgveda*, which manifests itself, in the frequent repetition of *tvám*, in this verse, as well as in verses 3 to 7 and 10-12 of this hymn.

§ 5 We now turn to the second problem, namely, the determination of the exact sense of *dyúbhiḥ*, in the particular context of this verse :—I. Oldenberg (SBE: 46) believes "that *tvám* which is so frequently repeated through this verse and through the next verses has been put here, in the wrong place", and that "We should read : *dyúbhyaḥ á śuśukṣáṇiḥ*." He translates the first *Pāda* so emended, thus : "Thou, O Agni, the flaming One (art born) from out the Heavens." This seems to be the view of Macdonell also when he says (*Vedic Mythology* : p. 94) *on the authority of this very verse* (*II. 1.1*): (Agni) "is said to be born

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from the heavens, the Waters, Stone, woods and plants." There are two snags here : (i) When Agni is described as born from heaven [X. 45. 1a : *divás pári...jajñe*], as dwelling in heaven [III. 2.13.6 : *diví* kṣ.yam], as shining in heaven [VIII. 44.29c: *dīdáyasi dyávi*] or as brought from heaven [I.93.6a: *dnyáṁ divo mātariśvā jabhāra*], the word for heaven : *dív* or *dyú is invariably used in the singular* and *never in the plural.* (ii) The other snag is the Instrumental : *dyúbhiḥ*, which ill suits *jāyase* and is (probably therefore ?) sought to be emended into the Dative by Oldenberg. The conclusion is thus unavoidable that although 'heaven' is beyond dispute, the well-known meaning of *dív* or *dyú*, the Instrumental plural of the word : *dyúbhiḥ* can hardly mean "from the Heavens" in the particular context of this stanza. II. The meaning of *dyú*, as 'day', and of '*dyúbhiḥ*' as 'day by day' or 'day after day' is well-established in the *Ṛgveda* (as conceded by Oldenberg in his *Noten*). See, for example V.16.2; X.3.3;7.5; I. 34.8; 112.25; III.3.2; 31.16 and other passages. III. Grassmann (in his *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*) gives the meaning 'light, brightness or flame' for *dív, dyú, dyó, only in the form 'dyúbhiḥ, in our passage and in seven other passages* but neither Oldenberg nor Geldner favours this meaning for any of these passages and Macdonell (in his *Vedic Grammar for students*) makes the emphatic statement (P.85, F.N.3) that the two forms : *dyūn* and *dyúbhiḥ*, which occur only in the *Ṛgveda* or in passages borrowed from it, always mean 'days'. We take up next the third problem.

§ 6 *āśuśukṣáṇiḥ* : This word which certainly looks as if it has a composite structure and consists of more than one part or element is *not analysed in the Padapāṭha* probably because of the obscurity of the formation of the word, it being uncertain as to whether the first part is to be demarcated at *ā* or at *āśu*. Thus Yāska's *Nirukta* (IV. 1) gives *two* alternate analyses :— (i) " आशु शुचा क्षणोतीति वा, सनोतीति वा ।" lit. 'One destroying quickly with the heat' or 'One bestowing quickly with the heat.' Dr. Siddheshwar Varma in his *The Etymologies of Yāska* [=SVEY] has the following pertinent comment (p.95) to offer on this analysis: "Here an additional क्षणि has been supposed out of क्ष्", as this is a type of etymology which (according to SVEY) reads even single letters as condensed words. (ii) "आ इत्याकार उपसर्गः पुरस्तात्, चिकीर्षितजः (Desiderative) उत्तरः । आ शुशोचयिषुरिति ।" i.e. "willing or eager to burn". The SVEY comment on this (p. 127) is :—"With this derivation,

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however, the structure of the word with the suffix-अनि-remains unexplained." A similar but more detailed explanation is given by Sāyaṇa ; "आ सर्वतो दीप्यमानो भवसि । आङ्युपपदे 'शुच दीप्तौ' इत्येतस्य सन्नन्तस्य छान्दसमिदं रूपम् । यद्वा । आशु शीघ्रं शुच् दीप्तः सन् यतः संसेव्यते इति । आशु शुचं शोकं सनोति ददाति शत्रुभ्यो दाहादिना इत्याशुशुक्षणिः ।" Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar* (p.112) explains the word-formation as : "ā—śuśukṣ—áṇi—'gleaming forth' (śuc-shine)" i.e. as a Primary Nominal Derivative, with the suffix-*ani* forming an agent noun from the Desiderative stem : *śuśukṣ* from *śuc*. This is also the opinion of Geldner [*übersetzung : Erster Teil*, p. 275] who affirms that a derivation from *ā—śuṣ* is hardly likely. Grassmann [*Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*] similarly explains it as from the Desiderative of *śuc* with *ā*. And this (we believe) is the most plausible explanation.

§ 7. Finally, the different translations of the *first Pāda* according to the three possible alternative constructions of it, as set forth above (in Paragraph 4) may now be arranged in the order of their appropriateness (as judged by us), as follows :—(i) "Thou, O Agni, (art born) day after day; thou (art born) the resplendent One" (1st construction). (ii) "Thou, O Agni, (art born) day after day; thou becomest the resplendent one" (2nd construction). (iii) "Thou, the resplendent One, O Agni, thou (art born) day after day" (3rd construction).

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SOME INDICATIONS OF HETERODOXY IN THE VEDAS

VISHVA BANDHU

While it is true that, in the main, the texture of the Vedas was woven on a rituo-theosophic pattern, there are observable quite a number of references therein which point to the contemporary prevalence, side by side, of such other views, also, as have, subsequently, been dubbed heterodox. Thus the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 3.9; 6.18) included among the worshippers of the Vedic gods the *Yatis* and *Bhṛgus* who, in contrast to the usual house-holder type of the priestly class, seem to have been the precursors of the recluses and mendicants of later days, variously known as *Sannyāsins*, *Śramaṇas*, *Svāmins*, *Santas*, *Bhikṣus*, *Munis* and *Tāpasas*. It was quite familiar (X.136.2) with the *Munis* who could live on air (*vātaraśanāḥ*) and who wore long hair (*kéśa*) and put on (*vasate*) yellow (*piśaṅga*) robes (*málā*). The *Atharvaveda* (*AV.*) (VIII. 6. 17) also knew these ascetics quite well. It (XVIII. 2. 47) recognised the *Agrus* as well who although they did not at all take to family life, which alone by virtue of being entitled to sacrificial performances could lead to the attainment of Heaven (*svargá*), yet succeeded in earning that reward through their life-long practice of self-mortification ([√*śram*>] *śaśamānāḥ*) and harmlessness (*hitvā dvéṣāṁsi*). Indeed, the gods, it was held, would not befriend one who shirked hard life of endurance (*śrāntá*) and, evidently, Indra was a friend of the *Munis* because they practised austerity and penance (*ṚV.* I. 179. 3; IV. 33. 11; VIII. 17.14). Even He Himself had won the Heaven (*Svàḥ*) by practising penance (*tápas*) which was recognised also as a cosmic force (*ṚV.* X.129. 3; 167.1; 183.1; 190.1). It was held that it could induce in whoever practised it miraculous powers of control over the elements and the working of the natural phenomena (*ṚV.* X.72.7; *SV.* II.304; *AV.* I.32.2). II.5.3.).

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Evidently, during that earliest period of the dawn of civilisation and culture in India, pursuits of penance (*tápas*) and sacrificial worship (*Yajñá*) went hand in hand with and were regarded as complementary to each other. Thus, *Kenopaniṣad* (4.8) described penance (*tápas*) and self-control (*dama*) together with the performance (*karman*) of ritual and other obligatory duties in life as the foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of esoteric knowledge. The Upaniṣad here just summarized what the *ṚV.* (X. 145. 1-5) had already described, at length, with its own poetic imagery.

The *ṚV.* (II. 12. 5), however, indicates that even in that remote past, there were some, probably, among the *Yati*-type people, who having started thinking too much of the wonders that they themselves could work, had scoffed at the Vedic gods, belittled their position and denounced their worship and, naturally, thereby invited the wrath of Indra who threw them out as food to wild animals (*TS.* VI. 2.7.5). The *AV.* (XIX. 41. 1) in stating that penance (*tápas*) and initiation (*dīkṣā*) into and practice of the way of life connected therewith was the prime force which generated all temporal and other power even to the extent of subjugation of the gods, was apparently speaking out the mind of those dissenters.

Long before Gautama the Buddha (563-483 B.C) and his somewhat senior contemporary, Vardhamāna the Mahāvīra appeared on the scene, the advocates and adherents of the above-mentioned various ways of religious life and the associated systems of metaphysical, ethical and other philosophical thinking had already ramified into and established themselves as numerous sects, with their distinct orders of monks living in monasteries spread all over the country. The Buddhist work *Brahmajālasutta* alludes to the presence of sixty-three sects at the time of the Buddha. The Jain tradition mentions as many as three hundred and sixty-three parallel sects that were current at that remarkable period in Indian history which will ever remain memorable for its wonderful ferment in the religious and social notions of the people.

The prevalence of out and out materialistic notions dated from the earliest days of the growth of the Vedic literature as indicated in its several sections, notably, the Saṃhitās and the Upaniṣads. Among the materialistic ideologies, the Doctrine of Chance (*Yadṛcchā-vāda*) denied the presence of any orderly scheme in the universe, and the Doctrine of Naturalism (*Svabhāva-vāda*) traced all phenomena to their intrinsic nature, independently of any other external influence which according to it there was none. These and other kindred schools, of which there was a great

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number, were generically called Lokāyatas because they refused to extend their faith to anything else beyond this visible world (*loka*) and this death-bound existence. They did not believe in any law of retribution (*Karmavāda*) functioning beyond the pyre nor had they any faith in a previous birth.

Pāṇini (VI. 4. 60 and V. 1. 124, 128) and his commentator Patañjali, probably, taking their cue from *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (1. 2. 6), defined the term *āstika* as one who believed (*mati*) in the existence (*asti*) of the other world (*paraloka*) and, of course, in the operation of the *Law of Karma* as controlling the intercourse between the two worlds, and the term *nāstika* as the opposite of him. Accordingly, it is quite understandable why the people of *Lokāyata* persuasion came to be referred to as *Nāstikas* in the *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras* as well as in the Buddhist and Jain traditions. But that both of these latter persuasions, too, even though they admitted the *Law of Karma* with its factual corollaries of the ethical basis of the life here and here-after and, also, *Mokṣa*, in one form or another, as *summum bonum* of life should have been dubbed *nāstikas* by the Brāhmaṇas needs some clarification.

It is true that in the matter of some metaphysical postulations, for instance, those concerned with the admission or denial of the universal self (*Brahman*) and the personal self (*Ātman*), there were important differences of opinion between the Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy on the one hand and the Buddhists and the Jains on the other. But this by itself could not fully explain the situation because the said metaphysical problems had been held and mutually tolerated without these having ever led to a serious rift in their ranks. It seems that the real explanation lay in the rejection by the Buddhists and the Jains of the authority of the Vedas, the hierarchy of caste (*varṇa*) with the Brāhmaṇa at its top and obligation to perform Vedic sacrifice (*Yajña*) which was the chief source of livelihood to the Brāhmaṇa. Thereby, in effect, they created two independent, self-contained communities in which the Brāhmaṇa had no place and no part to play. Any accession to the numbers that joined these communities would naturally mean a corresponding loss, moral as well as material, to the Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, no wonder, that in sheer self-defence he took up cudgels against these communities and gave them the bad name of *nāstikas* to deter his wavering followers from crossing over to them. Of course, the latter also retaliated by calling the Brāhmaṇas and their followers by similar nicknames.

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE UPANIṢADS TOWARDS SACRIFICES

VISHNU PRASAD BHATT

In the age of the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest available monument of the Vedic Aryans in the literatures of the world, one notices clearly that the object of devotion was the gods. It was believed that the power of bestowing benefits on mankind lay only in their hands. Sacrifice, in those days, was one of the means of influencing their will in favour of the offerer. In the age of the *Yajurveda* the belief underwent a great change. In this age sacrifice itself had become the centre of thought and desire. Its correct performance in every detail became all the more important. Its power was considered to be so great that it not only influenced, but compelled the gods to act according to the will of the priest. In the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* sacrifice was believed to be omnipotent. They were essentially connected with the doctrine of the sacrifice. The sacrifice clearly occupied the minds of the priests to the practical exclusion of everything else, and their theories were in a large measure concerned with the consideration of its relation to the universe, to the gods, and to men. This stream of sacrifice also flowed down to the *Upaniṣads*. A little change, however, which may be called progress or development, may very easily be seen in their attitude. This bewildered some modern Vedic research scholars and made them think and argue in not a very convincing way. The change noticed in the *Upaniṣads* is nothing but the elaborated philosophy of the *Ātman*. Here, it should not be forgotten that the seeds of this Upaniṣadic *Ātman* philosophy have already been sown in the *Vedas*. The *Upaniṣads* elaborated them only. After having taken the essential philosophic thought from the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads* made a progress or a development. They now began to ponder over the Supreme Reality and, the Upaniṣadic seers came forward with their bold speculations about the *Brahman* which appeared to them to be omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent.

This change, which is actually an advance upon those

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philosophical thoughts available in the *Saṁhitās* of the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, led some occidental as well as Indian Vedic scholars to observe that the seers of the *Upaniṣads* lost their faith in the efficacy of *Karmakāṇḍa* of the *Brāhmaṇas* and consequently they raised their strong protest against its performance. They assert that the *Upaniṣads* are antagonistic to the sacrificial doctrine of the *Brāhmaṇas*. They (*Upaniṣads*) represent a new religion which is in virtual opposition to the ritual of a practical nature. In short, according to some scholars the *Upaniṣads* represent out and out *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* and the *Brāhmaṇas* represent *Karmakāṇḍa*. And, the *Upaniṣads* mainly concerned with *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* breathe a spirit which is in opposition to that seen in the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The position may be expressed precisely in the following manner :—

There now arises an important problem whether the *Upaniṣads* put forth an idea of disbelief in the efficacy of the institution of the Sacrifices and, therefore, raise a protest against their performance.

With regard to this problem there are two contradictory opinions. A number of scholars, Western as well as Indian, have expressed their opinion that the *Upaniṣads* are a kind of revolution against the institution of sacrifices. To them, the *Upaniṣads*, indeed, disbelieve in the efficacy of the sacrifices and consequently they raise their protest against the performance of sacrifices. According to others the *Upaniṣads* do not at all put forth any idea against the performance of the sacrifices. They are not a reaction to what is preached by the *Vedas*. They rightly believe in the efficacy of the sacrifices. Western scholars like Deussen, Macdonell, Winternitz, Hume and Indian scholars like Ranade, Dasgupta, Mookerji hold the first opinion stated above and Chattopadhyaya, Kapali Sastry, etc., the other. Deussen[1] emphatically asserts that the *Upaniṣads* are "fundamentally opposed to the Vedic cult of ritual." Almost the same is corroborated by Macdonell, who observes, "Though the Upaniṣads generally form a part of the Brāhmaṇas, being a continuation of their speculative side (*Jñāna-kāṇḍa*), they really represent a new religion, which is in virtual opposition to the ritual or practical side (*Karmakāṇḍa*)."

1. Deussen, P., *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*; Tr. by Geden, A. S.; Edinburgh : 1908; p. 21.

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Macdonell further observes, "Their aim is no longer the obtainment of earthly happiness and afterwards bliss in the abode of Yama by sacrificing correctly to the gods, but release from mundane existence by the absorption of the individual soul in the world-soul through correct knowledge. Here, therefore, the sacrificial ceremonial has become useless and speculative knowledge all-important."[1] Winternitz[2] avers, "While, then, the Brahmans were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upaniṣads. From these circles, which originally were not connected with the priestly caste, proceeded the forest-hermits and wandering ascetics, who not only renounced the world and its pleasures, but also kept aloof from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmans." Hume[3] puts forth his opinion as follows: "The whole religious doctrine of different gods and of the necessity of sacrificing to the gods is seen to be a stupendous fraud by the man who has acquired metaphysical knowledge of the monistic unity of self and of the world in Brahman or Ātman." Ranade[4] emphatically states, "The spirit of the Upanishads is, on the other hand, barring a few exceptions here and there, entirely antagonistic to the sacrificial doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas." Radhakrishnan[5] makes an observation similar to the view held by the scholars of Vedic literature. He opines, "The Upaniṣads are regarded as a class of literature independent of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas.... They attempt to moralise the religion of the Vedas without disturbing its form. The advance of the Upaniṣads on the Vedas consists in an increased emphasis on the monistic suggestions of the Vedic hymns, a shifting of the centre from the outer to the inner world, a protest against the externalism of the Vedic practices and an indifference to the sacredness of the Veda." Mookerji[6] holds, "Indeed, the Upaniṣads really expound a new religion which is opposed to sacrificial ceremonial." Hiriyanna[7]

1. Macdonell, A. A.; *A History of Sanskrit Literature;* Delhi; 1961; p. 220.
2. Winternitz, M; *A History of Indian Literature*; Vol. I, Part I; Tr. by Mrs. Ketkar, S.; University of Calcutta; 1962; pp. 201-2.
3. Hume, R. E.; *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads;* London (Oxford); 1962; p. 53.
4. Ranade, R. D; *A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*; Poona; 1926; p. 6.
5. Radhakrishnan, S ; *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*; London; 1935; pp. 19, 20.
6. Mookerji, R. K.; *Hindu Civilisation*; Part I; Bombay, 1963; p. 117.
7. Hiriyanna, M.; *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*; London, 1964; p. 48.

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propounds, "Primarily they (Upaniṣads) represent a spirit different from and even hostile to, ritual and embody a theory of the universe quite distinct from the one that underlies the sacrificial teaching of the Brāhmaṇas." Anjaneyulu[1] is firmly of the opinion that, "Upaniṣads questioned the authority of the Vedas and attacked the theory of sacrifice."

On the other hand, B. K. Chattopadhyaya[2] is of the opinion that the *Upaniṣads* "have confirmed the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices." He takes the Western scholars as well as Indian scholars who propagate the theory contrary to his opinion, to task. He regrets that some Indian scholars have also blindly followed the Western scholars who virtually were ignorant of the Vedic tradition, and consequently have misunderstood the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Chattopadhyaya[3] raises his voice in the following words :—"Western scholars who are unfamiliar with the Vedic tradition may be pardoned for having misunderstood the Vedas. But it is a matter of great regret that many prominent modern scholars of India, following no doubt the lead of the Western scholars, have made the same mistake in such a fundamental matter." M.P. Pandit[4] observes, "The Upaniṣads are not the result of revolt against the Veda but they represent a fragment of the cumulative knowledge of profound truths perceived and lived by the Vedantic seers."

It has, therefore, become necessary to determine the character of the Upaniṣadic texts and, to examine the contradictory views to see which is nearer the truth. An examination, therefore, of both the views is taken up here.

AN EVALUATION OF THE VIEWS

The assertion of the scholars, Deussen, Macdonell, Hume, Mookerji etc. that the authors of the *Upaniṣads* lost their faith in the efficacy of the sacrifices cannot be held to be entirely true. It may be said to be a lopsided opinion, for one who goes to the *Upaniṣads* and dives to the depth of their philosophy, will

1. Anjaneyulu, M. S. R.; *"The Buddha and Upaniṣadic Thought"; Prāci Jyoti*; Vol. 6 (2); Kurukshetra University; June, 1968; p. 125.
2. Chattopadhyaya, B. K.; *The teachings of the Upaniṣads*; Calcutta; 1952; p. 28.
3. Chattopadhyaya; *op. cit* ; p. 38.
4. Pandit, M. P.; *"The Upaniṣads : "Need for a New Approach"; Sri Aurobindo Mandir Annual*; Jayanti No. 10; 15th August, 1951; pp. 138-39.

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undoubtedly come across several references on several occasions to the performance of sacrifices in them. *Upaniṣads* in general and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* in particular contain a number of statements on the strength of which one may very well arrive at the conclusion that during that Upaniṣadic period the performance of the sacrifices was in vogue. It was prevailing in those days. In order to obtain desired objects sacrifices were performed. In the court of Janaka, the king of Videha, there takes place a big disputation among the Vedic scholars to achieve the title or reputation of the knower of Brahman (*Brahmiṣṭha*) and consequently to be an award-winner of thousand cows, whose horns were adorned with gold. Bhujyu, the grandson of Lahya asks Yājñavalkya : "Where do the performers of the horse-sacrifice go ?" Yājñavalkya's reply is : "Thirty-two-times the space covered by the sun's chariot in a day makes this world".[1] Similarly an unambiguous statement is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] where the king of Videha, Janaka performs sacrifice wherein gifts are freely distributed and Vedic scholars from Kuru and Pañcāla assemble. Again, mention is made of one who offers libations in the fire and performs sacrifices, and who becomes a support to the gods : *Sa (gṛhī) yajjuhoti, yad yajate, tena devānāṁ lokaḥ* (*Bṛ. Up.* 1.4.16).

There is no paucity of references to the performance of the sacrifices. Prajāpati has been said to have produced sacrifices.[3] Again, it is expressly stated that Prajāpati desired to perform a great sacrifice.[4] It is important to note that when the proud *Brāhmaṇa* Bālāki asks Yājñavalkya, *Katamo yajña iti*, the reply is given *paśava iti* (*ibid.* 3.8.6.). It becomes clear from this answer of Yājñavalkya that in the sacrifices animals were killed as victims. Śaṅkara says that the animals are the means of

1. *Bṛ. Up.* 3.3.2 :—*kva nu aśvamedhayājino gacchanti iti; dvātriṁśataṁ vai devarathāhnyānyayaṁ lokaḥ.*
2. *Ibid.*, 3.1.1. *Janako ha vaideho bahudakṣiṇena yajñeneje; tatra ha Kurupāñcālānāṁ brāhmaṇā abhisametā babhūvuḥ.* Śaṅkarācārya, here, comments that the word *bahudakṣiṇā* hints at the *Aśvamedha-yajña*. It is *Aśvamedha-yajña* only in which *bahudakṣiṇā* is given. The same is to be justified by the accounts given by *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (II. 34.36) which precisely says *Janakasya aśvamedhe*. The same is found corroborated by *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (60.33) also.
3. *Ibid.*, 1.2.5. *sa...sarvam asjata...ṛco yajūṁṣi sāmāni chandāṁsi yajñān prajāḥ paśūn.*
4. *Ibid.*, 1·2.6. *sa akāmayata bhūyasā yajñena bh yo yajeya iti.*

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sacrifices—*yajñasya hi sādhanāni paśavaḥ*. He further endeavours to show why animals have been called *yajña* : *yajñasya arūpatvāt paśu-sādhanāśrayatvāt ca paśavo yajña iti ucyate* (*Bṛ. Up.* 3.9.6.). *Aśva* frequently has been referred to as being 'fit for a sacrifice', i.e;, *medhya* in the *Bṛ. Up.* (1.2.7.).[1] In addition to allusions stated above there is a mention of the New-moon (*ibid.*, 1.5.2.) and Full-moon (*ibid.*, 1.5.2) sacrifices. Besides these references, a special mention is found made of *Iṣṭi* sacrifice (*ibid.*, 1.5.2) where it is explicitly stated that one should not be chiefly occupied with the *Iṣṭi* sacrifice for material results : *Neṣṭiyājukaḥ syāt* (*ibid.*, 1.5.2). Śaṅkarācārya understands *Iṣṭi* to mean *Kāmyeṣṭi* sacrifice with material ends. He quotes supporting evidence as follows :— "this is well known from the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.3.5.10)". All this undoubtedly indicates the prevalence of the Sacrifices during the age of the *Upaniṣads*.

One will find a specific mention of the names of the sacrificial utensils and their procedure and their *Viniyoga* in the *Upaniṣads*. *Hotṛ* Aśvala questions Yājñavalkya, "How many kinds of oblations will the *Adhvaryu* offer in this sacrifice today ?" 'Three', replied Yājñavalkya. 'Which are those three ?' 'Those that blaze up on being offered, those that make a great noise, and those that sink.' 'What does the performer win through them ?' 'Through those that blaze up on being offered he wins the world of the gods, for this world shines, as it were. Through those that make a great noise he wins the world of the Manes, for this world is full of uproar. And through those that sink he wins the human world, for this world is lower (*ibid.*, 3.1.8).'

Once again, the same sage Yājñavalkya is asked by *Hotṛ* Aśvala : 'How many classes of hymns will the *Udgātṛ* chant in this sacrifice to-day?' 'Three classes' (came the answer). 'Which are those three ?' 'The preliminary, the sacrificial, and the eulogistic hymns as the third'. 'Which are those that have reference to the body ?' 'The *Prāṇa* is the preliminary hymn, the *Apāna* is the sacrificial hymn, and the *Vyāna* is the eulogistic hymn.' 'What does he win through them ?' 'Through the preliminary hymns he wins the earth, through the sacrificial hymns he wins the sky, and through the eulogistic hymns he wins heaven (*ibid.*, 3.1.10)'.

The god Yama is said to be seated (*pratiṣṭhita*) in the midst of the sacrifice (*ibid.*, 3.9.21). Again, mention is made of a sacrifice

1. In this verse *Aśva* has been pronounced *medhya* a number of times.

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created by the Death (*ibid.*, 1.2.5). The references to the *Darśapūrṇamāsayajña* (*Bṛ.Up* 1.5.2.), *Rājasūya-yajña* (*ibid.*, 1.4.11) undoubtedly lead one to the conclusion that during the Upaniṣadic period sacrifices were performed, though not to the same extent as in the Vedic days, in order to enjoy the desired objects. The fact that the people entertained a desire for a sweet-toned-priest[1] obviously leads one to believe that during the period of the *Upaniṣads* sacrifices were performed. Mention is found there of a sacrifice which one who wishes to attain greatness should perform on an auspicious day in a fortnight in which the moon waxes, and under a male constellation, during the northward march of the sun. All the details have been given here (*ibid.*,6.2.15). Another sacrifice one comes across is that which the gods in order to overcome the demons perform by means of *Udgītha* (*ibid.*,1.3.1).

A most striking and important point which is often forgotten is that there is a clear mention that by means of sacrifices one can have a realisation of *Brahman*, the Absolute. The sacrifices purify the mind and the heart. Unless mind and heart are purified it is impossible to attain the knowledge of *Brahman*. In order to attain *Brahman* the purification of mind and heart are necessary and, it is only possible by the performance of sacrifice. Thus for the removal of nescience, too, *Karmakāṇḍa* is necessary.[2] This statement may be supported by the statement of the *Bṛ. Up.* itself. The king of Videha, Janaka desires to be instructed about *Brahman* and approaches Yājñavalkya with a promise that he will give him a thousand cows in return. Thereupon the sage speaks on the *Brahman* and endeavours to inculcate it on the mind of the king. He says that the *Brāhmaṇas* seek to know It through the study of the

1. *Ibid.*, 1.3.25. See *Śaṅkara Bhāṣya*, for the elaborate important commentary on this significant verse.
2. Śaṅkara also observes the same in his introduction to the first chapter of the *Br. Up.* He remarks :—*sarvathāpyasyōtmā dehāntarasambandhītyevaṁ pratipatturdehāntaragateṣṭāniṣṭaprāptiparihāropāyaviśeṣārthinaḥ tadviśeṣajñānāya karmakāṇḍam ārabdham.* He further remarks that natural *doṣas* can only be destroyed by means of *karmakāṇḍa* and not by means of *brahmajñāna*. When all *doṣas* are destroyed by means of *karmakāṇḍa* then *brahmajñāna* is conceived. See *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on the opening of the *Br. Up.* The same may be corroborated by the statement of *Bṛ. Sū. bh.* (3.4.26) quoted by Daniel H. H. *Ingalls* in his paper entitled "Bhāskara the Vedāntin" published in the *Philosophy East and West*; Hawaii; Vol. XVII; No. 1-4; Jan. Oct. 1967; p. 62. The statement runs as follows :—"Now scripture tells us that knowledge of Brahman is to be gained by works, "by reciting the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by austerity and fasting".

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Vedas, sacrifices, charity and austerity consisting in a dispassionate enjoyment of sense-objects : *Tam etaṁ vedānuvacanena Brāhmaṇā vividiṣanti dānena tapasā nāśakena (Bṛ.Up.*4.4.22). Almost the same is proclaimed on another place also that 'for the sake of the vital-force, O emperor, one performs sacrifices' : *prāṇasya vai samrāṭ kāmāyā yājyaṁ yājayati* (*ibid.*, 4.1.3), lest one should forget to remember the importance of the word *Samrāṭ*. The word *Samrāṭ* hints at the fact that one who performs *Vājapeya* sacrifice (*Vājapeya yajña*) *is called Samrāṭ*. This word *Samrāṭ* is an epithet of a *Vājapeya* performer. Śaṅkara also says the same thing as has been observed above, *Samrāḍ iti vājapeyayājino liṅgam* (*Bṛ.Up.*4.1.1).

It is not only the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* which refers to the prevalence of the sacrifices during those days but almost all the principal *Upaniṣads* directly or indirectly have numerous references to the active performance of the sacrifices. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (*Ch.Up.*) makes an explicit mention of the sage Uṣasti, the son of Cakra, resident of Kuru country, living in a deplorable condition. He once says to his wife, 'There as king is going to institute a sacrifice, he would appoint me on all the priestly offices—*Rājā asau yakṣyate sa mā sarvair ārtvijyair vṛṇīteti*'. (*Ch.Up.*1.10.6). Further the same *Upaniṣad* says that Baka, son of Dalbha became *Udgātṛ* in the institution of a sacrifice, which was performed in the forest called *Naimiṣāraṇya* (*ibid.*, 1.2.13.). The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* asserts that the agnihotra destroys the seven worlds of the man whose *agnihotra* is without *Darśa* and *pūrṇamāsa* rites (1.2.3). Again, the same *Upaniṣad* hints at the prevalence of the sacrifices by saying that 'These oblations turn into the rays of the sun and taking him up they lead him, who performs the rites in these shining flames at the proper time, to where the one lord of the gods presides over all' (*ibid.*,1.2.5). *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (1.1.1,) clearly tells a story of the sage Vājaśravas who was desirous of the fruit of the sacrifice. He performed the *Viśvajit* sacrifice in which everything is given away. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1. 9. 1) makes a mention of *agnihotra*. The same *Upaniṣad* (1. 11. 1) enjoins : *dharmaṁ cara*. On this Śaṅkara's comment is :—"So long as one does not realize one's identity with *Brahman* one should carefully perform the rites laid down in the *Vedas* and *Smṛtis*."[1] Again, the same *Upaniṣad* (1. 11. 2) warns, "You should not neglect to perform the rites in honour of the gods and the ancestors. *Muṇḍaka Up.* (1.2.1) proclaims the same as follows: "You should

1. *Śāṅkara Bhāṣya* on *Tai. Up.* 1.11.1

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constantly perform these sacrifices with the desire to attain the ultimate truth—*tāny ācaratha niyataṁ satyakāmāḥ*. The *Upaniṣad* (1.2.1) categorically affirms the truth of the Vedic sacrifices,— "All this is true, the rituals which were revealed to the sages and which were connected with the Vedic *Mantras* : *tadetat satyaṁ mantreṣu karmāṇi kavayo yāni apaśyan.*"

Thus it is clear that during the period of the Upaniṣads the performance of the sacrifices in order to achieve certain desires, was prevalent. Hence, the opinion of some other scholars is that the authors of the *Upaniṣads* must have lost their faith in the efficacy of the sacrifices, and therefore raised a protest against them, cannot be considered an absolute truth. In their assertions, no doubt, there is a partial truth but not complete truth. What type of partial truth they have will be discussed later. *Upaniṣads* rightly believe in and they do prescribe the performance of sacrifices. The assertion of Keith[1] in this regard appears more or less correct. He asserts that in the *Upaniṣads* sacrifice is still here and there the subject of speculation. In short, *Upaniṣads* do not at all contain any idea of disbelief in the efficacy of the sacrifices. They are not a revolutionary departure from the Vedic mind and temperament and fundamental ideas. On the contrary, they are a continuation and development of the Vedic ideas. There is a continuous flow of Indian thought, without an abrupt break, right from the age of the *Saṁhitās* down to the *Upaniṣads*.

Now an attempt is to be made to examine the references and evidences which generally have been presented by those scholars who believe that the *Upaniṣads* revolt against the sacrifices. One finds that such references are very few. All available references are given below with their translations :—

(*1*) *Plavā hi ete adṛḍhā yajñarūpā*
aṣṭādaśoktam avaraṁ yeṣu karma,
etac chreyo ye abhinandanti mūḍhā
jarāmṛtyuṁ te punar evā'pi yanti.
Mu. U. 1.2.7.

Translation :—
"Unsafe boats, however, are these sacrificial forms,
The eighteen, in which is expressed the lower work.

1. Keith, A. B.; *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*; Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 32; Cambridge (Mass.); 1925; p. 442.

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The fools who approve that as the better,
Go again to old age and death."

Hume; *op.cit.*

(2) *yo vā etad akṣaraṁ Gārgi aviditvā asmin loke juhoti yajate tapas tapyate bahūni varṣasahasrāṇi antavad eva asya tad bhavati.*

Bṛ. Up. 3.8.10.

Translation :—

"He, O Gārgi, who, in this world, without knowing this Immutable, offers oblations in the fire, performs sacrifices and undergoes austerities even for many thousand years, finds all such acts but perishable."

(Madhawananda; Advaita Āśrama, Second edition, 1941).

(3) *Iṣṭāpūrtaṁ manyamānā variṣṭhaṁ*
nānyac chreyo vedayante pramūḍhāḥ,
nākasya pṛṣṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhūtvā
imaṁ lokaṁ hīnataraṁ vā viśanti.

Mu. Up. 1.2.10.

Translation :—

"Thinking sacrifice and merit is the chiefest thing,
Naught better do they know—deluded !
Having had enjoyment on the top of the heaven
won by good works,
They re-enter this world, or a lower."

Hume; *op.cit.*

(4) *tad ye ha vai tad iṣṭāpūrte kṛtam iti upāsate te cāndramasam eva lokam abhijayante ta eva punaḥ āvartante.*

Praśna Up. 1.9.

Translation :—

"Now, those, verily, indeed, who worship, thinking 'sacrifice and merit are our work (kṛta) !'—they win only the lunar world. They, indeed, return hither again."

(5) *atha ye yajñena...teṣāṁ yadā tat paryavaiti atha imam eva ākāśa...ta evam eva anuparivartante.*

Bṛ. Up. 6.2.16.

Translation :—

"While those who conquer the worlds through sacrifices...And when their past work is exhausted they... Reaching the earth they become food."

Madhawananda; *op. cit.*

(6) *andhaṁ tamaḥ praviśanti ye avidyām upāsate;*
tato bhūya iva te tamo ya u vidyāyāṁ ratāḥ.

Bṛ.Up. 4. 4.10; *Īśa. Up.* 9.

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Translation :—

"Into blind darkness enter they
that worship ignorance;
Into darkness greater than that, as it were
they that delight in knowledge."

Hume; *op. cit.*

A Critical Examination of the References

The passage no. 1 merely states that one cannot avoid rebirth by means of sacrifices. It does not imply that one cannot go to heaven by performing sacrifices. What is meant here is that by performing sacrifices, one can attain heaven, but one cannot remain in heaven for ever; as soon as the merit acquired by performing sacrifices and other good acts is exhausted one has to leave heaven and be born on the earth again; hence the highest aim of life cannot be the attainment of heaven by the performance of sacrifices; it should be the attainment of salvation by the knowledge of *Brahman*.[1] This verse does not put forth any idea of disbelief in the efficacy of the sacrifices as such.

As regards the passage no. 2 it is noteworthy that there is not a single word here which points to any disbelief in the efficacy of the sacrifices. It only points out the fact that the fruit of the sacrifices is not everlasting. Only the fruit acquired by the meditation upon the *Brahman* is everlasting: On this background it cannot be asserted that the *Upaniṣads* lost their faith in the fruits of the sacrifices. A close and minute examination of this passage undoubtedly leads one to conclude that for the enjoyment of the heavenly bliss for a certain period, the sacrifices are to be performed, but if somebody is ambitious to attain the perpetual bliss, then it is only possible by the meditation upon *Brahman*, the Absolute, and not by the performance of the sacrifices.

The same is the case with the verse no 3. It rightly puts forth the view that having enjoyed the fruits of actions on the heights of heaven that are the abodes of pleasure, the people enter this world or an inferior one. But this could not lead one to conclude that the *Upaniṣads* raise their protest against the sacrifices.

The fourth and fifth passage need not be elaborated because these proclaim the same as has already been discussed above.

1. Chattopadhyaya; *op cit.*; p 33.

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So far as the sixth verse is concerned it may be considered to be an exceptional case. But, it should be noted here that the emphasis is on the difference between fruits which are obtained by the worshippers of *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* and not on disproving the efficacy of sacrifices in any way.

After this examination it is now necessary to consider and evaluate the opinion of Chattopadhyaya to find out whether it is acceptable. It has already been said that Chattopadhyaya is of the opinion that the *Upaniṣads* do not at all put forth any idea by which any one may think that they are of the nature of a revolution against the Brāhmaṇic sacrificial tendency. He thinks that the growth of the *Upaniṣads* from the *Vedas* is something like the growth of a tree from a seed. So whatever sacrifice is found in the *Vedas*, i.e. *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* is also to be found in an elaborated form in the *Upaniṣads*.

A thinker who has dived deep into the ocean of the Upaniṣadic literature, may eventually find that the view of Chattopadhyaya is not entirely correct. In fact, it is a one-sided view. Though the *Upaniṣads* do not directly forbid one to be engrossed with and perform sacrifices, yet it can undoubtedly be maintained that they are intent on showing the path of perpetual bliss. Whenever they state something about the sacrifice they seldom forget to warn that the fruit of the sacrifice is not everlasting. They repeatedly proclaim and show their inclination towards the meditation upon the *Brahman* by which one can get perpetual bliss and accordingly can get rid of the cycle of rebirth. Yājñavalkya, in the *Bṛ. Up.*, while discoursing with Gārgī Vācaknavī, calls that person who leaves this world without knowing the Absolute, *Kṛpaṇa* : *Yo vā etad akṣaraṁ Gārgy aviditvāsmāl lokāt praiti sa kṛpaṇaḥ* (*Bṛ.Up.*3.8.10).

There are in the *Upaniṣads* numerous references which certainly will lead one to the conclusion that though the *Upaniṣads* do not preach any revolutionary prohibition against the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* in connection with the performance of the sacrifice, yet they are out and out inclined to bring out the ways and means viz. meditation etc. by which one can attain perpetual bliss. Thus this much has to be admitted that the *Upaniṣads* neither reject nor favour the sacrifices, lest here one should misunderstand that it is a reaction of the *Upaniṣads* against the Vedic sacrifices. It is actually a matter of regret that some eminent scholars like Radhakrishnan have asserted the same, i.e. the *Upaniṣads* are a reaction against the *Saṁhitās* as well as the *Brāhmaṇas*. In fact, the *Upaniṣads* are not a reaction but simply a continuation of the old thought.

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T.V. Kapali Sastry agrees with B.K. Chattopadhyaya. He says, "it is an erroneous notion to entertain that the Upaniṣads are the results of revolt, are the rebel children of the parent religion of a semi-civilized Vedic past"[1]. Kapali Sastry also could not escape the extremist view as Chattopadhyaya. So this opinion is onesided and hence, untenable.

Some scholars, though believing that the *Karmakāṇḍa* is not opposed to the *Jñānakāṇḍa*, give an expression to this assertion that the *Vedas* are to be acknowledged to have parted into two portions, i.e, *Karmakāṇḍa* and *Jñānakāṇḍa*. One of these scholars, M. P. Pandit,[2] says—"The Brāhmaṇas formed central part of the Veda, Karmakāṇḍa, while the Upaniṣads became the book of knowledge, *Jñānakāṇḍa*." According to this, though the *Upaniṣads* do not protest against the *Brāhmaṇas*, they are altogether different from them from the view-point of subject matter. It will be clear from the following assertion of the same scholar : —"And we see at the end of the Vedic period, long after the compilations of the Saṁhitās of Ṛk, Yajus and Sāman, a powerful revivalist movement afoot—a twin-sided movement of which the Brāhmaṇas represented one side and the Upaniṣads, the other." (p.144).

This opinion is not wholly correct. For one knows that the Indian thought without any abrupt break spontaneously flowed right from the age of the *Ṛgvedic Saṁhitā* down to the age of the *Upaniṣads*. *Upaniṣads* are the ultimate portions of the *Brāhmaṇas*. They form an indispensable part of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* contain *Karmakāṇḍa* as well as *Jñānakāṇḍa*. *Brāhmaṇas* are not absolutely ritualistic by nature and, in the same way the *Upaniṣads* are not absolutely philosophical and contemplative or meditative. In fact both of them seek to put forth both i.e., sacrifice and knowledge. Nevertheless, this much has to be accepted on all hands that the *Brāhmaṇas*, beyond doubt, are mainly devoted to the *Karmakāṇḍa* and are subsidiarily connected with the *Jñānakāṇḍa*. On the contrary the *Upaniṣads* are primarily dedicated to the *Jñānakāṇḍa* and, secondarily related to the *Karmakāṇḍa*.

EPILOGUE

By way of conclusion, what Deussen, Macdonell etc. have asserted that the *Upaniṣads* raise a protest against the performance

1. Kapali Sastry; *Lights on the Upaniṣads*, Pondicherry; 1959; p. 23.
2. Pandit; *op. cit.*, p. 142.

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of the sacrifices or the *Upaniṣads* are entirely antagonistic to the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the *Brāhmaṇas* may not be accepted as absolutely true and what Chattopadhyaya, Kapali Sastry and others have propounded that the *Upaniṣads* do not at all stand against the ritual or practical doctrine of the *Brāhmaṇas*, also may not be regarded as the whole truth. Both of these views may very well be considered to be onesided, for they stand at a distance from what is absolute truth. In fact, the *Upaniṣads* neither create any disbelief in the *Karmakāṇḍa* nor do they teach that a particular sacrifice must be performed in order to enjoy a particular fruit. Though the *Upaniṣads* do not reject the sacrifice, yet their inclination can be seen towards the knowledge of *Brahman*, the Absolute, by which one can indeed get rid of the transmigration of soul, and in consequence enjoy everlasting bliss. They frequently proclaim that the result of the performance of sacrifices is not everlasting and it cannot annihilate one's ignorance. According to them, the knowledge of *Brahman* alone is capable of destroying nescience and of ending transmigration of soul.

Another important fact which has been overlooked is that there is a great difference between the references to sacrifices in the *Brāhmaṇas* and those to the sacrifices in the *Upaniṣads*. The *Brāhmaṇas* believe in the omnipotence of sacrifices while the *Upaniṣads* do not. The *Upaniṣads* think that the *Brahman*, the highest Reality, is alone omnipotent. Besides, the performance of Brāhmaṇic sacrifices is very much elaborate and tedious. They are too complicated. Their performance is carried on for months together. Sometimes they take years also. Their performance is mechanical. But the Upaniṣadic sacrifices are very simple. They are not complicated. They can be easily performed without spending much time, some sacrifices can be performed within minutes also. Some are performed within the heart. Some sacrifices are symbolic. In short, most of the sacrifices of the *Upaniṣads* are altogether different from the sacrifices of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The Upaniṣadic sacrifices, with some exceptions, may generally be said to have been performed within the heart, that is to say, here, one is more concerned with the purity of heart than with *vidhis* which are essentially to be found in the sacrifices of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus the sacrifices of the *Upaniṣads* may perhaps be referred to as sacrifices depending on 'Internal' accomplishments, and on the contrary, the sacrifices of the *Brāhmaṇas* may perhaps be referred to as sacrifices depending on

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'External' accomplishments. It would be wrong to say that the *Upaniṣads* are a kind of reaction to the Brāhmaṇic religion. Radhakrishnan also says the same thing in the following words : "The *Upaniṣads* raise a protest against the externalism of the Vedic practices."[1]

The change in attitude towards life which can be noticed in the *Upaniṣads* should be evaluated only as an advance on and not a reaction to the *Brāhmaṇas*. What the *Upaniṣads* contain is nothing but the cream of the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The ideas contained in a nutshell in the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* have been elaborately brought out and elucidated by the *Upaniṣads*. They have got faith in the *Karmakāṇḍa* as well as *Jñānakāṇḍa*. They do believe in the results of the sacrifices. Therefore *Upaniṣads* are not antagonistic to the thought of the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The foregoing discussion, thus, leads us to the following conclusions :—

1. The *Upaniṣads* do not disbelieve in the efficacy of the sacrifices and do not raise any protest against their performance.
2. The *Upaniṣads* certainly are designed to show the path which leads one to the perpetual bliss.
3. The *Upaniṣads* are not a reaction against the Brāhmaṇic cult of sacrifices. They lead us on to the path of the *Brahman* which serves those who are ambitious to get rid of the cycle of rebirth.
4. The Upaniṣadic sacrifices are, more or less, symbolic and metaphysical and therefore, stand on a different footing.

1. Radhakrishnan, S.; *op. cit.*, *p.* 20.

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COSMO-SEXUALISM IN THE VEDIC RITUAL

SADASHIV AMBADAS DANGE

Various instances are to be found in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (ṚV.) and in the later ritual- traditions which show sexual images. It appears that the Vedic people had a clear method of presenting sexual images and they are present at various places. Before we start to study this tendency it is necessary to remember the sex-ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, wherein the Sun-horse (or the symbol of Prajāpati) ritually united with the queen in the holy atmosphere of the sacrifice. The sex in it was the holy-sex. That ritual was, however, the climax of the Vedic imagination about sex in rituals based on symbolism that had been well rooted in tradition. There is sound ground to believe that this horse-queen ritual was preceded by similar rituals one of which being the ritual of the Monkey (Sun-symbol) and the famous Indrāṇī, who was identified with the wealth-producing Earth and was called Dhanañjayā.[1] Closely related to the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice is the concept of the Mahānagna and the Mahānagnī (the great naked couple) in the ritual sex-act for the fructification of the land (Mahānagnī=Indrāṇī) by the Sun (Mahānagna=Vṛṣākapi). In the ritual of the marriage the bride was identified with the Earth in a fresh concept...the Apālā-Indrāṇī-Mahānagnī complex. In ritual-symbolism the sex formed a part of the sacrifice, which was the *Sukṛtasya yoni*, where the mortals presented the cosmic sex-act, which was necessary for generating rain (symbolically called *retas*) and ensuring fertility.[2]

The traces of this sex-imagery are to be found in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*; and not being clearly followed they made such hymns obscure. Efforts to see in such places actual customs or facts of history have miserably failed; for, in many cases the images used by the seer were not comprehended, and words used by him, even following a long tradition, were not critically tested. As an example we may take the word *pati-vidya* (ṚV. X. 102. 11; *Kāṭh. Sam.* VIII. 17. 15; *Maitt. Sam.* III. 8. 4). This word was rendered merely as "husband" (Bloomfield)[3], the wealth of the husband"

1. On this point see *Vedic Concept of field and the Divine Fructification*, University of Bombay Pbn. 1971, Ch. I.
2. *Ibid.*, also my, *Pastoral Symbolism From the Ṛgveda*, Poona Uni. Pbn. 1970.
3. *ZDMG* 48, pp. 541-565; Geldner, *Der Ṛgveda*, III, p. 319.

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(Geldner "Besitz den Gatten") or "the husband to be obtained" (Sāyaṇa) etc. The point to be noted is that the *pati-vidya* has to be different from the *pati*. The same appears to be the case with the word *jányuḥ pátiḥ* (ṚV. X.10.3, the Yama-Yamī hymn). The word *jányuḥ* has been understood as the genitive of the Feminine *jani* (like *pati* or *sakhi* both Masculine) by Geldner and as the Nom. Sing. of the Masc. *janyu* by Sāyaṇa. It appears that these words cannot be taken flatly as they are; for, they present a sex image, looking to the sexual setting of the hymns. A close study of such passages reveals that they form part of a method of sex-imagery; and it is necessary to analyse the same.

At the very outset it becomes clear that in the ṚV. itself there is the motif of Cosmic sex-partnership. The conspicuous pair is that of Heaven and Earth (H.E), the parents; and they are sought to be ever made young, indicating their renewed sex-vigour (ṚV. 1.20.4; 110.8; IV.33. 3; 34.9; V. 35.5; 36.3; *yúvānā pitárā akrata*, being often spoken of the Ṛbhus). Their union causes the *retas* of the sky or the *payas*; and it symbolizes rain. This couple brings *retas* and the "milk of the Sabardughā" for Indra (1. 121. 5), which is rain (cf. X. 61. 11-17; 69.8 etc.). They are said to be *Su-rétasā* (1.159.2). At another place, Agni is invoked to "stir up" these parents; and the simile is very subtly sexual (X. 11. 6 *úd-īraya pitárā jārá á bhágam*). As we have indicated, the idea in the uniting parents is that of the germination of the cosmic foetus[1] and the gain of the fertilizing rain.

Closely allied with this concept of the uniting parents (*pitarā*) is that of the *mātarā*, where they sometimes indicate the two kindling sticks (*araṇi-s*) that produce the 'son' (fire) by mutual friction. But at times the image gets complex with the fresh born 'son' roaring and uniting with the desiring flames that are seen as females (1.140.6). In a yet complex image we have Indra causing the *mātarā* (H-E) to unite for semen-enjoyment; and the result is that the 'son' (sacrificial fire) gets the Father's generative fluid (symbolically called *nāma* < √*nama*, "to bend down" indicating the downward flow; Sāyaṇa) from the third heaven (1. 155. 3). Here the Father who emits the generative fluid is the sun, or the archetype of all "seeders," who control all fluids; and on the visible cosmic plane he releases the rain in his aspect of Parjanya, who fructifies the earth by this *retas* of his. The complexity in this image comes

1. My paper, "*Cosmic Foetus and the Symbolism of Rain from the Rgveda*", *J. Bombay Uni.*, Oct. 1970.

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from the fact of two gods combining to release the fluid. Of the two, Indra is directly connected with the release of the 'rivers' in the cosmos, indicating rain. He brings the parents to unite on the cosmic plane; and this act of his is aided by the sacrificial fire (son) on the terrestro-sacrificial plane. The belief is that it is the sacrifice on the earth that causes the mating of the 'parents.' This is suggested in other words, when Agni is said to make the *mātarā* ever new (III. 5.7 *dídyānaḥ śúcir ṛṣváḥ pāvakáḥ púnaḥ punar mātárā návyasī kaḥ*). This is on the terrestro-sacrificial plane; and on the cosmic plane it is the *vaidyuta agni*, whose cosmo-sacrificial flashes accompany the *retas* (rain) of the *mātarā* (H-E), indicating their renewed youth. The context shows that these *mātarā* are not the kindling sticks; they are the H-E.; for in the previous verse Agni is directly connected with the sun and the earth (III. 5.5 *páti priyáṁ ripó ágraṁ padáṁ véḥ, páti yahváḥ cáraṇam sū́ryasya*).

It would be, thus, seen that the twain—H-E—form the most natural cosmic *dampatī*. The symbolism unfolds yet another aspect with the image of two mothers—both the H and the E being conceived as females—connected to the one seeder, the sun. Here the sun is said to have two females, the sky and the earth. He is said to sit in the bosom and rub the upper one; and come towards the earth that is spread. The image is sexual as can be seen from the words (X. 27. 13 *áśīna ūrdhvámupási kṣiṇāti, nyṅṅuttānám ánv eti bhū́mim*) *upasi* and *uttānām*. This action of the sun (who is referred to as holding the essence by his head, indicating the orb), causes the foetus; and the child (*vatsam*) of the one mother (earth) is said to be licked by the other that thunders (sky-female), and is the bellowing cow (V. 14). Here the simple image of the uniting cosmic parents glides into zoo-morphism presenting the cow-bull image. The foetus of the two mothers is a concept that combines in itself the sacrificial fire generating the cloud-fire (*vaidyuta Agni*). The father is the sun here; but the concept behind him is that of the cosmic "seeder," which also describes Parjanya at other places III (56.3=VII. 101.6) and also Soma (IX.86. 39). Plurality is attributed to *retodhāḥ* at certain places (X. 129. 5 *retodhā́ āsan*), and gets associated with the sacred triplicity, mixed with zoomorphism (V.69.2 *tráyas tasthur vṛṣabhā́sas tiṛṇā́m dhiṣáṇānām retodhā́ḥ*). The three 'bulls' of the three females (*tiṛṇām*) are the three fires—or to be more certain, three phases of the supreme solar-fiery principle—the sun, the lightning-fire and the terrestro-sacrificial fire. They are the male principles that seed the 'mothers' at three regions respectively. When Vasiṣṭha refers to the three that

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sprinkle *retas* in the three *bhuvanas*, he follows this set pattern (VII. 33.7). Over and above these seeders, also obtains the concept of the supreme seeder—the Bull that is the lover of many 'cows' (X.40.11 *priyá-usriyasya vṛṣabhásya retinaḥ*). This supreme *retin*, the seeder-bull, is the norm for the seeder-bull on the pasture, and impregnates the cows with his *retas*, himself being Indra (VI. 28.8; *Taitt. Br.* 2.8.8.12.; *Lātyā. Śr. Sū.* 3.3.4; AV. IX.4.23). It is this supreme Bull that comes in the popular rituals of the *Śūlagava* and Vṛṣotsarga, as Rudra. The concept is important, and occurs at various places with the shades slightly changing, but the motif never getting dim. The method is to speak of the sacrificial fire as the 'son' who unites the Bull and the Cow. The pair is also spoken of as the *vṛṣabha* and the *dhenu*, the latter word indicating a cow with the calf. Thus, Dīrghatamas (the seer of the "*Asya* Vāmīya") speaks, elsewhere, of the 'son' (identifying the sun and Agni, the former at the cosmic sacrifice and the latter at the terrestrial one) who causes the *vṛṣabha* and the *pṛśni-dhenu* to release the *retas* and the *payas* (rain). Here the supreme parents are shown in the zoo-morphic imagery. In the highest phase of this imagery the Bull and the Cow are merged into one; and this gives the concept of the One seeder—*vṛṣabha-dhenu* (III.38.7; X.5.7), who is bi-sexual. The plan is as follows:—

I *Regular image*		*II Converse image*
Father	Mother	*Retin-vṛṣabha*
Bull	Cow	*Vṛṣabha-dhenu*
(triplicity)	(triplicity)	(Bull—Cow)
Retin-Vṛṣabha		Father Mother
Vṛṣabha-dhenu		Heaven Earth
		Bull Cows
		Earthly

These are caused to unite by the sacrifice (or the sacrificial fire, the 'son'); hence sacrifice is necessary. In a variant thought we have the 'son' who knows the *garbha* of the Father, the Creator, and generates the mid-region streams of rain (III.1.9;10).

Alongside with this concept of the union of the Father and the Mother, RV. has the concept of the waters being the females to be seeded by the male, who is Agni or Soma. The image becomes complex when this seeder is said to be also a *śiśu*. Thus he is imagined as the *śiśu-vṛṣan* (II.35.13 Agni and X.30.5 Soma). In the ritual set-up Agni has the ghee-streams as the females, and Soma

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has the waters called *vasativarī* as his females. In these females these gods enjoy themselves. Apart from the fact that the 'daughter of the sun' brings him from heaven, (IX. 1.6; 72.3;113.3) Soma is closely associated with the cosmic waters, which, being conceived as the females, are *vṛṣaṇyantīḥ* (coveting the male) in respect of him. He plants his seed in them ritually; and cosmically, generates the rain showers—the *payas*. Soma-ritual gets connected with the gain of rain in this way (cf. IX.49.1; 3—he is also said to be 'apsāḥ', "rain-gainer" IX.65.20). Soma as the seeder-bull is the only god that gets the epithet *Sabardugha* (IX.12.7); and is the lord of the cosmic cow called *Sabardughā*. On the side of Agni, it is the heavenly aspect, the sun, that is called the male *Pṛśni*, the seeder of the *pṛśni*-s (cows) on various levels (the earth, the cow in the pasture and also the cloud-cow).

The relationship between the male seeder and the females is not abnormal in the images we have seen uptil now. But there is suggestion of abnormality in their relationship as the male is *śiśu* and also the seeder of the cosmic waters. The abnormality, however, is only apparent; and it goes if we take the etymological meaning of the words *śiśu* and *mātṛ*. The seers of the *Ṛgveda* present such apparently awkward images at various places, in the context of sex. Thus, we have the image of the "sisters" invoking their brother-husband, the sisters being the waters (cosmic; and, in the ritual, the *vasativarī* waters) and the male being Soma (IX.65.1 *hinvánti sūram úsriyaḥ svásāro jāmáyaḥ pátim*). The 'mothers' desire the *retas* of the Bull—their son—Soma who is expected to generate foetus in them that "desire the manly one" (*vṛṣaṇyantī-bhyaḥ*), and "milk the essence' (IX. 19.4-5). It will be seen that the *mātaraḥ* are not actual mothers; but they are so called as they pervade (√*mā*). Soma is called *sūnu* or *śiśu* from the idea of impelling or generating (√*sū* 'to impel' or "to generate') and from being ever new (√*śo*). But even so, the fact is that the seer uses these words with full knowledge that he is playing and presenting such an image as would be seemingly awkward. These expressions imbibing sex are, obviously, suggested to indicate the flow of Soma, who is already thought to be the seeder. The point, then, is that such expressions were thought to impel rain or hasten the flow of Soma on the ritual-plane and the flow of the cosmic fluid (rain) on the cosmic plane. It is from this point of view that the Soma-imagery gives one of the most involved ideas; for the seer says, "I am a poet; father is the physician; mother the filler of the mill stone (*upala-prakṣiṇī*) etc; and that is why Indu (the bright

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Soma-spot in the sky) should ooze out for Indra (IX. 112. 3); and in the next verse one of the images presented is that of the male organ desiring the "two hairy fissures" (IX.112.4, *śépo rómaṇvantau bhedau*), and then comes the invocation to Indu to ooze forth for Indra. The sudden employment of the sex-image is not casual; it appears to be with a purpose. And the purpose is to urge Soma to ooze. Sex proves to be a charm; and here, as at other places we have examined, it is a sympathetic charm for the gain of the divine fluid. We have yet another instance where the oozing of the juice of Soma is associated with sex-imagery. The pressing planks are said to be the two thighs and, as the pressing stone gets activated the Soma-juice appears (I. 28). Soma itself is said to be the *retas* of the divine horse (the sun), thus connecting the ritual juice with the cosmic (I. 164. 35); and it is the Sun-horse that ritually imparts his seed to the queen in the Horse-sacrifice.

Another interesting concept is that of the *jāra*. The sun is said to be the *jāra* of the waters; and the image gets complicated when he is also referred to as *pitā* (I.46.4 *jāró apām píparti pápuriḥ... pitā kúṭasya carṣaṇíḥ*). The concept of the *jāra* is not that of the husband; it is that of the paramour. In spite of the etymological meaning of the word *jāra* (*jārayitā* acc. to Sāyaṇa), which has to be ultimately accepted, the fact is the use of the word that has a definite sex-meaning. That the Vedic tradition used this word in its sexual connotation is clear from the fact that Indra is well known as the *jāra* of *Ahalyā* (whosoever she may be); and the *Ṛgveda* itself uses the word in this sense. Thus Vāyu, the general seeder,[1] is said to arouse Purandhi as does a *jāra* (paramour) his sleeping mistress (I. 134.3, *jārá á sasatīmiva*); and *jāra* comes as a standard of comparison in the same sexual meaning (VII. 76. 3). This leaves no doubt about the purposeful use of this word in the expression noted above, and also in similar others. As we have the *pitā-jāra* image about the sun, so is the cosmic Agni the *jāra* of the maidens and the *pati* of the married ladies, that would conceive;—he is here called Yama (I.66.4, *jārāḥ kanīnām pátirjánīnām*; cf. I. 152. 4). The mention of Yama is interesting as he is the cosmic seeder as presented here, like Vāyu. This also indicates that the Yama in the notorious Yama-Yamī hymn (X. 10) is not, after all, a real brother. Nor is his female-twin his real sister. With the cosmic fire, in the aspect of Yama, the concept seems to be of

1. Cf. Sāyaṇa on RV. I. 88. 1, where he quotes, *Sarvā strī madhyamasthānā pumān vāyuś ca sarva-gaḥ.*

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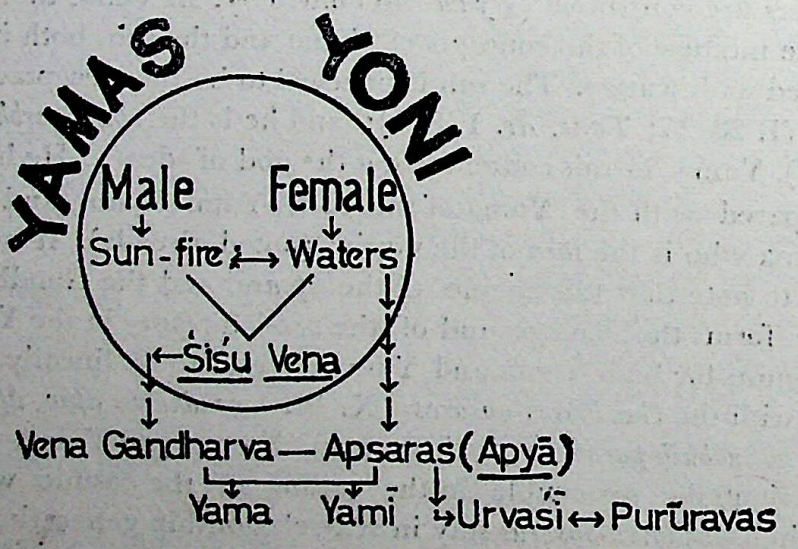
the supra-mortal husband, who is sure to bestow fructified womanhood. The image gets, seemingly awkward when Pūṣan is said to be the *jāra* of the sister and the husband of the mother (VI. 55. 4; 5). The image of the sister's paramour is seen in the case of Agni, who as a *jāra* is said to follow his sister, the Dawn (X. 3. 3); and though this *svasṛ* is *Svayaṁsāriṇī*, (etymologically, as Sāyaṇa explains) there is no doubt about the seer's intentional word-play!

We have referred to the concept of the lord of the cosmic waters (females): and also that of the *jāra* of the waters. The flight of imagination in the same direction has given one of the most exciting concepts, that of the Vena, (X. 123) who is the *jāra* of the *apsaras*, smiling with him at the highest region, *parame vyoman*. This Vena is described in various ways. He is the *śiśu*; and dwells at the confluence of the cosmic waters and the sun; he impels the waters in the cloud-cows (*pṛśni-garbhāḥ*). This Vena is the controller of all fluids; he is the Gandharva. Now the hymn has also some unique ideas :—Vena's dwelling place is called *Yamasya yoni* (v.6); he is also the messenger of Varuṇa, thus using the already accepted association of Varuṇa with the waters.[1] And he is the *jāra* of the smiling *apsaras* as we have noted above. With the conspicuous surroundings of the mid-region or the cosmic waters, this Vena appears to be the male counterpart of the smiling lightning (apsaras), i.e. he is the mid-region fire, in one aspect; and, in the other, he is the solar fire that controls the sucked up waters that reside in the orb, which is *Yamasya yoni*; for it is here that the waters are controlled (√*yam* "to control"). In Vena, then, we have the mixture of the concepts of Yama and the sun, both being associated with waters. The sun is believed to be the receptacle of waters (I. 23. 17; *Taitt. Ār.* 1. 8· 1); and he is the *apāṁ garbha* (1. 164. 52). Yama in this context is not the god of death. He has to be compared with the Yama of the Yama-Yamī hymn, and with the Yama who is the *jāra* of the virgins (noted already). It is interesting to note that this couple of the *apsaras* and the Gandharva actually forms the background of the sex-language in the Yama-Yamī hymn; for both Yama and Yamī are said to be lineally connected with the *Gandharva-apsaras* (X. 10. 4 *gandharvó apsv, ápyā ca yóṣā sá no nábhiḥ paramám jāmí tán nau*). Yama and Yamī, thus, form a symbolic sex-couple in the setting of the cosmic waters where the *Gandharva-apsaras* stay in sex-relationship generating the

1. RV. VIII. 69.12; IX. 90 2; also I. 161. 14.

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fertilizing fluid. Yama in this hymn connects with the Yamī, in whose abode (*yoni*) the water-controller Vena resides; Yamī, hence, has to be taken as only a phase of the *apsaras*; and their brother-sister relationship has to be viewed from the same angle as that of Agni and his sister-waters; it is not actual; it is only symbolic, and fashioned on purpose by the seer on the basis of the sex-images he knew so well. We could note how the primary relationship between the Father and the Mother now changes to that between the *Gandharva* and the *apsaras*. This couple is a later addition to the Vedic sex-imagery (barring a single reference to the *apsaras* in the seventh book, these two rarely occur in the family-books). But having been introduced, they dominated the field with the notion of sexual freedom. Their original advent was, however, in the context of the cosmic waters. Urvaśī, the *apsaras*, is said to be *apyā* (X. 95. 10); the *apsaras* in the Yama-hymn is *apyā*, as noted above; and we have one more place where the *Gandharva* has the *Gandharvī*, who is *apyā yoṣaṇā* (X. 11. 2). The concept of the *Gandharva*, controlling cosmic waters reaches a unique height when it is said that he is the supreme being whence flow all waters, and is considered as the Āditya.[1] The sun (Āditya), as we have seen, is already the *apām garbha*, and is the Yama in his aspect of the *jāra* of all womanhood. The *Gandharva*, who is the Āditya, is only another aspect of the sun, controlling all sucked up waters in his orb (*Yamasya yoni*). The pattern that has developed might be put in the following diagram:—



1. Cf. 1.22.14; IX. 85.12; X. 123. 6; also the concept of the three Gandharvas.

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The concept of the *Gandharva* touches also Soma; and he is said to be *apāṁ gandharva*, (IX. 86. 36); he is protected by the *Gandharva* (IX. 83. 4), the idea that developed into the *Soma-haraṇa* legend later on.[1] *Gandharva* directly gets connected with the waters on the one hand, and, on the other, with the sun; for the waters see the *Gandharva*, and Indra sees the ends of the sun-orb around the waters (X. 139. 4; 5; 6). It will be seen that the *Gandharva* and the *apsarases*, before becoming mythical personae, were the aspect of the sun and the solar waters; and the sun and the solar waters were the male and the females. As a reflected image, the *Gandharva* became the lord of the mid-region waters while the *apsarases* the mid-region-females. It is in this later image that the seer speaks (X.11.2) of the "singing" (or "roaring") *Gandharva* and the *apyā yoṣaṇā* (*apsaras*), suggesting the thunder of the waterful cloud. In later mythology they became mythical singers !

What has been said uptil now will show how the sex-symbolism has had a close association with the gain of rain, the parties having the sphere of the cosmic waters to act. In a curious, but not unexpected phase, this motif of sex and the release of waters gets associated with fight. The fight, however, is not the usual one with Vṛtra standing against Indra. Here the enemies of Indra are said to place forward their "women." Kuyava has two women that bathe in "milk" (*1. 104.3 kṣīréṇa snātaḥ kúyavasya yóṣe*). He has also three women—Añjasī, Kuliśī and Vīrapatnī—that sustain him with water, fetching "milk" (I. 104. *4 páyo hinvānā́ udábhir bharante*). The two *yoṣe* of Kuyava have a parallel in the *dhene* of Namuci, another enemy of Indra,[2] who also employs women as his weapons (V. 30. 9). In the case of Namuci, in the very next verse we have the favourite image of the "thundering cows" being released by the Bull (Indra) who signals them. Thus Namuci is helped by his women in withholding the cows, that would otherwise thunder (cloud-image); and Kuyava's women take all "milk" and water for him, leaving the rest of the world devoid of it. That is why Indra shatters those devils ! It is to be noted that these women are different from the cows that

RV. III. 38.6, corresponding to that of the three *gharmas* (VII. 33.7).

1. For this, see my *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Ch. I; also Jarl Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage*, Uppasala, 1920.
2. For other opinions about the nature of this demon, see Bloomfield, *JAOS* XV, pp. 143-63. I do not feel it necessary to discuss these o ld opinions here.

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they keep concealed from others. Indra and the cows form one party, while the devils and their women the other. We have one more place where Indra is the Bull as against the one who causes his "women" fight (X. 27. 10). The image may be put as follows:—

Indra & Cows
- Namuci + "women" + *dhene*—control cows (I. 104. 3, 4)
- Kuyava + three women + *yoṣe*—control 'milk-water' (V.30.9)
- One + "women" .....(X. 27.10)

In the last case, though the cows are not mentioned in the verse proper, they are mentioned in a previous verse as wandering with their cow-herd (v. 8); and in the last stretch of the hymn there is clear reference to the water-streams advancing (vv. 21-24). In the last image the one who wants to fight Indra with his "women" is, obviously, conceptually the same as Namuci or Kuyava. Now the point is, who are these women, that steal the cows or hold all waters and the nourishing fluids (milk) ? The reply to this question is suggested by Dīrghatamas in his famous hymn "*Asya Vāmsya*", in an apparent riddle, when he says, "women they be; them do the people call men ! The one having eye might see; the blind comprehends not. The son who is wise might know them; he who knows them is the father of fathers" (I. 164. 16). The whole hymn is a combination of various images and here the image is of something that can be both the male and the female principle. The reference to the sun in an earlier verse (v. 14), and to the *suparṇāḥ* later (v.21), and the whole set of images, leave no doubt that here we have the description of the sun; and, as Sāyaṇa rightly remarks, the "women" are the sun-rays. The hymn closes with the suggested reference to the sun being called *apām-garbha* (v. 52). Now his rays are generally referred to as *suparṇa* (masculine); but, the seer says that they are really women ! What he says can be corroborated from the fact that the main seven rays of the sun are actually called "mares, the seven sisters" (VII. 66. 15 *saptá svásāraḥ...haritaḥ*; cf. also—60. 3; V.29.5). The reason why the rays are called "women" appears to be, as Sāyaṇa suggests, that they hold the waters in themselves. (Sāyaṇa—*yoṣid-vad udaka-rūpa-garbha-dhāraṇāt strītvam eṣām raśmīnām āviṣṭa-liṅgatvāt strī-liṅgatā*). These "women" and those in the case of Namuci and Kuyava, or the one who fights Indra are the same. As they suck up all moistures, they turn hostile; and the one who controls them also turns hostile to mankind. He is the sun of the drought season, the terrible aspect of the benevolent normal sun. It is he who is now "Kuyava" and "Na-muci", indicating his non-release of

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the streams. Indra fights him, and smashes his "women." It will be good to note that the rays of the sun are called *ghṛtācī* (VII. 60. 3; *ghṛta* is both water and ghee); and the waters being considered females, as has been amply observed above, the waters in the rays have made them women. Indra fights the oppressive sun and releases the waters from the clutches of these "women." The ṚV. presents, at other places, the antagonism between Indra and the sun (IV. 17. 14; 28. 2; V. 29. 10; 31. 3 etc.).

From what has been detailed above it will be clear that to the Vedic people the cosmos was filled with two main elements—male and the female.[1] The male principle was that of Fire, distributed in the three worlds; and corresponding to it was the element of the water that gets impregnated by the former. Here the Vedic seers had developed the concept of the cosmic *garbha*,[2] which causes to rain the divine nourishing fluids on the earth. Again, the earth is the female that receives this fluid and gets pregnant. This was the usual and the holy cosmic drama. The stage of the Vedic people presented in the ṚV. is that of a settled pastoral people, depending on the "pregnancy" of the Earth Mother, caused by the *retas* of the Father, which was rain. They saw the whole universe arranged in holy sex-coupling. In fact that was the key to all production and the germination of rain. To activate the cosmic sex when the people needed, or to ensure that the cosmic couples would not fail them, they devised rituals in which sex was imitated in action or as an oral spell. It is here that cosmo-sexualism generated sacra-sexualism (if we were to put this way). The Horse-sacrifice and the Mahāvrata were not the only instances of this sort. The motif is seen in many hymns of the ṚV. And the motif not being carefully handled and rightly studied, the hymns became obscure. A careful and a comparative study, however, shows a common plan, according to which, with the ritual background being clear, the so-called divinities appear to be mortals turned divine to enact the holy sex, with seemingly awkward sex-relations, to ensure the weal of the society. The points common about the hymns are, roughly: (i) Ritual-indications; (ii)Sex-partners; (iii) Husband and Ritual-husband; (iv) Sex-indications; and (v) Result. Let us examine with a few examples:—

1. See Bergaigne, *Vedic Religion* (English Tr., By V. G. Paranjape, Poona, 1969), Chs. II&III.
2. See my paper, *The Cosmic Foetus and the Symbolism of Rain from the Rgveda*, *J. Uni. Bombay*, Arts No. Vol. XXXIX, Oct. 1970, pp. 1-6.

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Hymn:—Nābhānediṣṭha (X. 61)[1] :

(Figures in brackets indicate the verses).

(i) Ritual indications:—*kratu*, *vedi*, *havana*, *yajña*, *brahma*, *ṛta-yukti* (v. 10) *sukṛtasya yoni*, etc. (vv. 1-3; 6).

(ii) Sex-partners:—*Pitṛ-Duhitṛ* (the famous incest).

(iii) Ritual-husband:—*Pitṛ* (the 'seeder').

(iv) Sex-indications :—Father's copulation with Daughter(vv.6-9), "friendship with the maiden" (v. 10), *retas* (v. 11); the birth of Vāstoṣpati (v. 7).

(v) Result :—The "milk of the Sabardughā" (vv. 11; 17; 19; 26). The seer has a unique name which means "nearest to the navel" (*nābhānediṣṭha*). He is said to be *su-bandhu* (26); *dvibandhu*; is *dvibarhas* (17; 10). He appears to be the seer-sacrificer who invented a ritual, and praises himself uniquely in so many suggestive epithets. The navel to which he is the nearest is the sacrificial plane, the *sukṛtasya nābhi* (*yoni*). The hymn also uses a very suggestive form, *krāṇā pitarā* (1) meaning "the performing parents" indicative of the ritual partners (called symbolically Pitṛ and Duhitṛ). In all probability, the male partner was the seer himself, as a unique wonder-working sacrificer, who invented an effective ritual.

Hymn:—Vṛṣākapi (X. 86)[1] :—

(i) Ritual indications :—*Saṁhotra*, *samana*, *Vedhā*, *ṛtasya* (10); *ápyaṁ haviḥ priyáṁ devéṣu gacchati* (12); (13); cooking of bulls (14); *mantha* (15) indicating Soma-juice or the ritual-drink (cf. the graha called *manthin* in later rituals); the victim called here *parasvant*, knife (*aśi*), *sūnā* (boiling-pan for flesh); *caru*; fire (18).

(ii) Sex-partners :— Indrāṇī-Vṛṣākapi.

(iii) Ritual-husband (the actor in the sex-act) :—Vṛṣākapi and the regular husband—Indra.

(iv) Sex-indications :—Sexual language (5-7); coitus-position (16-17).

(v) Result :— Parśu-Mānavī gives birth to twenty-one (23); gain of *su-vita* (21).

Parśu-Mānavī is said to be earth elsewhere.[2] The hymn has the motif of the fructification of the land; for Indrāṇī is called Pṛthivī and Dhanañjayā (*Kāṭhaka Sam.* VIII. 17.18-19).[3]

We now take up a hymn where the sex-partners are not humans or clearly animate; but, all the same, the motif persists.

1. See note 3, below, which is applicable here also.
2. *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda*, p. 63.
3. These topics have been discussed at length in *Vedic Concept of Field* and *the Divine Fructification*, in different chapters.

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X. 101 (the ploughing hymn misunderstood as a Soma-ritual)[1] :—

(i) Ritual indications :—"kindle the fire" (*agníṁ indhvam*, v. 1) *dhíya á tanudhvam; práñcaṁ yajñaṁ kṛṇudhvam* (2); *dhīrā devéṣu sumnayá* (4); *dhíyaṁ yajñíyāṁ varte* (9).

(ii) Sex-partners :—The ploughable field and the Indra-Bull (12); Field and "vanaspati" (plough) that is to be placed in the field as is clear according to the Gṛhya tradition. (*Vanaspati* is not Soma as was wrongly supposed, which made the hymn obscure; for the interpretation itself was defective); field-plough and field-Bull suggested sex-act (11-12).

(iii) Ritual-husband :—Indra-Bull; regular husband :—owner of the field (husbandman).

(iv) Sex-indications :—The moving action of the Bull in between the two yoke-poles, like a man "having two wives" (11, *antár yóneva carati dvi-jániḥ*); male organ (12 *kapṛt...ud-dadhātana*) indicative of the plough-share; Indra is called *niṣṭigryaḥ putra* (son of a foreign woman) indicative of the "foreign seed." The point to be noted is that this verse (12) is included in the sexual *mantra*-s (called *āhanasyāḥ*) used at the Horse-sacrifice (AV. XX. 136; 137; *ṚV. Khila* V. 22.). Thus, the Bull (*niṣṭigryaḥ putra*) here and the Horse at that sacrifice are on the same level ritually.

(v) Result :—Good "milk" from the Earth-cow (9).

We now take up another hymn, which has been a problem, and was interpreted as a real fight; the result was incoherent with the interpretations suggested.

Hymn :—Mudgala-Mudgalānī (X. 102)[1] :—

(i) Ritual Indications :—Not quite clear; but *su-maṅgalaṁ sātam* gives a faint indication; again the word *parivṛktā* (both in 11) is important, as it indicates one of the queens at the Horse-sacrifice, engaged in the symbolic sex-act; *kūṭa* (4)—a ritual magical device (cf. *Kau. Sū.* 16.16).

(ii) Sex-partners :—*Parivṛktā* and the *patividya* (11); the Bull and the field (*āji*, which is not the battle-field as was assumed).

(iii) Ritual-husband :—In the case of the field, Bull which is also referred to earlier, as drinking from the reservoir (4); Indra (in concept) who is said to protect this Bull, spoken of as *aghnyānāṁ pati* (7); Indra, himself the *Vṛṣā*, as against the *vadhri* (potent Bull against the castrated). Regular husband :—Mudgala, owner of the field.

(iv) Sex-indications :—Bull with full testicles (4, *muṣka-bhāraḥ*);

1. See f.n. 3 on p. 34.

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this Bull's urination in the field (*āji*), a very important point that should not be missed, (though scholars did miss it), and causing him to roar in the field (5 *nyàkrandayan upa-yánta enam, ámehayan vṛṣabhám mádhya ājéḥ*); the wearing of Mudgalānī being carried up by Vāta (wind), an expression that seems light, but has unique importance (2 *ut sma váto vahati vásо asyāḥ*); Bull touches cows (8).

(v) Result :—Thousand-fold gain of cows for Mudgala (5;9) and *sumaṅgalaṁ sātam* (11), which corresponds to the *dhanabhakṣa* (1), which was to be gained.

As in the previous case (X.101) here also the sex-motif has association with the field for the gain of crop; but here a new point is of the Bull-touch for the cows, that is necessary, so that Mudgala might get a thousandfold cows. This Zoo-morphism gets connected with the human image in Mudgalānī, who plays an actual part. Mudgalānī is said to be Indrasenā (2), which is the earth at the *Kāṭhaka* and the *Mait. Sam.* Hence Mudgalānī=earth, and the same as the *āji* in which the Bull urinates : She is, thus, a ritual-woman, and not exactly the actual wife of Mudgala, who appears to be the owner of the field, appointing his wife (or more probably a specially hired woman) for this purpose, as is the case with the Horse-sacrifice. The hymn already has a reference to the *parivṛktā*, who figures in the Horse-sacrifice. And we now take up the Horse-sacrifice itself for the motifs seen above :

Horse-sacrifice[1] :—

(i) Ritual indications :—well-known.

(ii) Sex-partners :—Horse (as the Sun or Prajāpati) and the queen; they are the Mahānagna and Mahānagnī according to the variant tradition.

(iii) Ritual-husband :—Horse-Mahānagna; regular husband :—the king in the later tradition, or the sacrificer.

(iv) Sex-indications :—Actual, but symbolic, coitus of the Horse and the selected woman under a big piece of cloth and the *mantra*-s full of sex : *Vāj. Sam.* XXX. 18; *Mait. Sam.* III. 12ff; etc. etc.; the *mantra kapṛt* etc. from ṚV. (X. 101. 12), which we have referred to earlier.

(v) Result :—the gain of good crop, cows and horses (ṚV. I. 162. 22) in the most original ritual, though later it was practised for Royal Glory according to the Brahmanic tradition.

The point to be noted is that in the *āhanasya* verses (ṚV. *Khila* V. 22; AV. XX. 136) to be recited at this ritual, according to some texts, we have the expression *mahataḥ sādhu khodanam* (ṚV.

1. See f.n. 3 on p. 34.

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Khila V. 22. 10; AV. XX. 136.15; *Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū.* XII. 14. 2 etc.), where the word *khodanam* tallies with the word *khudata vājasātaye* from the ṚV.-verse (X. 101. 12) used in this ritual, as we have noted earlier. This "digging" indicates that the ritual, as also the hymn from the ṚV. was originally meant for the ritual-ploughing of the land, that was the aspect of the great naked earth (Mahānagnī), to be impregnated by the divine ritual-husband, the Horse.

What has been said above will show the common trend in the hymns considered and the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice. We now apply the same method of analysis to another problem-hymn.

X.95 Urvaśī-Purūravas :—

(i) Ritual-indications:—*mantrāḥ* (1); *kratu* (3; 9); *ghṛta* (16); *sukṛtasya rātiḥ* (17); *śivā ādhi* (13).

(ii) Sex-partners:—Urvaśī-Purūravas.

(iii) Ritual-husband:—Not quite clear apparently; but Purūravas is not the permanent husband; he implores upon Urvaśī to come back and she says that she did in the last Śarad (16); this shows occasional meeting (at a ritual ?).

(iv) Sex-indications:—"rubbing by the rod" 4;5, *śnathitā vaitasena*); Purūravas, the mortal, "touches" the immortal ladies (8;9) by means of his special powers (the word to be noted is *pṛṅkte*, cf. the Bull-touch for the cows at X. 102.8, noted earlier; also the Indra Bull's *upaparcana* with the cows, with the sexual note (VI.28.8, *úpedám upa-párcanam āsú góṣūpa pṛcyatām úpa-ṛṣabhásya rétasi-úpa-indra táva vīryè*). This verse was used at the *cattle rituals*, when the Bull was placed among the cows for mating (*Āśv. Gṛ. Sū. II.* 10.7).

(v) Result (contemplated) :—The "thunderers" (*dhunayaḥ*) did not roar (3), they should roar; the cows did not bellow (6), they should bellow; the fire should shine among the "Fathers-in-law" (12); the "son" should desire the "Father" and should "turn the *aśru* (?tear)".

The symbols used by this seer are not quite new. The "thundering cows" (are well known to us; they are the rain-clouds), without any doubt. The "son" (*sūnuḥ*) cannot be a real son, as Urvaśī was only an *apsaras* (she is here called *apyā*; cf. VII.33.10-12). We have noted the concept of the "son" and the "Father". This father is not the real father of Purūravas. These two, then, are the sacrificial fire and the Sun or Parjanya, as we have amply

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seen. With Urvaśī being the *apyā* (water-nymph), and Purūravas being also *apaḥ naryaḥ* (10), the association of water is sure; the hero (Purūravas) is said to be born for *dasyu-hatya*, an Indra-expression (it comes for none else). This leaves no doubt about the whole stage being set for the gain of rain. The seer uses a puzzling word, *aśru*, which has to be decided in the setting of the *apyā* and the *apaḥ*, which form the couple. *Aśru*, is, then the fluid from the "eye" of the "Father." The seer is obviously, working on a known image. Now, prajāpati's eye lets out the tear, and it forms into rain (*Mait. Sam.* IV.6.3 *tasya vai prajāpateḥ savyaṁ cakṣur aśvayat : tato ye stokā avāpadyanta tair idaṁ varṣati*). Moreover, the eye of the sun is said to be filled with water (I.164 14). On the basis of this understanding, the hymn does not remain a riddle. The thing to be noted is that there is a close similarity in method in this hymn and that of the Nābhānediṣṭha. Both the seers praise themselves as having some miraculous powers. The seer here shows himself as equal to Indra; there he is nearest to the *nābhi* etc. Purūravas is not a king in the general sense of the word; he is only the king of "the body of Urvaśī" (5). The later accounts make him the king. In the Vedic tradition he is only a gifted seer-sacrificer, who works the wonder of having "contact" with the immortal women, including Urvaśī, and controls the cosmic waters. To see in him a historical king is to go astray. It may also be noted that he calls himself *sudeva* (14), a term which nowhere occurs in the ṚV., but is the epithet of the Mahānagna in the AV. (XX.136.12.). It is quite probable, hence, that Purūravas was of the same status as Kakṣīvant or Dīrghatamas, who performed a wonderful ritual for the gain of rain. That is why he is called *sukṛt*, and is equalled with Manu (I.31.4). Urvaśī, like the queen at the Horse-sacrifice, was, then, represented by a ritual-woman at this ritual. She has to be invoked at every such ritual.

A number of hymns show the same pattern, where the seer uses old images, employs certain new (or fresh) ones, sows the element of sex, with the indication of an actual sex-ritual or a mere oral charm; and the aim in many a case is the gain of rain, with the belief that the sex-act on the ritual-plane impels the heavenly fluid (*retas*). The case of the Yama-Yamī hymn is the same; and other similar examples may be cited; but we take only one more example, before proceeding to the new point.

Hymn:—Of Vasukra (X. 27)[1] :—

1. For full exposition see my paper, *The Vision of Vasukra, J. Uni. Bombay,*

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(i) Ritual-indications :—*sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam* (i) ; bull-cooking and offering of strong Soma-juice (2; also 17); the throw of the dice (17).[1]

(ii) Sex-partners :—*duhitā* and one who "carries" and one who marries (11); *yoṣā* and the manly *vadhūyu*; *vadhū* and the *mitra* (12). Ritual-husband suggested, in the males *mitra* etc. as noted above.

(iii) Sex-indications :—Cosmic—the One who sits on the *upas* (womb, or generative organ) of the "upper female" comes to the "prostrate" female (the upper one is the sky-lady and the lower one is the earth); the "Mother" who bears the *garbha* (16). Ritual-sex-act not clear; but suggested (see ii above).

(iv) Result :—Rain waters, indicated by :—"thunderers" (*vi-krośanāso viśvañca āyan* in 18), the cloudforest cut (23; cf. the same seer in X. 28. 8), the thunderbolt in the waters of the sun (solar or cosmic waters, in 21).

Here the seer, Vasukra, shows himself as seeing a vision (8); says, he actually sees the cows with the cowherd (*ibid*). Savitṛ actually speaks to him (18); he sees the "wheel-less sustenance moving" (19), indicating the cloud; and asserts that even the waters follow his gait (20, *āpaś cid asya vi naśanty ártham*), which reminds us of the Nābhānediṣṭha, who is *adbhir deva-vān* (X. 61. 26) and has his own "bridge" (ritual-remedy) to cross the cosmic waters (X.61. 16, *apáś ca vípras tarati svá-setuḥ*).

The instances discussed above show sex in two phases :—(i) Normal, as is seen in the case of the F-M=H-E, the Bull-cow, the *Gandharva-apsaras* (*Gandharvī*), or even the malevolent one and his "women": and (ii) the apparently abnormal one (or, rather the supra-normal one) as between the "sister-brother", "son-mother" (Pūṣan, Agni, Yama-Yamī) etc. There is also the concept of the general seeder (YAMA-Cosmic Fire). We have noted earlier, and it has to be recalled as a firm belief, that the relationships

Arts No. Vol. XL, Oct. 1971, pp. 1-26.

1. It formed an important part of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice, and gave the sacrificer symbolic success. At the *Agni-cayana* it was customary to play dice while laying down the heads of the five animals in the layer of the altar. It is laid down, that at this rite dice was played while a ram was being cooked—*Baudh. Śr. Sū.* X. 9, *dívyanto vṛṣabhaṁ pacante*. This detail may be compared with, *pīvānaṁ meṣam apacanta vīrā nyuptā akṣā anu dīva āsan*, from the *Vasukra*-hymn (X. 27.17 ab).

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suggest a word-play. In all cases the Vedic seer poses the pairs that appear awkward but not so etymologically. This he does on the typical conception of such words as *svasṛ*, *pitṛ* etc. which indicate the cosmic elements and not humans. But, there is no doubt that he throws indications of an awkward sex-relationship. This he does on the belief that such awkward-seeming sex-relationship would produce the desired result; for it is only on the plane of the sacrifice, which is the *sukṛtasya yoni* or the *ṛtasya yoni*. Here he acts religiously on the principle that the humans or mortals, acting on the plane of the sacrifice are supra-mortals—nay, they are divine—acting for the good of humanity, or for a particular objective desired by the sacrificer or the seer-priest. This mode of thinking and behaviour is illustrated by the maxim *parokṣa-priyā hi devāḥ* (the gods are fond of the un-common), which, in other words, means that the divines act by symbolism. What the seer does is that he takes the images fixed in the tradition, and curves them with the insertion of sex. Thus, the commonly known *svasṛ* is the Dawn (Uṣas) or the Night (1. 92. 11; 123. 5; II. 32. 6; IV. 52. 1; VII. 71. 1); or the Daughter (*duhitṛ*) is the earth (X. 61.7 where she is *kṣmā*, "earth", cf. the Father who is *kṣmayā sañjagmānáḥ*). When pūṣan is *mātúr didhiṣú*, he is the seeder of the earth (the acclaimed Mātṛ); and when he is *svásur jārá* he is the "paramour" of the Dawn in his aspect of the mild guiding sun. These cosmic images then are used with same words in the ritual-context, where the mortals act—only as *svasṛ-bhrātṛ* or *pitṛ-duhitṛ* (the "milker" of the Heaven's seed). In a zoo-morphic context the seeder becomes the *Aśva*, for he pervades (√*aś*), and is the symbol of the pervading sun. Thus he is supra-mortal as the relationship noted earlier is supra-human, where normal forms of behaviour are not only not expected, but even religiously forsaken. Hence the actor has to be somebody different from the normal counterpart—and hence, divine !

With the establishment of the sacrificial institution, the seer-priest, or later the priest, came to be considered divine[1]. He became known as the *vipra* (cf. Nābhānediṣṭha, X.61.16, 23, 24) and was equal to the very gods. Among the gifts of the sacrifices it became a custom to offer to the high priest a daughter or a maiden (1.126.3; VIII.46.33). The gift of Vṛcayā by the Aśvins to Kakṣīvant (I.51.13) seems to be of this sort; and, in the sexual dialogue between one Romaśā, said to be the young wife of

1. *Śat. Br.* II. 2.4.6; *Gopatha Br.* II. 1.6.

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king Bhāvayavya and the king (I.126.6;7) the probability is of the parties being a woman symbolically called Romaśā, "hairy", to suggest her state of puberty and the seer-priest Kakṣīvant himself participating in a sexual spell. The seer of the whole hymn, except for these last two verses, is Kakṣīvant; and this point has to be noted. At the sacrifice to *Apāṁ napāt* it was customary to give away a maiden and a mare to the high priest.[1] In all such gifts the idea seems to be to sexually pacify the priest, the act being believed to be conducive to the general good of the sacrificer on the lines we discussed above. From this point of view the priest becomes the divine ritual-husband; and, if he actually marries the maiden, he becomes her rightful and regular husband. This actually gets to be the source of one of the various forms of marriages, called *daiva*. The point to be noted is that of the Ritual-husband, or of the divine seeder. In the other three types of marriage accepted to be of a higher status (*Brāhma*, *Ārṣa*, *and Prājāpatya*) also this motif is seen, in the fact that the bride is believed to have the Gandharva, Agni and Soma for her husbands prior to her becoming the wife of her mortal husband (X.85.40). The mortal marriage is, again, not only an earthly affair; for the whole back-stage is set with the marriage of Sūryā and Soma, the divine bride and bride-groom. Again the earthly marriage is performed on the plane of the sacrifice, thus connecting the mortal act with the divine plane through the medium of ritual. Moreover, the bride has to be blessed by the sun-fluid, indicating the sun as the divine seeder. This is done by letting fall on the head of the bride, water from the hole of a yoke or of the chariot-wheel, to the inside of which a piece of gold is tied. This hole and the piece represent the sun; and the water is the sun-fluid by which the bride is lustrated. The sun here comes as the cosmic seeder prior to the mortal husband taking her for wife.[2] This seeding is done against the background of sacrifice in the marriage-ritual, in the presence of fire. This is the basis of all *saṁskāra-s*, which, hence, become divine, though on the earthly plane.

We have seen how the cosmic seeding forms a part of the marriage-ritual. This is done for happy married life full with children and other prosperity. Now, the same motif is to be marked in the regular sacrificial ritual, where the wife of the sacrificer

1. Keith A. B; *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, ii. p. 352.
2. The source of this ritual is indicated in the hymn of Apālā, RV. VIII. 91. For a full discussion and interpretation, see *Vedic Concept of Field...*, *Mahāgnī and Apālā*, where an examination of other opinions could be found.

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plays the part. Thus, at a rite in the Soma sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer is asked to look at the *Udgātṛ*; and the following is said on her behalf :—"You are Prajāpati, the layer of the seeds (*reto-dhāḥ*); plant your seed in me. May I obtain the seed from you, who are Prajāpati *retodhāḥ* (*Vāj. Sam.* VIII. 10). Here the *Udgātṛ* clearly stands for the divine seed-layer (*retodhāḥ*). Likewise, in the *Pravargya* rite the wife of the sacrificer is asked to look at the *Mahāvīra* vessel. This vessel is specially made of a particular shape; and it is also called *pravargya* and the *gharma* which represents the cosmic boiler, fire and also the fertilizing fluid. It is this cosmic fluid that is sought to be prepared at the sacrificial ritual. In essence, the Mahāvīra represents the sun; and the boiling liquid in it is the solar essence. The wife addresses the Mahāvīra (i.e. on her behalf the priest) looking at it thus :—"Being in the company of Tvaṣṭṛ, may we serve you". The reason for this rite is explained thus—*Pravargya* is the Bull; the sacrificer's wife is the *yoṣā* (the woman, i.e. the female counterpart of the *Pravargya*-Bull; *yoṣā* $<\sqrt{yu}$, "to unite"); they are the couple (*mithunam*); thus is the act of procreation accomplished (*Śat. Br.* 14.1.32.15).[1]

The cosmic sex-symbolism for the general weal, thus, changes to that of a particular case, i.e. of the sacrificer. Though this weal comprises of corn and other wealth including progeny, the note falls prominently on the gain of the son. Many instances can be cited; but here is one more. In the context of the *Patnisaṁyāja* obtains the following rite :[2] The *veda* (a cluster of the *darbha*-grass) is placed by the *Adhvaryu* or the *Hotṛ* on the lap of the sacrificer's wife; or according to certain authorities, the wife herself places it. The wife addresses the *veda* (through the said priest) saying, "*Veda* you are, bestow the *vedas* (wealth; the etymology is to be marked $\sqrt{vid}$, $\sqrt{vind}$ to gain), you are satisfied; may I also be satisfied with wealth and progeny"; and at this point the sacrificer is to spread the portion of the sacrificial grass earlier taken from the *veda*, in one straight line between the *Āhavanīya* and the *Gārhapatya* fires, with the *mantra*, *tantuṁ tanvan* (*Taitt. Sam.* 3. 4. 2.2.). The placing of the *veda* in the lap of the wife is a symbolic act, which indicates conception; and the straight line in between the two fires shows the family-line. This will be clear presently. When the wife is to have the *veda* placed in her lap, she is already girdled

1. *atha patnyai śiro 'pā-vṛtya mahāvīram abhīkṣamāṇām vācayati—tvaṣṭṛmantas tvā sapema; vṛṣā vai pravargyo yoṣā patnī, mithunam etat, prajananaṁ kriyate.*
2. The following references are from the *Śrauta-kośa*, G. G. Kashikar (English Tr., R. N. Dandekar), Vaidika Sam. Mandala, Poona; pp. 412 ff.

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with a strap. This strap is called the *yoktra*. While girdling the wife, the *yoktra* should be so arranged that its knot should show (in front) the noose up and the two strap-ends down. There is no fixed rule about the noose being up; it may also be down. Baudhāyana and Śāliki say that the noose be down, while Dīrghavātsya says that the noose be up and the loose strap-ends down; the reason given is that *in this way the progeny is born*. This shows that the binding of the *yoktra* corresponds to the probable position of the foetus in the womb. As soon as the *yoktra* is released, the placing of the *darbha* from the *veda* in between the fires is done. At another ritual, connected with the New-and-the Full-Moon sacrifices, after the girdling is done, the wife is made to sit with strainers placed above her head. In this condition sacred water is poured over her head (cf. the lustration of the bride referred to above). As the stream comes down, she is to sip water from it (*apośana*). Then she addresses the *Gārhapatya* (house-hold) fire, at the rear of which this lustration is accomplished, "May I be full with progeny"; and the *mantra*-s recited at this time are those that are used at the marriage-ritual, and in the rite called *Indrāṇī-karma* that forms a part of that ritual[1] (*Indrāṇīvāvidhavā bhūyāsam*, *Taitt. Ār.* 3. 7. 5. 10; cf. *Taitt. Br.* 3. 5. 13. 3; *Āpa. Śr. Sū.* II. 5. 9; and, *mama putrāḥ śatru-haṇā*, *RV.* X. 159. 3). At all these rituals, the *yoktra* is said to be the noose of Varuṇa; and it is released with the *mantra—pra tvā muñcāmi varuṇasya pāśāt* (with which at the marriage-ritual the woollen cord fastened to the hair of the bride is released). The *yoktra* is to be released after the *veda* is placed in the lap of the wife; and, according to Bhāradvāja, thereby the wife gives birth to a son. According to the Āśvalāyana tradition the wife should touch her navel with the tips of the sacred grass in the *veda* (symbolic), if she desires progeny.[2] When the *yoktra* is released after the *veda*-in-lap symbolism, the wife is made to hold it in the cavity of her hands. The *hotṛ*-priest supports her hands from below, with his left hand; and, with the right, he pours water on the *yoktra* in the cavity, with, *mā-haṁ prajāṁ parā sicaṁ yā naḥ sayāvarī* ("may I not sprinkle off the progeny that naturally accompanies"). The cavity, obviously, is the womb; and the *yoktra* represents the progeny, as we have earlier observed. The *Mānava Dh. Sū.* prescribes the *mantra*, "with life, with progeny" (*sam āyuṣā saṁ prajayā*). The streaming of water here on the *yoktra*, on the wife's head, and

1. See *Vedic Concept*.....p. 24f for discussion.
2. *Śrauta Kośa*, p. 426.

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on the head of the bride at the marriage-ritual has the same motif. It ensures progeny and happy conjugal life by the divine fluid, which the sun controls, and which is the seeding principle of all the female elements in the cosmos. The motif is clear in the rituals that have come down to us; and, in the Vedic hymns, where it has become blurred, it is traceable through the help of images that indicate, what could be termed as cosmo-sexualism.

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THE ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ "PALIMPSEST" IN VIII. 46

A. Esteller, S. J.

I. INTRODUCTION : SUBJECT AND METHOD

The Ṛgvedic kavis had developed, in the long course of their poetical tradition and evolution, a variety of technical conventions, affecting their metrical composition, which have to be carefully taken into account in order correctly to assess the perfection or otherwise of their rhythmical schemes. The most important of these conventions is, of course, the one concerning the saṁdhi—which is so different from the pāṇinian-classical saṁdhi. A *pre*-pāṇinian stage of the latter has been, as is well known, forced on the original text of the *Ṛgveda* by the transmitting agency, leading to the creation of our present Saṁhitā-text, which, in its traditional form, deforms and disfigures the genuine Ṛgveda of the ṛṣi-kavis. That transmitting agency (which we may call by the collective name of "Saṁhitākāra"—or SK for short) gave us an *edited* text of the primitive *Ṛgveda*, which can rightly be termed a "Palimpsest" as we have often stated in print and by word of mouth. The changes effected in the Saṁhitā involve not only what are the more natural language phenomena of Saṁdhi and pronunciation (often ruining the metre !) but others as well more directly concerned with the rhythmical use of the words, like the resolution of diphthongs and long vowels or the use of short vowels in place of long ones to carry the ictus in a final cadence—for instance "āvasai", in a final iambic rhythm, for "a avasai", by what has been called a "rhythmical protraction." Beyond that the *Ṛgveda* kavis have employed other more exclusively versifying conventions which have been at times partially preserved by the SK, but at other times completely palimpsested away in his Saṁhitā text. We shall study here two of these conventions: the clipped termination and the elliptical haplology.

(We recall here the principles followed in our *romanising transcription—with which we beg the reader to make himself familiar*—of the Ṛgvedic texts. The latter are presented practically in the *Padapāṭha style*, with the words separated and the saṁdhis dissolved. This is done for clarity and so as not to prejudge the state of the texts before the introduction of the redactorial Saṁhitā saṁdhi-system.

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But if a vowel-saṁdhi is metrically demanded, the sign + joins the words concerned. Diphthongs are restored to their archaic forms; *e=ai, o=au, ai=āi, au=āu;* but, if they are *resolved* into two syllables, a hyphen or the corresponding semi-vowel (y) (v) is inserted between the vowels affected ("tredhā: tra*i*dhā: tra-*i*dhā: tra(*y*)*i*dhā"). Long vowels are *resolved* into two syllables, if metrically demanded, as *ā=aa, ī=ii, ū=uu.* On the *right-hand margin* + means emendation, × means word-reshuffle or pāda-reshuffle for (mostly) metrical reasons. Text-emendations are *italicized.* The letters *ă, ĭ, ŭ, ŗ̆* mean *short* vowels used by the kavis *as if long*, especially for a final rhythm).

As regards our *method of text-critical reconstruction* the following remarks will explain its substance (already insinuated above): The most fundamental reason for postulating a text-critical reconstruction of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* radicates in the fact, admitted by all competent modern Ṛgvedic scholars, that the marvellously preserved *traditional text* is itself the result of a *redactorial edition* of the original hymns. That redactorial edition manifested itself above all by inflicting on the original text a system of *grammatical saṁdhi* which represented a much younger stage of evolution of the language. Now, that younger saṁdhi system was ruinous for the metrical pattern and rhythm; and thus we come to the obvious conclusion that the transmitting agency (the "Saṁhitā-kāra"—or SK for short) had *redactorial principles* which led "him" to disregard *metre* and *archaism* for the sake of his new-fangled grammatical-editorial hobbies and trends. The result was something like a "palimpsest", that is, a text *written over* the original one and hiding and disguising its primitive tenor. Hence, in order to reconstruct the original, our *basic text-critical principle must* be: *metre and archaism are paramount over the traditional Saṁhitā-text, and whatever is needed to restore metre and archaism is text-critically justified,* including especially the reshuffling of words (word-mobility) needed for that purpose, all the more if vouched for by the parallelism (metrical, textual or contextual) of other passages. And the same applies to interpolation, omission, and substitution of textual words.

In this way our method of text-critical reconstruction of the original *Ṛgveda* (beyond and behind its Saṁhitā-palimpsest) is based on these *four fundamental principles* : *metre, archaism, word-mobility and parallelism*—which must be considered as paramount in any clash with the traditional text, and which, if carefully used, will restore the kavis' own primitive form.

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These principles have been studied and demonstrated by this writer in many previous articles: v. gr. "Word-mobility in the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā (Journ. of the K. R. Cama, Inst., Bombay, 1971, No. 43, pp. 1-63).

As regards references, *Oldenberg* means his classical *Noten*; *Geldner* means his (German) translation of the Ṛgveda (HOS, 4 vols.); *Arnold* means his *Vedic Metre*; *Concordance* means the *Vedic Concordance* by Bloomfield (HOS). Any other work will be referred to with its full title; but, if alone, *Wackernagel* will mean his *Altindische Grammatik*; *Grassmann* or *Grassm.* his *Worterbuch zum Ṛgveda*). When no page-number is given, the references are, obviously, "ad loc" or "sub voce" (s.v.) for the works that have a well known systematic arrangement of topics.

We often refer to those authors with approval or disagreement, and frequently (for sheer brevity's sake!) do *not* expound their views, taking for granted that the reader will refer to them, if need be, and see for himself the reasonableness of our stand. The latter is taken only after due consideration for their opinions and in full appreciation of our debt to those great master-scholars on whose shoulders we rise, even when constrained to say: "magis amica veritas".

II. THE TEXT-CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF VIII. 46

We have in preparation a complete and detailed study of all the cases in the Saṁhitā concerning "clipped termination" (of the well-known type: "akavābhiḥ ūti-, navyasā vac*as*-,") and of "complementary haplology" (type: "ajur- yamuḥ" for "ajur (yam) + yamuḥ"; viśvasuvidaḥ" for "viś (va)+vasuvidaḥ"). Both conventions have a much wider range of occurrence and a much greater text-critical importance than is realized even among Ṛgvedic specialists, as we shall have occasion to show in this and in the above study. We choose here their incidence (especially as regards haplology) in a particular sūkta (VIII. 46), both because its peculiar metrical disarray makes it into one of the outstanding Ṛgvedic problem hymns as regards versification (cf. Oldenberg), and because in exemplifying the above conventions it offers ample scope for the application of our text-critical method in what is, in some respects, a veritable limit-case. We are confident that this sample (though only one case among very many !) will help to open new horizons in the scholarly approach to the SK's Saṁhitā-palimpsest text and to the rediscovery of the genuine *Ṛgveda* of the versifying master-

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craftsmen that were the *living* ṛṣi-kavis *behind* and *beyond* the elaborate Saṁhitā "death-mask".—And now to the task (for which the reader is earnestly requested to go through VIII. 46 beforehand to get the preliminary "feel" of its problems—and to keep the Saṁhitā-text open before him while perusing this essay, since brevity demands constant reference to that text).

We come across two specially interesting cases of haplology in : VIII. 46. 26.

a) yaḥ aśvaibhiḥ vahatai vasta (v) usr*aa*ḥ +
b) triḥ sapta saptatīn*aa*m +
c) aibhiḥ saumaibhiḥ saumasudbhi (s)
+ saumapāḥ + (?)
= aibhiḥ saumaibhiḥ saumasudbhya-(s)+,, ,, (N.B.)
d) dānāya śukrapūtapāḥ

Construe : "he comes (moved by) these somas, to give thrice seven seventies *to* the soma-pressers." For "usr*aaḥ*" cf. b, 11 b, 22e, 32de.—The second case is :

27a) yaḥ ma (i) imaṁ (?) cit u tmanā
b) amandat citram (!) dāvanai (!?) (sk: cf. 25cd !)
= *c*itr*a*m (!) amanda (d) + dāvanai (haplol. !)× + (N.B.).

The two haplologies support each other. The SK's × in 27b aims at avoiding the confusing alliteration: "citramamandad+ dāvanai," which could—though not necessarily—be really "*c*itra*m* *m*amanda (d) dāvanai" with the augmentless pluperfect (cf. VIII. 61. 9c!) *and* change of accent (!). But there surely *is* an SK's change of accent in "citrám" (*pace* Geldner !), which, because of "imam" must refer to king Citra of VIII. 21. 18a, but which the SK changed into "citrám" because of "dāvanai" (placed together by *him* !) owing to 25cd (q.v.).—The other (s+s) haplology (cf. "as +si=a (s) si=asi") in 26c is of a more frequent type, as we have seen already (in the study referred to above). But *here* "saumasudbh*ya* (s) is context-demanded (vs. IV. 24. 8b!)—*pace* Geldner (q.v.). Both haplologies in a hymn which is largely confused and corrupt, though the vast majority of correct *pādas* shows that this *must* be due to the SK, as can also be readily shown in most cases. —The first *ṭṛca* is a symmetrical mixture of *i*ambic (i) and *t*rochaic (t.) rhythms (and note the obviously intended symmetry of *paired* equal rhythms—except, perforce, (1c) thus : 1 (i—i—t—), 2 (i—i—t), 3 (t—i—i) :

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1a) *tu*vāvataḥ (!) purūvasau +(i.)
b) vayam indra praṇaitaḥ (!?)
= vayam indra praṇā (*y*) *ituḥ* [N.B.] + (i)
c] smasi *ṣmā* sthātar harīṇām (cf. 2d!) + (t.)
(cf. I. 37. 15b!)

The symmetry of rhythms demands 1c as trochaic, but the SK drops "smā" (cf. Concord. for *pāda*-heading "smasi+smā) in order to pair *his* 1ab (7 syllables !) misled by VIII. 24. 17a; 33. 12b.—cf. the kavi's 2d vs. VIII. 8. 12b; 19. 8d and 1. 1. 8a vs. 27, 1c ! This is contra Oldenberg (q.v.) and Arnold. As for "praṇaituḥ" [genit!] it is forcefully demanded by "*tu*vāvataḥ" [cf. the near-miss by Geldner !); but the SK was misled by "indra" and by the (similar) vocat. in 1c ("sthātar"), as well as by the fact that "praṇaituḥ" is an hap. leg. (as genitive!) as against four other cases (and two of "*na*yitar"—cf. Grassm.) of vocatives. The solitary *nayituḥ* in V. 50. 1a is solidly protected by its context. Further :

2a) *tu*vāṃ hi satyam adrivaḥ +(i)
b) vidma dātāram *ī*ṣ*aa*m (N.B.) +(i.)
c) vidma dātāraṁ rayīṇām [N.B.] [t.)
3a) ā yasya tai *m*ahimānam +(t.)

Note the rhythm-conditioned vowel-resolutions ("*ī*ṣ*aa*m vs. rayīṇām"!), and protractions.—Further:

4a) sunīthaḥ ghā sa martīyaḥ +
b) yaṁ marutaḥ (!?) yam aryamā (!?)
((= yaṁ varuṇaḥ (!) ,, ,,)) + (N.B.)
c) mitraḥ p*aa*nti adruhaḥ +

The *dvyṛca* 4+5 is for the Ādityas (cf. 5b!) and the *in*clusion of the Maruts (involving the *ex*clusion of the *chief* Āditya, Varuṇa !) do seem to be the SK's work—due to the fact that 1-3 *and* 6ff. are addressed to Indra and the SK has to justify the intrusion of 4+5 by putting in something connected with that god somehow (cf. "marutvān indraḥ"), hence the Maruts, who—for him!—are the only deity which fits into *this* metre ! (not Indra!) — *and* who are again mentioned in 17c+18 (cf. below). But the explanation is a little more complex: we obviously have here an SK who is faced with an *Indra*-hymn, but one whose kavi was bent upon inserting into it (probably because of the "indraḥ marutvān" idea—or because of his patrons' predilection?) the Maruts, whom he has actually embedded (though only subsidiarily) into this Indra-hymn in 17cd+18 by a characteristic yet rather unusual stylistic mano-

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euvre, as we shall see more fully further down. Misled by that fact, here in 4+5, the SK feels that he must prepare the ground with a pragātha-like stanza-pair which he *cannot* put at the very beginning, since this is an *Indra*-hymn. But since it is a borrowed-adapted text from an Āditya-hymn, he has to twist it to *his* purpose:

4a) sunīthaḥ ghā sa martiyaḥ +
b) yaṁ marutaḥ (!) yam aryamā [varuṇaḥ!]
c) mitraḥ p*aanti* adruhaḥ +
5!b) ādityajūtaḥ [!] aidhatai [N.B.] ×!
!c) sadā rāyā puruspṛhā ×!
!d) dadhānaḥ gaumat aśvavat suvīriyam +x!

We shall give below the justification for these emendations. But the chief thing is that, since the SK has so atrociously broken the text, he has now to mend the fences. The kavi has Indra in the *2nd* person in 1-3 *and* 8-11, hence, naturally he had the same in 6+7—as *is* proved (*pace* Oldenb., and *with* Pischel!) by the text itself as it *must* have been originally :

3a) ā yasya (!) tai (m*ā*himānam..... (N.B.) +
c) gīrbhiḥ gṛṇanti kāravaḥ,
6a) tam (!) *u tvā* (!) dānam ımahai + (cf.3a!)
7a) *tuvai*) (!) hi santi ūtayaḥ +
c) *tvām* (!) ā vahantu saptayaḥ purūvas*au* (cf. 7d+8a!) +

For the *frequent* "tam u tvā" cf. Concord.; but the SK ha d to change it because of the text in *his* intruding 4+5 to which it *cannot* refer (q.v.)—hence his change of "u tvā" into "indram", trying desperately to refer to 3 over 4+5 ! It would be impossible to get such a perfect result unless the kavi had meant it so. And note the link-up technique in 3a+6a typical of this kavi. The "tam indram" of the SK's 6a glaringly (even if distortedly) refers to 3a (*pace* Oldenberg and his *non*-proving parallels —which *both*, even if tṛca-heading, do come after texts referring to *Indra*, cf. VIII. 93.7;97.13 !). It also shows that 4+5 are artificially out of place! And once that is eliminated the above emendations are self-evident.—There is no end to the SK's tricks!—Further :

5a) dadhānaḥ gaumat aśvavat suvīriyam +×(last!)
b) ādityajūtaḥ aidhatai ×(first!)
c) sadā rāyā puruspṛhā (*pāda-order*: *bca*!) ×(second!)

cf. IX. 69. 8a) a naḥ pavasva vasumat hiraṇyavat
b) aśvāvat gaumat yavamat suvīriyam (N.B.) +

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Note that "gaumat aśvavat", used as noun-like neuters, occur in IX. 105. 4a without any additament so that 5ab above could be part of a gāyatrī (like 4) *without* "suvīriyam"; but the presence of IX. 69. 8ab makes it clear that the kavi must have intended a kind of "pragātha"-like pair (gāyatrī + *inverted* uṣṇih ?), since the following stanzas are also pragātha-like pairs (cf. Oldenberg). Hence, precisely in view of IX. 69. 8ab, a combination of 12+8+8 for 5 would appear more natural and better metrically—and still better in the order of a *normal* uṣṇih: 5bca!—cf. 31 further down—(which the SK inverted in order not to give too much prominence to "ādityajūtaḥ"; after having smuggled in the context-disturbing "marutaḥ" in 4b, as we saw. And note that no other "dadhāna—" form opens a stanza in the Saṃhitā!). Thus everything indicates that the SK wanted to find a bridge from the introductory gāyatrī (1-3) over to the pragātha-pairs by having a similar pair *gradually* leading to them : from the initial gāyatrī-ṭṛca (with an 8+8+8 metre) over to 8+8+8 vs. *some* combination of 8+12 (in 4+5), since it is followed by 8+8+8 vs. 8+8+12+8 (in 6+7), and by 8+8+8vs. 12+8+12+8 (in 8+9) as will be shown below. Then we have stanzas 10+11 (exactly like 6+7)—which strengthens the case for an uṣṇih in 5.

The pair of stanzas 8+9 show also the SK's hand at work (note the kavi's link-up "madaḥ" vs. 7d!):

7d)	madāya (!) harayaḥ sut*ai* (cf. I. 81. 8a+VI. 4I. 5c vs. SK's "sutam"!)+(8)	
8a)	yas tai madaḥ (!) varaiṇiyaḥ	+(8)
b)	((yaḥ indra (!) vṛtrahantamaḥ))	=SK's!
b)	yaḥ ādadiḥ *su*var nṛbhiḥ	+(8)
d)	yaḥ pṛtanāsu duṣṭaraḥ	(!?)
=	*sa* ,, ,,	+(8)
cf. IV. 36. 6b)	sa (!) śūraḥ astā pṛtanāsu duṣṭaraḥ	(N.B.)

The SK *mis*connects "sutam" with "vahantu" (in 7d vs c), but it goes with "madāya"!—Pāda 8b is bodily lifted by the SK from VIII. 92. 17b where it occurs in a context that misled him to alter the text above, though it also contains the real parallel for the kavi's own meaning:

VIII. 92. 16a)	yas tai nūnaṁ śatakratau	
b)	indra dyumnitamaḥ madaḥ (!)	
c)	taina (!) nūnaṁ madai (!) madaiḥ	(!?)
=	,, ,, ma*dai* ,,	(N.B.)
17a)	yas tai citrasravastamaḥ	

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b) yaḥ indra vṛtrahantamaḥ (N.B.)
c) yaḥ (!) aujodātamaḥ madaḥ

In the first stanza note the clipped ending ("taina ma*dai*—") as in akavābhiḥ ūti—", "navyasā vac*as*—", etc. The second stanza links up with the first and continues the description of the "madaḥ" in 16b; but in 16 itself the relative "yaḥ" is completed by a correlative "taina". And that was obviously the kavi's intention in our 8 above : "yas tai madaḥ.....*sa* duṣṭaraḥ", as clearly shown by the parallel (q.v.) from which he takes the final *pāda*, 8d. And he had clearly intended to have a gāyatrī with only *three pādas*. But the SK, who, as we saw, had changed the *second* person (into *third*) in the preceding stanzas 6+7, could not leave a "tai" hanging in the air—hence he borrowed the convenient 8b (=VIII. 92. 17b) which gave him the missing "indra"! Yet he is betrayed by the fact that the kavi is using gāyatrīs, *not* anuṣṭubhs, in *all* the surrounding stanza-groups : 1-3, 4 (+5), 6(+7), and 10 (+11)—but he was forced to *add* 9b (because of its "indra") while the kavi was contextually clear with his "tai" *alone*, in continuation of *his* "tam u tvā, t*u*vai, tvām" in 6+7) (q.v.). This is further confirmed by the SK's confusing rendering of 9, where he makes an unsatisfactory attempt at pseudo-imitating the concatenation of VIII. 92. 16+17 (a quite different one from the one actually intended by our kavi):

9a) yaḥ duṣṭaraḥ viśvavāra (!) śravāy*i*yaḥ +(12)
b) vājaiṣ*u* asti (!) t*ū*rutā (="madaḥ", as in 8!)—(8)
c) sa (!) naḥ śaviṣṭha (!) savanā+ā vasau gahi (!?)
= *tainā* (!) śaviṣṭha ,, ,, ,, +(12)
d) gamaima gaumati vrajai (8)
cf. VIII. 66. 12a) pūrvīś cit hi tvai (!) tuvikūrmi*n* āśasaḥ (!?)
= ,, ,, ,, tvā (!) ,, ,, +(12) (N.B.)
b) havantay indra ūtayaḥ (!?)
= ,, ,, ūtay*ai* (N.B.)+ (8)
c) tiraś cit aryaḥ savanā+ā vasau gahi (N.B.)+(12)
d) śaviṣṭha (!) śrudhi mai havam (cf. IV.29. 1+VIII. 33.14!)

This text is the model of 9c above. (Note that here the SK —*pace* Geldner+Oldenberg!—has been woefully misled by a too obvious trap in IX.1.5c—q.v.—as against V.32. 11cd; but "havantai tvā ūtay*ai*" is *here* the only possible sensible+idiomatic phrase—while the SK misinterprets 12a as a self-contained sentence (hence

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his "tvai" from IX.1.5c!) and has to find *anyhow* a subject "ūtayaḥ" for "havantai" !): But the SK missed the kavi's original turn, based on VIII.92.16 with its "taina (mad*ai*—)". He missed it, being probably misled by a reciters' diplology : "táinā+śaviṣṭha: táina (ś)śa—: tai na (ḥ) śaviṣṭha"—which the SK, confused by the prominent "yaḥ" and the 'vasau gahi" in 9c, naturally *mis*corrected into the "proper" (as *he* thought) "yaḥ...*sa naḥ*"— and thus gave Geldner and Oldenberg (the latter with the usual near-miss!) an exercise in contortionistic gymnastics—to explain it finally as a *kavi's* own slip of the mind :(No, really !). Our emendation is fully confirmed by the fact that none of the three other parallels (VIII. 33. 14+IV. 29. 1+66. 12) has a corresponding "naḥ", the latter being implicit in the "ā" with the verbs ("gam, yā, vah"), as it is obvious.

And so the dunce-cap belongs in the SK's head—not the kavi's !—as usual. *He* is capable of *any* idiotic thing in his palimpsesting method-in-madness; but scholars should be more alert to his thumb-print, since so many of his fingers *are* thumbs !—In conclusion, mark this kavi's characteristic link-up repetitive style which appears first in 1-3, goes on in 6+7 and especially in 7d vv. 8a, 8d v. 9a—and the same will be the case in the now following stanzas.

10a) gavyā+u ṣu naḥ yathā purā
b) aśvay*ā u*ta rāthayā +(N.B.) (?)
= " rathay*ā u*ta +× (Better; cf. I. I. 2b)
c) varivasya mahāmahaḥ

In 10b the SK transposes for a "better" end-rhythm in *his* orthoepy. Note how "gavyā" links up with "gaumati vrajai" in 9d.

11a) nahi tai śūra rādhasaḥ (N.B.)
b) antaṃ vindāmi s*ā*tar*ā* (?) (satr*aa* !) +

Considering this kavi's orthoepy (2b, 3b, 9b, 10b, etc.) "s*ā*tar*ā*" is also quite likely (*pace* Oldenberg)—though "satr*aa*" is better. Mark also the pāda-overflowing style, typical of this kavi, as we shall see and have seen above.

11c) daśasyā naḥ maghavan nū cit adrivaḥ
d) dhiyaḥ vājaibhiḥ āvitha (!?)
= dhiyaḥ vājaibhiḥ *āviṣaḥ* (N.B.) +

The context of 10+11c demands an injunctive-imperative (not a perfect tense !), as shown by I. 81. 1 which should read :

I. 81. 1c) tam it mahat *su* ājiṣu +
d) uta+ım arbh*ai*—havāmahai (clipped ending !)

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e) sa vājaiṣu pra (!) no 'viṣat (SK's "pra") (!?)
= sa naḥ vājaiṣu *ā*viṣat (N.B.) (cf. VIII. 68. 10) +

cf. 8e) atha no 'vitā bhava (SK's false abhinihitas !)
= " *naḥ a*vitā " +

III. 13. 6a) uta naḥ brahman aviṣaḥ (!?) (SK vs. *his* saṁdhi !)
=uta naḥ brahm*a* āviṣaḥ (cf. VII. 61.2c!)
c) ukthaiṣu (!) daivahūtamaḥ.

But the SK wants a better final rhythm in IId above, hence his completely uncontextual "āvitha", which he finds often used (cf. Grassm.), though *contextually*, by the kavis.

But the metrical confusion that sets in after 10+11 cannot possibly be attributed to the normally versifying kavi of 1-11; and on the other hand we have found in that first part sufficient indications of the SK's hand at work. Now this kavi shows a tendency—as already indicated—to repetitiveness (cf. 6a+c, 6b+7b, 7d+8a, 8d+9a) and simultaneously another to link up the stanzas through the repeated words and phrases (cf. 6a vs. 1—3 and 7a; 7d vs. 8a; 8d vs. 9a, 9d+10a). With these guidelines, together with the glaring abrupt jumps in syntax (in the SK's text) and the kavi's obvious intention of having normal stanza-groups (1—3; 4+5; 6+7; 8+9; 10+11) especially pragātha-like pairs, we can go confidently to work. The full justification of the changes made has been partly given, and the rest will be given further down (but meanwhile cf. Bloomfield, *Ṛgv. Rep., ad loc.,*). Gathering up the threads we have :

8a) yas tai madaḥ (!) varaiṇiyaḥ)) =(cf. 7d) + (8)
b) ((yaḥ indra vṛtrahantamaḥ)) =SK's own!((8))
c) yaḥ ādadiḥ *su*vaḥ nṛbhiḥ + (8)
d) *sa* (!) pṛtanāsu duṣṭaraḥ (!) (SK for abc+9a!) + (8)
((For the kavi cf. IV. 36. 6b))
+ 9a) yaḥ (!) duṣṭaraḥ (!) viśvavāra (!) śravāyiyaḥ (N.B.) + (12)
b) vājaiṣ*u* asti (!) tūrutā N.B.) + (8)
c) tainā śaviṣṭha (!) savanā+ā vasau gahi (!) (N.B)+(12)
d) gamaima gaumati vrajai (8)
10a) gavayā+u ṣu naḥ yathā purā (8)
b) aśvayā rathay*ā uta* (SK for rhythm !) +× (8)
(c) variyasya (!) mahāmahaḥ (!) (8)
+ 11a) nahi tai (!) śūra rādhasaḥ (8)
b) antaṃ vindāmi satr*aa* (*sātara* ?) + (8)

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c) daśasya naḥ maghavan nū cit adrivaḥ (12)
d) dhiyaḥ vājaibhiḥ *ävişaḥ* (!) (N.B.) + (8)

We come here to a break after what sounds as a final prayer (in 11) for 1-11 with *direct* address to Indra. He figures *now* in the *3rd.* person!

12a) yaḥ ṛṣvaḥ śrāvayat-sakhā (8)
b) viśvā+it sa vaida janimā puruṣṭutaḥ (12)
c) taṃ (!) viśvai mānuṣā yugā (8)
d) indraṁ havantai taviṣaṁ yatasrucaḥ (12)

This is an inverted "satobṛhatī" to which corresponds quite fittingly the *extended* "satobṛhatī" that we now find by putting together two syntactically congruent fragments which, in union with 12, build a self-contained *dvyṛca.*

+ 13a) sa (!) naḥ vājaiṣu (!) avitā purūvasuḥ (cf. VI. 48. 2c) + (12)
b) puraḥsthātā maghavā vṛtrahā bhuvat (12)
(!) 15a) dadī(ḥ) ra-ikṇaḥ tanuvai dadiḥ vasu + (12)
b) dadiḥ vājaiṣu (!) vājinam (("puruhūta"= SK's)) + (8)
((+"nūnam atha"=SK's too!))
(cf. I. 4. 8c+9a; 176. 5d; IX. 65. 11c—*all* 8-syllable parallels!)

Mark how this transposition brings together the *link-up repetition* in (cf. 11d!) 13a+15b (so clearly re-echoing this kavi's similar one in 7a+8ad+9ab!] as well as the smooth congruence in syntax and construction in 12+13+15 (vs. the jolting incongruence of the SK's 14+15+1", q. v.!), so that 13+15 form a natural-normal single stanza (for a sort of variated pragātha together with 12), even though so procrusteanly dislocated by the SK. That could scarcely be possible unless kavi-intended! The SK's wrenching is meant to separate the two "vājaiṣu" phrases in 13a+15b (so typical of this kavi—cf. the *three* "dadiḥ" in 15ab!) away from each other and from 11d, so that there is only one of them *after* each different stanza (10+12+14)—even if that means leaving the syntax of 15 woefully hanging in the air without context-support (q.v.). But that also—by a typical SK's trick!—makes each half-stanza look at least like a virāj o jagatīs, as a possible independent verse: hence the SK's tell-tale blatantly incongruous "puruhūta" (cf. VIII. 24. 8c+9c—easily suggested by the "puruṣṭutaḥ" in 12b) obviously at loggerheads with its context, whether the original one here restored or—still worse!—

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the SK's own. Sheer obtruse verse-cobbling of our palimpsesting SK (disjoining the *natural* pair "vājaiṣu vājinam"!) which itself alone fully supports our emendations in this connexion. The SK adds further "nūnam atha", which makes *his* 15b hypermetric, since he places it after *his* 14 (whose a+c *he* makes hypermetric too, as we shall see). This completely unmetrical appendage looks like an SK's attempt at giving sense to the torn, verbless sentence (cf. Grassmann). But this splitting of one stanza upsets the pragātha-like pairing of the hymn, and consequently forces the SK to engineer another similar split (to restore the balance). This he duly executes in the immediately following stanza, which is 14 (and which he, metrically thoroughly misjudges) :

14a) abhi vaḥ vīram andhasaḥ (cf. 11ab!) (8)
b) mad*ai* gāya girā mahā (N.B.-cf. 17d!) +(8)
c) vicaitasam ind*a*raṁ nāma (()) śākinam (()) +(12)
d) (()) irajyantaṁ vasūn*aam* (()) (=16a vs. bc!) +(8)

This very clearly is the opening of a new self-contained unit with a bṛhatī (followed, as we shall see, by an inverted sato-bṛhatī, like 12), corresponding to what we saw in previous cases : 6-11 and 12+13+15, though in varying arrangements. But the SK misinterpreted the pādas, misled by *his* word-grouping (by *sense* vs. metre) ! *For him* the text reads :

14a) abhi vaḥ vīram andhasaḥ madai (ṣu)gāya (!?) =13 (tr-!)!
b) girā mahā vicaitasam =8
c) indraṃ nāma (śrutyaṁ) śākinaṃ (vaco yathā) (!?) =13 (i. !) !

We bracket what the SK adds : "madai (ṣu)" from VII. 21. 1d (it being the *only* case vs. 4 "a. madai" which is the natural phrase in *this* context—as against the different one in VII. 21. 1. q. v); but the SK needs that extra syllable so as to make *his pāda* (13 syllables !) end in a triṣṭubh-rhythm at least—since he *must* read "gāya" as *pāda-end*, because it is accentless (and thus can*not* open the next *pāda* !) and because of VIII. 33. 4a+VI. 45 2a vs. 11ab above! This forces him to read "vicaitasam" in 14b (to get an 8-syllable *pāda*!). And that necessitates, in turn, his looking for a compensating filler for *his* 14c—which he finds in a (for him, legitimising) association in the *unique* "śru*ti*yaṁ nāma" of V. 30. 5b (q.v.). *Against* this latter kavi *he* reads "śrutyam" and by adding "vaco yathā" (an hap. leg.! sense ?—suggested by 21c ?—cf. Grassm.+Geld.+Oldenb.), he makes the pāda have 13 syllables (!), exactly like *his* 14a (but with a jagatī-rhythm, in conformity with

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the prevalent iambic trend of this hymn—cf. *his* 14b). And note that he can only split the original stanza *here*, if he has to get some sense in the first part. The second part (the SK's 16) is now reduced to 16a : (()) "irajyantaṁ vasūnām", for which cf. 1. 7. 9b+58. 7c+X. 93. 3a+IV. 1. 20a+b—(besides VIII. 39. 10c; 41. 9e; I. 151. 6d). These parallels were bound to supply the SK—as against the kavi's real parallels : VI. 60. 1c; X. 140. 4a; VII. 23. 2b—with the materials and the natural mnemonic association for him easily to complete the pāda (16a) into a (for him) 10-syllable triṣṭubh (since *he* does *not* resolve the—*ām* syllables) similar to the 10-syllable (!) jagatī that for him is *his* 15a (q.v.). But since he has made the first part of the original 14 into *three pādas* (as shown above), he now tries to make also *three pādas* for the second part, in this woebegone way :

16a) viśvaiṣām irajyantaṁ vasūnām (!?)
b) sāsahvāṁsaṁ cit asya varpasaḥ (!?)
c) kṛpayataḥ nūnam aty+atha (!?)

16b seems a jumble of scraps made (by the SK) to look like a 10-syllable (!) jagatī (as in *his* preceding 15a!) out of reminiscences from V. 48. 4b+I. 141. 3a+X. 100. 7c and from VIII. 16. 10c+I. 100. 5b. In the case of "sāsahvāṁsam" it is to be noted that the SK had been busy with the word and worked upon it repeatedly :

IX. 110. 12c) *su* āyudhaḥ sāsahvān sauma śatrūn (!?) (SK's filler !)
= " " *sāhvaan* " " +
cf. IX. 90. 3d) aṣāḍhaḥ sāhvān pṛtanāsu śatrūn
VIII. 16. 10c) sāsahvāṁsaṁ yudhā+amitrān (!?) (SK's filler !)
= *sāhvāṁsaṁ* yudhā *a*mitrān (troch.!) +
cf. VII. 92. 4d) sāsahvāṁsaḥ yudhā nṛbhiḥ amitrān (N.B.)
= " " nṛbhiḥ yudhā *a*mitrān × +
I. 100. 5b) nṛṣāhiyai *saa*sahvān amitrān +

These texts show the SK busy with "sāsahvān" filling and modifying the text for the sake of *his* verse and younger orthoepy and saṁdhi. Hence he *was* likely to remember it in connexion with Indra. As regards 16c, he makes it into a 9-syllable (!) iambic *pāda* by a slight counter-piece-variation of the non-iambic appendage in his 15b, so as to mutually confirm both appendages as if intended symmetrical tags of the kavi himself : "nūnam atha" vs. "nūnam aty+atha". The exact number of syllables does *not*,

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obviously, matter for him in this whole context of *his* 13-17, where *his* anomalous pādas a e so abnormally usual. Hence for him 16c is just another "ārṣa" jagatī with shortened post-yati not so very different from his own 16b. But if we look attentively we shall realise that 16bc have, as original basis, a normal jagatī (in all probability) :

"sāsahvāṁsaṁ cit varpasaḥ kṛpäyataḥ (12)

The position of "kṛpäyataḥ" is similar to the one found for its counterparts in I. 146. 5b+III. 48. 9c (q.v.); and as regards its orthoepy cf. this kavi's 1b, 3a, 9b, 11d (+!)+13a, 17a, 19c, 20a (+) and the archaic usage in (f.i.) :

I. 116. 22d) jasürayai stariyaṁ pipyathuḥ gām +

VI. 13. 5d) vayaḥ vṛkāy–arayai jäsuräyai (haplol.) +

Note that in this second text, the same kavi makes abundant use of that metrical protraction in the final triṣṭubh-rhythm which he has in 1ab, 2ac, cf. :

2c) agnai mitraḥ na bṛhatäḥ ṛtasya (N.B.) +

It must be noted that "kṛpayatáḥ" is an hap.leg. (accent.!), whose meaning is uncertain (cf. Grassm., Geldner, Oldenberg), so that the SK cannot have merely borrowed it from any other Saṁhitā hymn—which holds good too for "nūnam atha, nūnam atyatha, vaco yathā" above. Hence we must conclude that he borrowed it from some *lost* (or non-Saṁhitā ?) Indra-hymn (of his own school) precisely in order to fill up the "missing" *pādas* in *his* 16. For that purpose of his *one pāda* was sufficient, since "varpasaḥ" suggested to him a pāda-*end* (cf. VIII. 16. 10c plus *all* the other three cases in Grassm.) and he could make it into a 10-syllable jagatī (like his 15a!) by adding the (*here* quite *un*contextual !) "asya" from the nearby VIII. 16. 10c—where it fits perfectly into *that* context ! (q.v.). As for "kṛpayataḥ", he had already the verse-filling appendage that we saw above, which (together with its counterpart in 15b) he may have meant in some such sense like the one *variously conjectured* by Grassm. and-or Geldner and-or Oldenberg (q.v.). He was not afraid of introducting that "kṛpayataḥ" because of its similarity to the forms listed by Grassm., s.v. "krap" (q.v.), though with different accentuation !

The above results bring out by themselves a fundamental fact for Ṛgvedic text-criticism, namely, that it would be completely wrong to approach the text of the above stanzas (13-16) without taking *fully* into consideration that *this* kavi has shown in a *long* series of previous stanzas (1-12!) that he *is* composing

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in *normal* metrical patterns and he *continues* composing in them in 18-20 in this first self-contained and coherent part of the hymn—even if made up of parts which can have been originally self-contained like 1-11 and 12+13+15 with 14+16+17+18+19+20 (cf. below). Hence it would be unreasonable to believe that *this* kavi all of a sudden, right in the middle of his composition, abandons these conventional patterns in a *completely irregular* fashion—all the more when, in between those irregular pieces, the regular patterns persistently appear and are for the most part easily restorable with relatively slight emendations : cf. 13ab, 14a, 15ab, 16a, to name only the most obvious. If to this we add the kavi's individual stylistic and versifying trends manifested in his regular-normal stanzas, and on the other hand we take into account the SK's redactorial trends, we shall have reasonably to conclude that any disturbance of the conventional patterns *must* a priori be attributed to the SK and the necessary emendations for the restitution of normal patterns be deemed text-critically justified in function of metre, rhythm, archaic orthoepy and parallels. This applies in a special way to the last stanza of this metrically anomalous interlude :

17a) mahaḥ su vaḥ arăm—iṣai +(8)
b) stávāmahai (mīḍhuṣai) araṁgamāya jagmayai) !?)
= stávā mahdi (( )) araṁgamāya jagmayai. + (12)
c) yajñaibhiḥ gīrbhiḥ viśvamanuṣām mārutām iyakṣasi (!?)
d) gāyai tvā (!) namasā girā (!?)
= !d) gāyai *tam* namasā girā × + (8)
= !c) viśvămanuṣām marutām iyakṣa*n* (N.B.) × + (11):

Note the kavi's normal pattern preserved in 17ad, and how easily it re-appears in b+c (with perfect rhythm *and* sense !) once the disturbing unmetrical elements are eliminated *and* the verb-accents are respected *pace* Geldner+Oldenb.). That could not be so easily possible unless the kavi had *so* composed them, surely. As for 17a Oldenberg is right (vs. a wavering Geldner) to side with Grassmann in considering "aram-iṣai" as a compound parallel to the obvious "araṁgamāya". But Grassmann is again right against the other two in straightforwardly accepting this kavi's exceptional use of "stu" with *dative*. It may possibly be explained in the sense of "singing praises for" (cf. Grassm. s.v. 7); but more likely it is an analogical construction with dative, due to this very kavi's use of 'gā". This latter root—when without upasarga—is overwhelmingly used with *dative* of the person

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concerned and the same is the case with "pra+gā"; but in maṇḍalas I + VIII the accusative sporadically appears under the influence of "gā+abhi" or "acchā" etc., as we see in 17d vs. 14a (vs. the neighbouring VIII. 65. 21a with the usual : "stautram indrāya (!) gāyata"). This interchange of cases in such a similar verb must have influenced *our* kavi, who uses both verbs in such close association and finds the dative so handy for his verse-building and his alliterating formations ("aram-iṣai , araṁ-gamāya, jagmayai") especially since the last two of them are given him *readymade* by the kavi of VI. 42. 1c (in rhythm *and* in dative), whom he unblushingly reproduces (cf. *Ṛgv. Repet., ad loc.*). He adds "mīḍhuṣai" led by the remembrance of the nearby VIII. 76, 7a and X. 85. 25c+45a, but more especially by the "aram" association of VII. 86.7a. This latter text shows "mīḍhuṣai" in the typical post-yati position where it is systematically placed by the kavis (6 out of 10, excluding this problematic one) when they do not put it at the iambic *pāda*-end (cf. Grassm., s.v.). It is already an indication of its spuriousness here that it comes after an *early* yati (against *all* the other six cases!) and that it is unmetrical—also against *all* the rest. The reason for this addition is the SK's desire to make 17b an hypermetric (as in his 14ac above) corresponding to *his* enlarged 17c. In the latter, "yajñaibhiḥ gīrbhiḥ" (cf: 3c) is an obvious interpolation, taken bodily from VI. 2.2b, (cf. V. 6.10b), precisely to correspond to the "namasā girā" in 17d. (And here mark that this "namasā girā" as *pāda-end* explains and fully confirms the "girā mahā" in our 14b, also as *pāda-end*, instead of the *natural* mahā girā", *equally* rhythmical-metrical, (!). as shown by II. 24. 1b (q.v.)—the kavi naturally avoiding the same *pāda-end* in two *adjoining* stanzas, as this very fact proves 14+17 (!) to be, in agreement with *our* text-reconstruction!). But what possibly could the SK have had in mind with *his* 17cd? A look at Geldner's intricately disjointed translation will surely convince an unprejudiced mind that neither an SK nor (much less) a sensible composing kavi could have meant such a puzzle. What the SK must have meant, judging by his context and parallels (cf. Grassm. s.v. "iyakṣ") is : "together with the sacrifices and hymns of the Maruts you, *Indra*, have (still) a desire (for more from the kavi) —(hence) I belaud you with worship and hymn". For the sense here given to "iyakṣ" cf. Grassm., s.v. and Geldner himself in his respective translations. But in order to obtain this semblance of sensible sense the SK has *transposed pādas* 17cd, from the normal pattern in pragāthas and in this series of stanza-pairs

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of never having two jagatīs together but *alternating* them with 8-syllable *pādas*—if available (which naturally excludes 13+15 as *enlarged* sàtobṛhatī!). That has been the order of this kavi in the un-emendated stanzas, and that has been also the (self-confirmatory!) result in our emendated ones (with the above natural exception). The SK has had to make that transposition obviously in order to avoid the self-defeating, anticlimatic appearance of saying: "I sing to you (but!) you desire (to be worshipped) with the Maruts' worship and praise". But note that the restored normal *pāda-order* involves an *abrupt*, uncontextual "tvā" (*without* the natural expected, clarifying "indra"—vs. 8b + 19b !) that hangs together with "iyakṣasi." The natural thing to expect would be "tam"—not "tvā" (suggested by VI. 2. 2ab+I. 10. la). On the other hand, the object of "iyakṣ" is very prominently "sumnam" (cf. Grassm. s.v.: I. I53. 2d; II. 20. ld. X, 50, 3b), but that is something that *men* desire and seek from *gods*, not Indra from anyone, not even from the Maruts. And yet the restored *pāda-order*, the context and syntax (together with this kavi's pāda-overflowing style, cf. 11ab+14ab—and especially the restored 3a vs. 6a (!) above) would lead us to have to accept that Indra longs for the Maruts' "yajña" *and* "sumna" (!) of all things ! This is so because 17cd is syntactically inextricably concatenated with 18—which precisely lacks that "missing" verb of 17c! But it can only be the *poet* who can desire the help of the "yajña" *and* the "sumna" of the Maruts as in the telling parallels above. Hence, if we reconstruct the texts concerned in function of all the convergent indications above, we are led to the following result :

17a) mahaḥ (!) su vaḥ arăm-iṣai + (8)
b) stavā mahdi (!) araṁgamāya jagmayai + (12)
!d) gāyai *taṁ* (!) namasā girā + (8) !
!c) (()) viśvămanuṣāṁ (!) marutām (!) iyakṣa*n* (!) + (11) !
18a) yai (!) pātayant*ay* ajmabhiḥ + (8)
b) girīṇāṁ snubhiḥ, aiṣ*aam* (!!) (N. B.) + (8)
c) yajñaṁ (?) mahiṣvaṇī*naam* ("gaṇam" ?) + (8)
d) sumnaṃ (!!) tuviṣvaṇī*naam* (()) + (8)

The "aiṣ*aam*" of 18b (typically accentless as referring to a *foregoing* subject !) is expressly meant (and can—in *this* context—*only so* be meant !) to take up the *syntactically unconnected genitive* of 17c and to *complete* it with the naturally expected accusatives ("yajñam+*sumnam*") which the kavi had purposely left unsaid and un-

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completing in 17c, precisely in order to link up the *last* of his stanza-*pairs* with his concluding *tṛca* 18+20 (which itself symmetrically corresponds to the *tṛca* opening this first part of the hymn: 1-3—also syntactically connected, as we saw, with 6+7 !). Hence the kavi obviously means: "(aham !) gāyai *tam* (indram), marutām (!)—yai pātayantay ajmabhiḥ girīṇāṃ snubhiḥ—aiṣaam (!!) yajñam sumnam (! iyakṣan." But the SK was caught napping and confused by this unusual link up, and he only saw the seemingly senselessly uncompleted "viśvamanuṣāṁ marutām". This he duly rounded off with his borrowed "yajñaibhiḥ+gīrbhiḥ" (relying on "namasā girā" in 17d and on "yajñam" in 18c). But then he was faced with the "anomaly" of "iyakṣan" building a *triṣṭubh* in a stanza of *iambic* pādas and jagatīs. And here he remembers the parallels with iambic pāda-end "iyakṣasi" (in *nearby* VIII. 55. 31b; 31. 15d+18d)and especially VI. 49.4d: "kaviḥ kavim iyakṣasi, prayajyau"—and that gives him the idea to complete sense *and* rhythm in the way explained above: "with the sacrifices and hymns of the Maruts you desire (the kavi)—(hence) I sing to you". And the SK probably intended 18 to mean: "The "yajña" and the "sumna" of those Maruts (I offer—or—they (?) offer to you—or, better: I sing to="gāyai" in 17d !)." But "sumnam" and the other indicia pointed out above betray the spuriousness of the whole set-up. The difficulty of this unexpected triṣṭubh is solved by the consideration that all the above reasons simply demand it, and also by the well-known fact that such exceptional mixture-variations do take place occasionally; but, above all, because in this particular case this kavi has *paired* this *last* triṣṭubh of his *last* stanza-*pair* with a similarly unusual one in his *last* stanza of his final stanza-tṛca, in 20c —which, being a bṛhatī, would usually give us a jagatī. Hence both exceptions must be held to be this kavi's symmetrical (and therefore, mutually supporting) intended variations.

We can now put the finishing touches to 17ab: in 17a "mahấḥ" is the adverb '-greatly" as Grassm. rightly saw—*pace* Geldner+Oldenberg! (q.v.), especially because "vaḥ" is completely and absurdly uncontextual, except as the exact counterpart of the well-known—and here mutually confirmatory ! —Ṛgvedic "vaḥ" in the *pair*-stanza (as we now know it to be) 14a: "abhi vaḥ (!) vīram" A "mahaḥ su vaḥ" as referring to the Maruts is totally out of the question and only a solution of despair that nothing can warrant—*pace* the above two great scholars ! On the other hand "stavāmahai" is an h. l. vs. the usual "stavāma, stumasi". Besides, this kavi uses the *singular* "gāya, gāyai" in this *immediate* context, though

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we do find plurals in 1-3 and a double "ɪmahai" in 6ac. And it is possibly *this* plural which influenced the SK (or possibly the reciters before him) to make a "stávāmahai" out of the kavi's "stávā mahái". The reason is that "stavā" is a rather rare archaic form (cf. Grassm.) which the SK may have misinterpreted as "stuhi" (cf. Sāyaṇa himself, ad X. 89. 1a!) and then miscorrected away as involving an incongruity : "stuhi vs. gāyai" in 17b vs. d (originally *adjoining*, as we now know!, while "stavāmahai vs. gāyai" is unobjectionable. Further, this kavi is fond of alliterating link-ups; hence "maháḥ stavā mahái" is quite in keeping with his style and very fitting indeed. Finally, and not least, the kavi has *bodily* taken over "araṁgamāya jagmayai" from VI. 42. 1c, and yet has not incorporated the all-important "narai" (1d)— cf. "vīram" in our pairing stanza 14a !—which would really have normally clarified the sense : "stavā *narai* araṁgamāya jagmayai". But the kavi did not include "narai" precisely because he had in mind *his* favourite word-play-linkage : "maháḥ : mahái" all the more since "mahai" (as "*the* great one") is *so* used by the kavis especially in the case of Indra (cf. Grassm., "mah", 2 : VII. 24.5a+31,10a—with a close resemblance to *our* text!—and VII.32. 9a, etc.). Hence it *must* be the transmitters (reciters and-or SK) who made the necessary change of accent, misled by the similarity and by the pseudo-model of "ɪmahai" in 6ac, if for no other reasons (as said above). Hence in conclusion, we have to accept the text of 14+17 as reconstructed above.

But as for 18-20 we find the SK trying to turn the final tṛca into a misbegotten caricature of a bṛhatī-*tṛca* with his redactorial tricks. And first we find in 18d (!) an appendage "pra+adhvarai" —which is evidently borrowed (in the cavalierly style of the SK in this context) from the *triple* prominent occurrence in VIII.12. 31d—33d, the idea being suggested by "yajñam" in 18c; but this very word is suspect, as making a not very appropriate sense in the context (a "yajña" of the Maruts occurs nowhere else!), and as being due to the SK's own *spurious* "yajñaibhiḥ" in 17c, and to the very desire of inserting "pra+adhvarai—while a very natural parallel in X. 77.1d contains the word that makes good sense : "gaṇam (!) astauṣi aiṣ*aa*ṁ (!) na śaubhasai".—Hence to the restored "ɪyakṣ*an*" in the *last* (as restored) pāda of 17 corresponds really :

18a) yai pātayantay ajmabhiḥ +
b) girɪṇāṁ snubhiḥ aiṣ*aa*m +
c) *gaṇaṁ* mahiṣvaṇɪn*aam* +(N.B.)

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d) sumnaṁ tuviṣvaṇīn*aam* ((·)) +

That the SK's "pra+adhvarai" is spurious is also proved by the fact that the resulting stanza is *not* a bṛhatī-type, as is *the* one such legitimate member of this tṛca, 20, as we shall see. But the SK could not possibly have put his "pra+adhvarai" in 18c here, both because of the context of 18d, and because *his* pseudo-model shows it *thrice* as stanza-*final*.—Further :

19a) praḅhaṅgaṃ durmatīn*aam* + (8)
b) indra śaviṣṭh*a ā* bhara (N.B.) + (8)
= śaviṣṭh*a i*ndra " " (,, ,,) ×+(=)(better
c) rayim asmabhy*a* y*ü*j*i*yam (( )) + (8) (!)
d) jy*a*-iṣṭhaṁ caudayat-matai (!)-(N.B.) + (8)

In 19b the SK dodges *his* saṁdhi, as also in VII. 13. 12a +68, 1d vs. I. 80. 1c, etc. (q.v.).—The SK's "caudayat-matai" in 19c is an unblushing copying from 19d in the manner of the echo-rhyme of the Parucchepa hymns, but blatantly betrayed by the fact that this kavi in *this* part of the hymn, does not make use of such a versifying device (not even strictly in 6ac, though it appears repeatedly in the "dānastuti" in 21-33—which is what gave the idea to our tinkering SK, obviously!)—and also by involving (for metricality!) a typically SK's own "modern "kṣaipra in "yujyam" which is the *only* one in the whole Saṃhitā (cf. Grassm. and the parallel VII. 36.7d) and is a complete alien misfit in this context of consistent archaic orthoepy. Hence 18+19 confirm one another as being just normal iambic *anuṣṭubhs*. But in 20 the kavi wants to signal the *end* of the tṛca of this part of the hymn —as well as to pair his triṣṭubh in 17c (*our* 17d!) :

20a) sanitaḥ susanisaḥ ugra (!?)
= sanit*āraṁ* sus*ā*nitaḥ (no "ugra"!) + (8)
b) citra caitiṣṭha sūnṛta (!?)
= citr*áṁ* caitiṣṭha ,, + (8)
c) prāsahā samrāṭ sahuriṁ sahantam (N.B.) = (11) !
d) bhujyuṁ vājaiṣu pūrv*i*yam (=VIII.22.2b + (8)

The woefully unmetrical 20a is made by the SK after cases of frequent pāda-final "ugra" (cf. esp., VII. 25. 4b; IV. 20. 7c; VI. 41. 3c; I. 33. 5c+VIII. 46. 20a above—and also VIII. 24. 7c, etc.) for a trochaic-like pair to 20c ! The kavi—in what we have found to be his characteristic pāda-and-stanza-overflowing style—obviously intends to continue the description of the "rayim" in 19cd (cf. Geldner with his shrewd reference to V. 23. 1—our kavi's obvious model!). But the SK misses it or is misled by the heaped vocatives to Indra's praise in 1-3 (q.v.) and by

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the word-play in 20cd, to lay it on with a trowel so as to propitiate that deity unto overflowing generosity : and thus he simply changes everything into dithyrambic vocatives. But metre, rhythm, sense and context *demand* the above emendations—and mark that there is no other "sanitaḥ+susanitaḥ, citra-caitiṣṭha" in the whole Saṁhitā, though they do occur singly—except precisely "sanitaḥ" (vs. "susanitaḥ" in III. 18. 5a!). But the SK obviously wants to (pseudo)-imitate the kavi's word-play: "prā*sahā sah*uriṁ *sah*antam" —which itself emulates the well known "uśatīr uśantam" but imitates more closely and obviously:

V.23.1a) agnai sahantam (!) ā bhara (!)
b) dyumnasya prāsahā (!) rayim (!)
c) viśvāḥ yaḥ carṣaṇīḥ abhi
d) āsā vājaiṣu (!) sāsahat (!)

Here note that 20c is a perfect triṣṭubh and *cannot* be reduced to an iambic octosyllable—and that the Kavi intended it so, as shown by its evident model. The latter is the reason why the SK does not try to make it into a jagatī by using the suggestive "sahantam" of I. 129. 9a (hap. leg.), But the kavi *wants* the triṣṭubh pair of 17d above! Q.E.D.—Further (and here begins the dānastuti!) :

21a) ā sa aitu yaḥ īvat ā (ṁ) (SK's ṁ vs "hiatus"!)
b) adaivaḥ pūrtam ā-dadai
= ,, pūr*a*taṁ dadai (svarabhakti!) +
c) yathā cit vaśaḥ aśv*i*yaḥ (cf. VIII.35.7a!) +
d) pṛthuśravasi kānītai (SK for c-24ab) (!?)
= kānītai pṛthuśr*ā*vasi (cf. 24ab!) × +
= e) asyāḥ v*i*-uṣi ādadai +

This is clearly intended as a paṅkti. The "ā" in 21a was obviously meant by the kavi as a variation vs. the "ā-dadai" of 21d with an archaic usage in the separation of the upasarga from its verb even in subordinate sentences. But the SK lacked one syllable, since *he* had no svarabhakti for "pūr*a*tam"—hence he pseudo-imitated 21e, needlessly repeating "ā" (cf. 21a!). For "pūr*a*tam" cf. dhūr*a*taiḥ in I. 128. 7fg (vs. Grassm.). In 21d the SK reshuffles for the "normal" order as in 24ab, but precisely there the kavi places "pṛthuśr*ā*vasaḥ" as pāda-end with an archaic orthoepy that yields the regular iambic rhythm (cf. also VIII.5.37a!). And this kavi *is* regular in his iambic rhythm, as we see here and shall see further down. —The now following stanza is also an iambic paṅkti (SK—enlarged in 22a!) mutually confirming and confirmed

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by 21+24. (In between the kavi mixed a perfectly iambic gāyatrī (23)—a mixture which appears also in the second dānastuti in 29-33 below, as we shall see).

22a) ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasrā+aśvyasya+ayutā+asanam (!?)
(=sahasrā *aśviyasya* āsanam (cf. 29bc) (no "ayutā"?)
+(?)
(=aśvyasy*a* *a*yutā+asanam) (cf. IV.41.10a) =8
syllables! +(?)
(=aśviyasya+ayutā+asanam) (vs. 29b;)(no "ṣaṣṭiṁ s."!)
+(?)
(=aśv*ānām* ayutā+ ,, +(SK's+for rhythm in his
"jagatī"!)—*right* !
(b+uṣṭrāṇāṁ (?) viṁśatiṁ śatā (cf. a="aśv*ānām*" !
=kavi's own !)

c) daśa śyāvīn*aaṁ śatā*
d) daśa tri-aruṣīṇ*aam* +
e) daś*ā* gavāṁ sahāsarā (?) (sahasr*aa*!) (cf. VIII. 2.41c) +

The "ayutā" in 22a *could* be a pure "enhancing" filler bodily lifted by the SK from the parallels—*contra* Geldner and his wasted attempt at a justifying translation (vs. 22e!). It is an astronomical number in repeated use in the "dānastutis" of this VIII Maṇḍala, cf. 34. 15; 21. 18; 2. 41; 1.5 (cf. Grassm.). The SK has been busy with that word, hence he *could* remember it handily to fill what for him is a very faulty jagatī (22a) —owing to *his* saṁdhi which yields him only nine or at most ten syllables! The texts concerned are :

VIII.34.15b) ayutāni śatāni ca (SK for saṁdhi!)
=śatāni ayutāni ca (saṁdhi!—cf. 14a) ×
VIII.21.18b) sahasram ayutā dadat (SK for saṁdhi!)
=sahasrā *a*yutā ,, (saṁdhi!—cf. 2.41bc) ×+

Hence there *could* be no doubt about the spuriousness of the "ayutā in" 22a, which the metre obviously excludes—*if a jagatī* were *kavi*-intended! But the next following 24 (after a gāyatrī, 23) is a perfectly metrical paṅkti! And so is 21! Hence 22 also—with 22a: "aśv*ānām*—ayutā+asanam", and "ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasrā" bodily filched from 29b by the Sk (cf. "parallels" in Concord.!) to enhance!—Further :

24a) dānāsaḥ pṛthuśr*a*vasaḥ cf. 21d!) (N.B.) +
b) kānītasya surādhasaḥ
c) ratham hiraṇyayaṁ dadat

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d) maṁhiṣṭhaḥ *suur*īḥ abhūt (cf. I.61.3d) +
e) varṣiṣṭham akṛta śravaḥ

This is again a paṅkti—confirming our text for 22a above.—The rhythm of 24a (cf. above, 21d !) is perfectly iambic, owing to a convention in the kavi's orthoepy that "śru, "śra" can be considered as "śṛu, śra," (cf. "śruta vs. śṛṇaumi").—A perfect bṛhatī now follows in 25—with the special feature of an echo-rhyme (and as introduction to the second dānastuti with a prayer-address to *Vāyu*!):

25c) vayaṁ hi tai cakṛmā bhūri dāvanai
d) sadaś cit mahi dāvanai (N.B.) (echo-rhyme)
26a) yaḥ aś aibhiḥ vahatai vasta (v) usr*aa*ḥ +(N.B.)
b) triḥ sapta saptatīn*aa*m +
c) aibhiḥ saumaibhiḥ saumasudbh*ya*(s) saumapāḥ + ! (haplol.)

This is a satobṛhatī (for a pragātha with 25). In 26a "usr-*aa*ḥ" is preferable (cf. 28b) to a possible "üs*a*rāḥ"—and in 26c we have our haplology—s+s—=(—s)+s—=s, as pointed out higher up (together with the accompanying text-emendation, q.v.).—Further (in another bṛhatī for a second pragātha) :

27a) yaḥ ma (y) imaṁ (!) cit u tmanā
b) amandat citr*á*ṁ (!) dāvanai (!?)
=c*i*tr*a*m amand*a* (d) dāvanai (mamandat?) × +

This is the other haplology ("—a(d)+dā—"), which could be possibly accompanied—as said further up—by still another one of the transmitters' own making. And, as the contextual demands indicate, the subject is vāyu "yaḥ imaṁ c*í*tram"=who (inspired) this Cítra (meaning the King, cf. VIII.21.18a, *not* "citrám" =wondrous thing)—vs. Geldner, who points out the difference in accent. The latter is due to the SK, misled by the reasons indicated above and by the use of "citrá—" (adjective) by the kavi in 20b above !—Further (in a metrical-archaic satobṛhatī) :

28a) uc*ä*th*i*yai vapuṣi yaḥ *suvä-raa*ṭ (N.B.) +
b) uta, vāyau, ghṛtasn*aa*ḥ (N.B.) +
c) aśva+iṣitaṁ raja (*ḥ*)+iṣitaṁ śunā+iṣitam (N.B.)
d) pr*a a*jma tat idaṁ nu tat +

This is clearly intended to be a normal "satobṛhatī" corresponding to the preceding "bṛhatī" in 27—and this demands the archaic orthoepy restored above in 28a confirmed by 28b (cf. 32e!) and by the archaisms in 28cd—cf. Oldenberg who, as usual, points

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in the right direction, though without going far enough.—Further:

29a) adha priyam ṛṣirāya cf. 1c, 2bc,3a)+(troch.!)
b) ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasr*aa*+*a*sanam cf. 22a!) +
c) aśvān*aa*m it na vṛṣṇām cf. a!+V.18.5b; VI.63.10b)
(troch.!)
=aśvānām it na vṛṣṇ*aa*m (?) (unlikely—cf. 29a!)

In 29a one could think of an archaic dative "iṣ*ṛaai*" (with protraction and resolution—cf. Grassm., s. v.—but it is unlikely here); yet it should be clear that the kavi intends to variate the rhythm in the first pāda with a trochaic end, as we have seen in the initial gāyatrī-ṭṛca: 1c, 2bc, 3a. In 29b "sahasr*aa*+*a*sanam" (no "vocalis ante vocalem", but archaic resolution plus "partial" sa*ṁ*dhi!—cf.22a), though "sah*ā*sarā+asanam" is thinkable too. In 29c a *trochaic* pair to 29a is more likely here, in spite of VIII. 56.4c (cf. above 2c vs. VIII. 19. 8d).—Further:

30a) gāvaḥ na yūtham upa yanti vadhrayaḥ (N.B.) (!?)
=g*avāṁ* ,, ,, ,, ,, (cf. I.86.7b
+VIII. 4.20d) +
b) upa mā yanti vadhrayaḥ (echo-rh.!) (N.B.)

The SK has misunderstood the upamā in 30a as if: 'gāvaḥ na yūthaṁ yanti" !—while the kavi clearly meant: "gavāṁ na yūthaṁ vadhrayaḥ upa mā yanti."

This 2—pāda (!) stanza has a typical echo-rhyme (cf. 32cd).
—Further:

31a) adha yat cārathai gaṇai
b) śatam uṣṭrāṁ (!) acikradat (cf. 22b+VIII.
5.37d) + (?)
= ,, uṣṭrā (ḥ) acikrada*n* (cf. 21a+b!+22b+VIII.
5.37d) +
(= uṣṭrāṇāṁ cikradat+śatam) (?) + ×
(=śatam uṣṭrāṇ*aa*ṁ kradat) (IX. 97. 18c-28a) + (?)
(=śatam uṣṭrāṇ*aa*ṁ kr*aa*n) (cf. 26ab, 28ab+11. II.8b;
IX.69. 3c; 64.9c; 98. 4ca) + (?)

The *first* solution is right: reciters' mis-nasalization+SK's mis-correction of the verb.—((*Or* can "uṣṭrām" be archaic *genit.* pl.(?)—cf. parallels and Geldner. But that must be less likely *here*. On the other hand—to test the other alternatives—if "kradat" had been there, or—a fortiori—"cikradat", the SK would *not* have touched it, considering his handling of VIII. 5. 37de vs. 5. 47b+48b (q.v.) and of IX.90. 4d+VIII.51.4c. Hence

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it could only have been an outrageously "unmetrical" (for him!) form—like the *last* one above—that could lead to what would be *his* typically-out-rageously redactorial mis-emendation—possibly relying on the "uṣṭrān" of VIII.6.48b, but more probably in pseudo-imitation of the archaic genit. pl. forms ("uṣṭrā*m*"), which for him, as the pp. shows, are supposed to be clipped terminations (hence his "daivān janma", in I. 71. 3., etc.—cf. Grassm.—*as if* for "daivān—(ām) janma", which it in no way is at all!). Hence he would characteristically choose an *augmented*, clarifying, metrically filling and rhythmical form as is "aci-kradat", and one in frequent use (cf. Grassm.). Now, the above (last) restituted form "krān" is amply testified (cf. Grassm. s.v. "krand") and is perfectly in keeping with this kavi's stylistic-orthoepic trends, throughout the hymn, but more especially in this last homogenous part of it, as shown by the parallels given above. And note that the archaic genit. pl. "uṣṭrām" may be still absolutely possible and would obviously simplify matters by leaving this pāda unchanged—so that one wishes it were true. But it is too good to be so! Yet in that case—but only then !—the alternative explanation above would hold good on solid grounds.))—Still the *first* solution is alone right: the SK *was* misled by mis-nasalization+ parallels (q.v.).

31c) adha śvitnaiṣu viṁśatiṁ śatā (!?)
= ,, ,, ,, ,, *śat—ā dadai* (cf. 21be!)+ (hap-lol.!)

This "hypermetrical" pāda is just the maimed rump of a jagatī, *pairing* the one in 30a above (cf. the SK's similar trick in X. 129. 7b!). But the SK objects, possibly, to having *twice* the same repetitiveness (cf. 21be), and, *certainly*, to the seeming contradiction that the singer *gives* ("śatā dadai"), when in 32b he obviously *receives* ("ā dadai")! But the kavi intends here a shrewd haplology : '*śat-ā dadai*", clearly relying on the evident context (and on 22b immediately following) to make his intention unmistakable.—And now we have all the factors that show that the stanzas 29+30+31 are a pragātha-like *pair* with 29+30 as an *enlarged* paṅkti (cf. 22!) and 31 as an *enlarged* gāyatrī (=uṣṇih) —corresponding to the straight paṅkti+gāyatrī in 32+33 (which, in turn, correspond to 23+24 in the first dānastuti!). Hence the kavi intended 29+30+31 to be :

29+30a) atha priyam ṛṣirāya + (troch.) (8)
b) ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasr*aa*+*a*sanam + (8)

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c) aśvān*aam* it na vṛṣṇām (cf. above) + (troch.) (8)
d) *gavāṁ* na yūtham upa yanti vadhrayaḥ + (12) !
e) upa mā yanti vadhrayaḥ (echo-rh.!) (8)
31a) adha yat cārathai gaṇai (8)
b) śatam uṣṭr*āḥ* acikradan. (cf. above) + (8)
c) adha śvitnaiṣu viṁśatiṁ *śat—ā* dadai (12)

The combination of 29+30 is fully backed by the sense, as both Geldner and Oldenberg point out (q.v., ad loc.). But the SK separated them misled by the other gāyatrīs, especially 33 (cf. 23 and partly 31) and also by the typical echo-rhyme pattern of (his) 30ab vs. 29abc.—Hence both dānastutis have some introductory and *four* gift-listing stanzas. The final one here is :

32a) dāsai balb*uu*thai śatam + +
b) vipras tarukṣ*aḥ* ā dadai (cf. 31c above+Oldenb.)
c) madant*i* indra-gaup*aaḥ* (echo-rh.!) +
d) madanti daiva-gaup*aaḥ* (echo-rh.!) +

As a result of the above metrical study we must conclude that this hymn, VIII. 46, in spite of its very muddled state due to the SK's meddling, is really originally a perfectly metrical "sūkta" —and as such fully justifies our stand that the two seemingly unmetrical pādas (26c+27b) *must* be metrical and therefore intended by the kavi as fully legitimate conventional haplologies. It is sheer incredible that the kavi who has—as demonstrated above—kept his final rhythm in more than a hundred pādas (!) should suddenly stumble in these two solitary cases—or in any other of those so resignedly accepted as unmetrical by Oldenberg *et al.* (q. v.) with what smacks of excessive and unwarranted text-critical conservatism verging on defeatism.

If we now look back upon the result of our text-critical scrutiny as a whole, we shall find that the *first* part of this hymn (1-20) forms a unit as far as having Indra for its main object is concerned. It has also a unifying style of repetitiveness combined with link-up devices and an all-pervading traditionalism manifested in copious copying and adapting from other hymns (cf. Ṛgv. Repet., *ad loc.*). This confirms the tradition of attributing it to one and the same poet. But this hymn as a whole is a still more composite one—the *second* part being the (first) *dānastuti* in 21-24, the *third* being an address to *Vāyu* (in 25-29) introducing the *fourth* which is also a (second) *dānastuti* (29-33). But even the first part (1-20) shows, as we indicated above, clear signs of being a conglomerate of two or

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three parts : I-11 (*direct* address to Indra); 12+13+15 (a pragātha-*pair* with Indra in the *3rd.* p.); and finally, a pragātha-*pair* (14+16+17) *interlinked* with an anuṣṭubh+bṛhatī tṛca (18-20)=five stanzas in all, where Indra comes in first in the *3rd.* p., but goes on to be addressed *directly* in a natural transition to a *final* prayer —the latter being a most congenial bridge over to the *first dānastuti* in 21-24. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume the following process of text-constitution at the hands of our SK : he could have found a collection of *sūktas* of this kavi consisting of : (1) a hymn to Indra (1-3+6-11=9 stanzas) ending in a prayer for bounty and immediately followed by a *dānastuti* (21-24)—giving a hymn with 13 stanzas and thus explaining more naturally the fact that it is allotted the first place in the group. (2) *Or*, alternatively, that he could have found a longer hymn of *four* pragātha-stanzas (12+13+15 and 14+16+17) plus a gāyatrī+bṛhatī *tṛca* (18-20) followed by a *dānastuti* (21-24). This the SK should have placed first (as having 11 stanzas vs. the 9 of the present initial part : 1-3+6-11); but the presence of the *second* (Vāyu-connected) *dānastuti* suggested, not surprisingly, the idea of bringing together the two *dānastutis* by making the two Indra hymns into one, thus solving the arrangement problem; but, since this brought what he considered as a new deity-factor (Maruts !) into the combined hymn, and with a view to asserting more convincingly the overall unity, he introduced the two (obviously artificial, as we saw !) Maruts+ *Ādityas'* (!) stanzas into the now initial part of *his* composite hymn. This gave him the added advantage of having also 11 stanzas in this first part, as in the second above. (3) As for the Vāyu-connected *dānastuti*, he decided to include it into the one single hymn because of its being the epilogue to the dakṣiṇā-earning Indra-hymn and because of the similarity of contents and style, and (possibly) because, since the previous hymn to Indra (VIII.45) had 42 verses and the following one to the Ādityas had 18, his composite hymn with *his* 33 verses occupied a fitting place between, in the descending order of consistently long hymns up to the Vālakhilya collection. And his unification had also advantages for simplification and especially for memorization. The second hypothesis is preferable—and it could have this form : the SK found the *second* Indra hymn (with the first dānastuti) as *first* in the collection, but, precisely because of the dānastuti, transposed it; yet, owing to the number of verses, he had to incorporate the *first* Indra-hymn (1-3+6-11) and to unify it with the Maruts+Ādityas' interpolation. In both cases the peculiarities and oddities and loose ends of the

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Saṁhitā text are satisfactorily explained and rationally clarified.

Finally let us underline the fact that it was well worth the while to go into the lengthy scrutiny above in order to prove that our method and principles can successfully tackle even the cases considered as especially difficult, and satisfactorily rescue the genuine original text of the kavis' Ṛgveda from under the disfiguring layers of the SK's Saṁhitā-Palimpsest.

If we now sum up our *text-critical gains*, we shall find the following outstanding features :—

(1) *Interpolations eliminated* : (a) *major ones in* : 4+5, 8b, 16bc; —(b) *minor ones in* : 14bc, 15bc, 16a, 17b, 18ab, 19c, 21b, 22a.

(2) *Eliminations restored in* : 1c,31c.

(3) *Emendations in* : 1b, 4b, 6a, 7acd, 8d, 9c,11d, 12b, 17bcd, 18c,19c, 20ab, 21b, 26c,27b,31b.

(4) *Transpositions* (a) *major ones* (inter-stanza, inter-pāda): 5bcd,15+14+16,17cd:—(b) *minor ones* (intra-pāda) : 10b, 19b, 21d,27b,32a.

(5) *archaic orthoepy*: (a) *diphthongs resolved* : 1b,15a,19d;—(b) *long Vowels resolved*: 1c,2b,4c,11b,18bcd,18a,19a,22c,24d,26ab,29b; 32-ade;—(c)*non-praśliṣṭa* : 10b,19b,22a,28d, 29b,32b;—(d) *non-kṣaipra*: 1a,4ac,5a,6b,7a,8ac,9ab,13a;15a,20d,21ce,22de,28a,33b;—(e) *non-abhinihita*: 17a(b),18a,26a,27c,—(f) *svarabhakti*: 14c,21b;—(g) *double saṁdhi*: 28c; (h) *protraction*: 1b,2b,3a,8d,9bc,11c,17ac,20a,22a, 24ad,28a,29a;—(i) *all inter-pāda Saṁdhis are spurious* (SK's own!):— (j) *original haplologies*: 26c,27b; 32c (!) :

(6) *Original verse and rhythm restored*: 1bc,2b,3a,14bc,16a,17ad, 19c,20a, 27a,24a,26c,27b,29ac,31c,32a.

(7) *Noteworthy cases of restoration of stanza order and form* (*pragātha-like*) : 8-9; 12+(13-15); (12+16)+17, (29+30)+31.

(8) *Later "Khilas" excluded*: 4+5,8b,16cd—besides *many other minor* interpolations (cf. 1 above).

(9) *Similar text-critical reconstructions* (through emendations, transpositions and archaism) have been rediscovered in function of the same method systematically applied—in : VIII. 66. 12ab; I.81, 1c+8c+III.13.6a; IX.110.12c+VIII.16. 10c+VII. 92.4d+ I.100.5b; VI.13.5d+2c; VIII. 34.15b+21.18d—thereby demonstrating that our method is valid *throughout the Saṁhitā*—because the SK's redactorial "method-in-madness" is ubiquitously and palimpsestingly active *throughout it* too !

(N.B.—*The resulting archaic text*—so strikingly *different* from the SK's *palimpsest*!—is a polished flawless diamond, free from the cross of the SK's palimpsesting disfiguration and truly worthy of

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occupying a place of honour in the ṛṣi-kavis' original Ṛgveda-diadem of unblemished versifying handicraft—Q.E.D.

III. THE RESULT

The complete text-critically emendated VIII.46
(*to be compared with its Saṁhitā-form*)

((A)) la) *tu*vāvataḥ purūvasau (cf. 7c) +(8)
b) vayam indra praṇ*ā*yi*t*uḥ +(8)
c) smasi *ṣmā* sthātar harīṇ*ā*m +(8) (tr. !)
2a) *tu*vāṁ hi satyam adrivaḥ (cf. 11c) +(8)
b) vidma dātāram *īṣaa*m (N.B.: repet !) +(8)
c) vidma dātāraṁ rayīṇ*ā*m (,, ,,) (8) (tr. !)
3a) ā yasya (!) tai (!) *m*ahimānam +(8) (tr.!)
b) śatamūtai śatakratau (8)
c) gīrbhiḥ gṛṇanti kāravaḥ (8)
((4a) sunīthaḥ ghā sa mart*i*yaḥ (cf. VIII. 25. 13c+X.126. 1cd) +8))
((b) yaṁ marutaḥ (?!) yam aryamā (varuṇaḥ!) 8))
((c) mitraḥ p*aanti* adruhaḥ —8))
((!5b) ādityajūtaḥ (!) aidhatai (cf. 31=uṣṇih !)×!8))
((!c) sadā rāyā puruspṛhā ×!(8))
((! d) dadhānaḥ gaumat aśvavat suvīr*i*yam ×!+12))
*4(=6)a) *tam u tvā* (!) dānam īmahai (!) (for *revised* numbers !)+(8)
b) śavasānaṁ abhīr*u*vam +(8)
c) īśānaṁ rayim īmahai (!) (echo-rhyme to a!) (8)
*5(=7)a) *tuvai* (!) hi sant*i* ūtayaḥ (8)
b) viśvāḥ abhīravaḥ sacā (8)
c) *tvām* (!) ā vahantu saptayaḥ purūvas*au* (cf. la) +(12)
d) madāya (!) harayaḥ sut*ai* (cf. I. 81. 8a+VI.41.5c) +(8)
*6(=8)a) yas tai (!) madaḥ (!) varaiṇ*i*yaḥ +(8)
((b) yaḥ indra (!) vṛtrahantamaḥ (SK's addition !) 8)
c) yaḥ ādadiḥ s*u*var nṛbhiḥ +(8)
d) *sa* (!) pṛtanāsu duṣṭaraḥ(!) +(8)
*7(=9a) yaḥ (!) duṣṭaraḥ (!) viśvavāra śravāy*i*yaḥ +(12)
b) vājaiṣ*u* asti t*u*rutā +(8)
c) *tainā* (!) śaviṣṭa savanā+ā vasau gahi +(12)
d) gamaima gaumati (!) vrajai (8)
8 (=10) a) gavyā+u (!) ṣu naḥ yathā purā (8)
b) aśvayā rathay*ā uta* ×+ (8)

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c) varivasya mahāmahaḥ (8)
*9 (=11) a) nahi tai śūra rādhasaḥ (N.B.) (cf. 14a) (8)
b) antaṁ vindāmi satr*aa* (cf. 22e) + (8)
c) daśasyā naḥ maghavan nū cit adrivaḥ (cf. 2a) (12)
d) dhiyaḥ vājaibhiḥ *āviṣaḥ* + (8)
((B))*10 (=12) a) yaḥ ṛṣvaḥ śrāvayatsakhā (8)
b) viśvā+it sa vaida janimā puruṣṭutaḥ (12)
c) taṁ (!) viśvai mānuṣā yugā (8)
d) indraṁ (!) havantai taviṣa*ṁ* yatasrucaḥ (12)
*11 (=13) a) sa (!) naḥ vājaiṣ*u* avitā purūvasuḥ +(12)
b) puraḥsthātā maghavā vṛtrahā bhuvat (12)
(=15) !*c) dadī (r) r*ayi*kṇaḥ tan*u*vai dadiḥ vasu × ! + (12)
!*d) dadiḥ vājaiṣu (( )) vājinam (( )) × ! + (8)
*12 (=14) a) abhi vaḥ (!) vīram andhasaḥ (N.B. cf. 11a) (8)
b) mad*ai* (( )) gāya girā mahā (N.B. cf. 17c!) + (8)
c) vicaitasam ind*a*raṁ nāma (( )) śākinam (( )) + (12)
(16) *d) (( )) irajyantaṁ vasūn*aa*m (( )) (N.B.) + (8)
*13 (=17!) a) mahaḥ su vaḥ (!) ar*ā*m-iṣai +(8)
b) stav*ā* mah*ái* (( )) araṁgamāya jagmayai +(12)
*! c) gāyai *taṁ* (!) namasā girā (N.B., cf. 14b!) × ! + (8)
*! d) (( )) viśv*ā*manuṣāṁ (!) marutām (!)
iyakṣa*n* (to 18 !) × ! + (11) !
*14 (=18!) a) yai (!) pātayant*ay* ajmabhiḥ (cf. d above) + (8)
b) girīṇāṁ snubhiḥ, aiṣ*aa*m (cf. d above) + (8)
c) *gaṇaṁ* mahiṣvaṇīn*aa*m (SK : "yajñam",
cf. 17d !) + (8)
d) sumnaṁ (!) tuviṣvaṇīn*aa*m (( )) + (8)
*15 (=19!) a) prabhaṅgaṁ durmatīn*aa*m + (8)
b) śaviṣṭh*a* indra (!) *ā* bhara × + (8)
c) rayim asmabhy*a* y*ū*j*i*yam (( )) + (8)
d) jy*ay*iṣṭhaṁ caudayatmatai + (8)
*18 (=20 !) a) sanit*ā*r*aṁ* sus*ā*nitaḥ (( )) + (8)
b) citr*aṁ* caitiṣṭha sūnṛta + (8)
c) prāsahā samrāṭ sahurim sahantam (cf. 17d) +(11) !
d) bhujyuṁ vājaiṣu pūrv*i*yam + (8)
((c)) *19 (=21) a) ā sa aitu yaḥ īvat ā (!) (cf. b !) + (8)
b) adaivaḥ pūr*a*taṁ (( )) dadai
(cf. a+e !) + (8)
c) yathā cit vaśaḥ aśv*i*yaḥ (cf. viii. 5. 37a) + (8)
d) kānītai pṛthuśr*ā*vasi (cf. 24a!) × + (8) !
e) asyāḥ v*i*-uṣ*i* ā-dadai (cf. b) + (8)

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*18 (=22) a) (( )) aśvānām ayutā+asanam + (8)
b) uṣṭrāṇāṁ viṁśatiṁ śatā (echo-like) (8)
c) daśa śyāvīnaaṁ śatā (" ") + (8)
d) daśa tri-aruṣīnaam + (8)
e) daśa gavāṁ sahasraa (cf. 11b) + (8)
*19 (=23) a) daśa śyāvāḥ ṛdhad-rayaḥ (8)
b) vītavārāsaḥ āśavaḥ (8)
c) māthrāḥ naimiṁ ni vāvṛtuḥ (8)
*20 (=24 a) dānāsaḥ pṛthuśrävasaḥ (cf. 21d) + (8)
b) kānītasya surādhasaḥ (8)
c) rathaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ dadat (8)
d) maṁhiṣṭhaḥ suurīḥ abhūt + (8)
e) varṣiṣṭham akṛta śravaḥ (8)
((D)) *21 (=25) a) ā naḥ vāyau (!) mahai tanai (8)
b) yāhi makhāya pājasai (8)
c) vayaṁ hi tai cakṛmā bhūri dāvanai (12)
d) sadyaś cit mahi dāvanai (echo-rhyme !) (8)
*22 (=26) a) yaḥ aśvaibhiḥ vahatai vasta (v) usraaḥ + (12)
b) triḥ sapta saptatīnaam (8)
c) aibhiḥ saumaibhiḥ saumasudbhya (s) saumapāḥ (cf.d) + (12)
d) dānāya śukrapūtapāḥ (echo-like) (8)
*23 (=27) a) yaḥ ma (y) imaṁ (!) cit u tmanā 8
b) citräm (!) amanda-dāvanai (haplol.) ×+(8)
c) araṭvay akṣai nahuṣai sukṛtvani + (12)
d) sukṛttarāya sukratuḥ (8)
*24 (=28) a) ucäthiyai vapuṣi yaḥ suvāraaṭ + (12)
b) uta vāyau (!) ghṛtasnaaḥ + (8)
c) aśva+iṣitaṁ raja (ḥ)+iṣitaṁ śuvā+iṣitam +(12)
d) pra ajma tat idaṁ nu tat + (8)
((E)) *25 (=29) a) atha priyam iṣirāya (troch. ! cf. 1c, 2c, 3a) + (8)
b) ṣaṣṭiṁ sahasraa+asanam + (8)
c) aśvānaam it na vṛṣṇām (troch. ! cf. a) + (8)
(30) ! d) gavāṁ na yūtham upa yanti vadhrayaḥ + (12) !
! e) upa mā yanti vadhrayaḥ (echo-rhyme !) (8)
*26 (=31) a) adha yat cārathai gaṇai (8)
b) śatam uṣṭrāṁ acikradat (cf. viii. 5. 37d) (!?)
= " uṣṭrāḥ acikradan)cf. 21 ab ! +22b+ VIII. 5. 37d) + (8)
c) adha śvitnaiṣu viṁśatiṁ śat-ā dadai (vs. 21bc, 32a!) + (12) !

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*27 (=32) a) dāsai balb*uu*thai śatam
(SK vs. *his* 31c !—cf. 31b) + × (8)
b) vipras tarukṣ*aḥ* ā dadai (cf. 31c !) +(8)
c) tai tai vāyau (!) imai janāḥ cf. 25a+ 28b !) (8)
d) madanti indragaup*aaḥ* (echo-like) + (8)
e) madanti daivagaup*aa*ḥ (" ") + (8)
*28 (=33) a) adha syā yauṣaṇā mahī (8)
b) pratīcī vaśam aśviyam + (8)
c) adhirukmā vi nīyatai (8)

N.B. 1) Mark finally how illogical it would be that the *kavi* who so consistently turns out so many normal (and so many *easily* normalised) verses should lapse into the relatively few abnormal travesties of the SK's text. Only a palimpsesting verse-cobbling SK is capable of that !

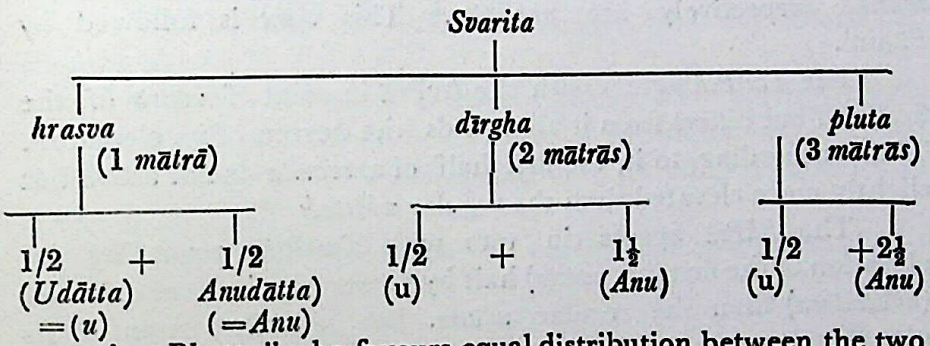
2) It is reasonable to conclude that the SK who introduced 4+5 and 8b and (para*logically* !) "corrected)" 6a+7ac belongs to a different category (Saṁhitā-order arrangers !) than the clumsy meter-wrecker(s) of the rest. The latter must have been verse-cobbling (family)-heirs of the kavi in the *pre*-Saṁhitā-gathering-ordering period of more uncontrolled and less standardised transmission :—It is an object-lesson in Ṛgvedic text-history and text-reconstruction, worth its weight in gold !

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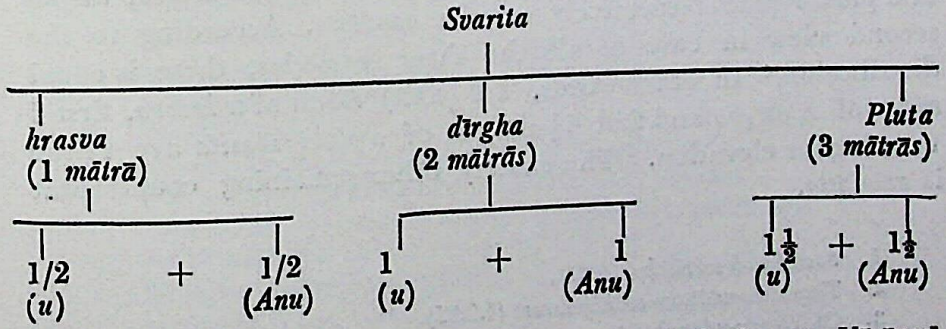
ON THE *MĀTRĀ* AND THE MODE OF RECITATION OF AN INDEPENDENT *SVARITA*

A. N. JANI

In my article "Fresh Light on Pāṇini's *Sūtra—Tasyādita Udāttamardhahrasvam* (1.2.32)*," I have tried to point out that the remark of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita *hrasvagrahaṇamatantram* is itself *atantram* i.e. unscientific and unwarranted, because Pāṇini, following the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*, uses the word '*hrasva*' in the sense of one *mātrā* and not in the sense of a *hrasvasvarita*, as understood and explained by Bhaṭṭoji. Thus, according to Pāṇini the division of the *mātrās* of a *svarita* is as under:



as against Bhaṭṭoji who favours equal distribution between the two parts of these three varieties. Thus, according to him :



*Read in the classical section, All India Oriental Conference, Vārāṇasī (1968). Published : *J. of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha*, Vol. 27, Parts 3-4, (July-Oct. 1971), (*K. C. Chattopadhyay Felicitation Vol.* part I), Allahabad, p. 261 ff.

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In the present article, which forms a sequel to the article referred to above, further study is taken up regarding the *mātrās* or the measure of the two components of a *svarita*.

A *svarita*, according to *Paṇini*, is formed by a commingling of two *svaras*, viz., *udātta* and *anudātta*[1] and the first half of it is *udātta* and the second half *anudātta*.[2]

Now as regards the *mātrās* or the actual measure of these two component parts, there seems to be no unanimity. There are differences of opinion on this which are taken up here for study.

The *Prātiśākhyas* have discussed this topic thoroughly and scientifically. Of course, they are also not unanimous as to the exact measure of the two halves of a *svarita*.

The *VājPrā* rests content with the definitions of the *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*[3] only and does not enter into further classification of *svarita*.

The *Avprā* analyses the *svarita* further. It says that the first half *mātrā* of a *svarita* is *udātta* implying thereby that the remaining 1/2, 1½ and 2½ *matrās* in the case of *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta svarita* respectively are *anudātta*.[4] This view is followed by Pāṇini.

The *TaitPrā* agrees with the AvPrā in point of *mātrā* of the first half but differs from it as regards the degree of its elevation. Thus, according to it, the first half of a *svarita* is not *udātta* but slightly more elevated than the regular *udātta*.[5]

The *ṚkPrā* agrees in toto with TaitPrā regarding the elevation of the first (i.e. *udātta*) half by prescribing it more elevated (*udāttatara*) than the regular *udātta*. But as to the extent of its elevation it records two views. According to one view in case of all the three varieties this raised elevation extends upto 1/2 *mātrā* only. The remaining 1/2, 1½ and 2½ *mātrā*s of the *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta svarita* respectively remain *anudātta*. According to the second view in case of all the three varieties, there is equal distribution.[6] In other words, 1/2 (half) *mātrā* of a *hrasva*, first 1 *mātrā* of a *dīrgha* and first 1½ mātrās of a *pluta svarita* are raised to a higher elevation. The exactly other remaining counterpart is *anudātta*.

1. *Samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ* (I.2.31).
2. *Tasyādita udāttam-ardhahrasvam* (I.2.32).
3. Cf. *Uccair-udāttaḥ Nīcair-anudāttaḥ Ubhayavān svaritaḥ* (I.108-110).
4. *Svaritasyādito mātrārdham udāttam* (I.17).
5. *Tasyādir uccaistarām udāttād anantare yāvad ardham hrasvasya* (I.41).
6. *Tasyodāttatarodāttād ardhamātrā, ardham eva vā* III.4.

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Thus, according to both the *ṚkPrā* and *TaitPrā* the first half (i.e. *udātta* portion) of a *svarita* is pronounced as *uddāttatara* (more elevated than the regular *udātta*) as against the *udātta* pronunciation laid down by the *AvPrā*.

Mode of Recitation of the Second Half

As regards the recitation of the second half of a *svarita*, the *Prātiśākhyas* record a number of divergent views. Thus, according to the *ṚkPrā* the *anudātta* second half of a *svarita* is recited as *udātta* (raised) if it is not followed by an anudātta or a second *svarita* (in which case *anudātta* portion will be recited as *anudātta*).[1]

The *TaitPrā*, on the other hand, goes into further details of the degree of depression of this *anudātta*-half of the svarita and records no less than five views on the matter.

It is pronounced either (1) as resembling an *udātta*[2] or (2) as *anudāttatara*[3] or (3) as *anudātta*.[4]

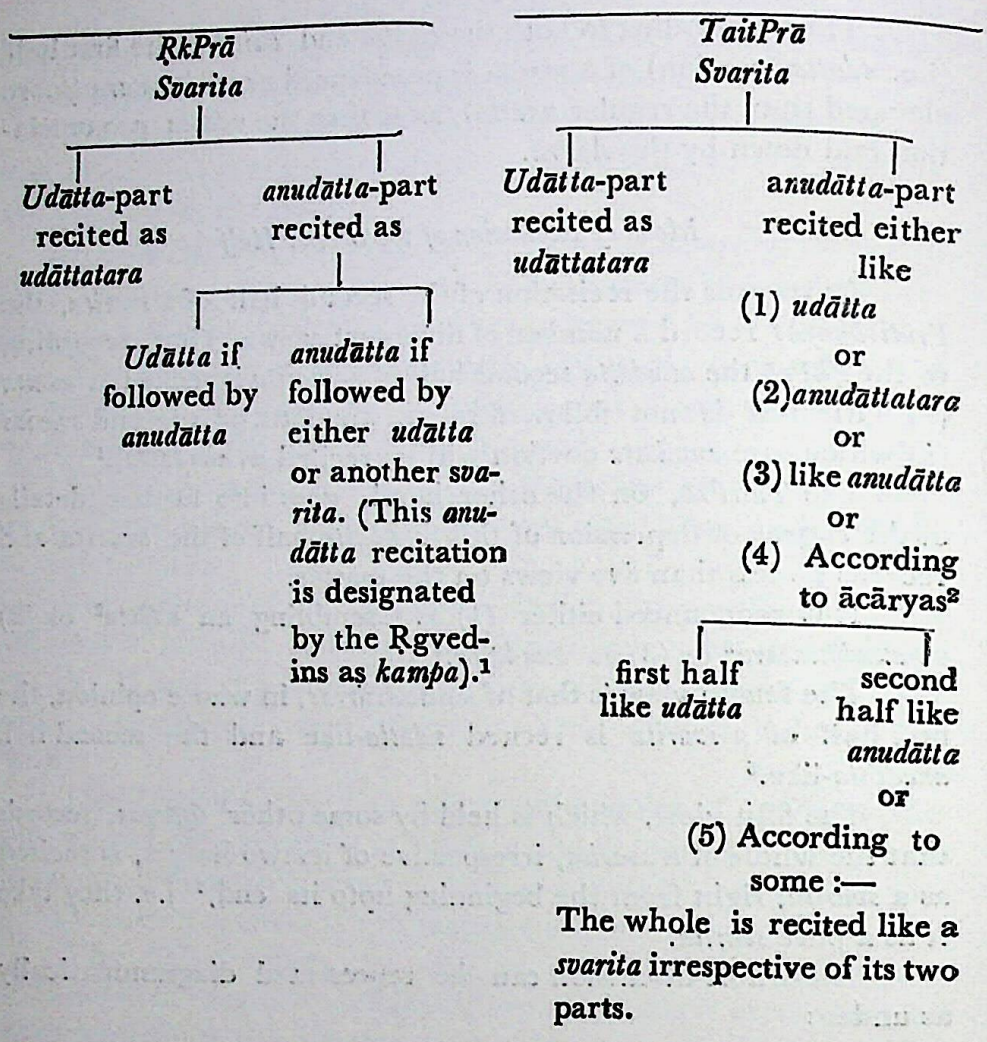
The fourth view is that of some *ācāryas*, in whose opinion, the first half of a *svarita* is recited *udātta*-like and the second half *anudātta*-like.[5]

The fifth view, which is held by some other *ācāryas*, records that the whole of a *svarita*, irrespective of its two halves, is recited as a *svarita*, right from the beginning upto its end,[6] i.e. they take it as a pure *svarita*.

The whole discussion can be represented diagrammatically as under :

1. *anudāttaḥ paraḥ śeṣaḥ sa udāttaśrutiḥ, na ced udāttaṁ vocyate kiñcit svaritaṁ vākṣaraṁ param* III.5-6.
2. *Udāttasamaḥ śeṣaḥ* I.42.
3. *Anantaro vā nīcaistarām* I.44.
4. *Anudāttasamo vā* I.45.
5. *Ādirasyodāttasamaḥ, śeṣo' nudāttasama ity ācāryāḥ* I.46.
   Udāttasama=somewhere between *Udātta* and *Udāttatara*.
   Anudāttasama=somewhere between *Anudātta* and *Anudāttatara*.
6. *Sarvaḥ pravaṇa ity eke* I.47.
   Whitney (*TaitPrā*, AOS, 1871) remarks on this (p. 35) :—"The view here taken is one, that might well enough be held by any one, as virtually equivalent with the one before presented : the voice somehow makes its descent from the higher to the lower pitch within the compass of the accounted syllable; whether by a leap or a slide, is a proper theme for hair-splitting argumentation, but of the smallest practical consequence."

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The underlying principle of agreement in all these divergent views seems to be that the first-half of a *svarita* should be recited as slightly higher than its remaining counterpart.

The foregoing discussion and diagram will make it clear that the author of the *TaitPrā* is more diligent and sincere in recording all the views current in his time, regarding the degree of elevation of the *udātta* portion and the degree of the depression of the *anudātta* portion, which otherwise would have been lost to us. The

1. *yadi tu udāttaṁ svaritaṁ vā paraṁ syāt, tadā anudāttaḥ paraḥ śeṣaḥ syāt, sa ca kampa ity ucyate bahvṛcaiḥ* (Uvvaṭa on *ṚkPrā* III-7 edt. by Mangal Deva Shastri; Vol. II, Allahabad, 1931, p. 114).
2. Whitney (*AvPrā*, p. 20) remarks that this view of the *ācāryas* is the same as the one expressed in *AvPrā* I.17. However, it may be added that *udāttasama* and *anudāttasama* cannot be correlated with the *udātta* and *anudātta* respectively. Because one who is Devadatta-like cannot be identical with his real counterpart Devadatta.

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divergent views on the point throw light on the precision and exactitude of hearing and analysing capacity of the thinkers of the hoary past and that this scientific analysis cannot be condemned as is done by Whitney[1] but should, on the contrary, be commended, keeping in view the fact of the precision of observation, analysis and description on the part of ancient phoneticians, who have arrived at exact results, even without the help of mechanical devices at the disposal of modern linguists.

1. "The other two treatises (i.e. *ṚkPrā* and *TaitPrā*) give way more or less to the characteristic Hindu predilection for hair-splitting in matters unessential." (*TaitPrā*, p. 20).

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ATRI, ṚBĪSA AND SAPTAVADHRI

B. H. KAPADIA

The Atri family had been one of the most popular among the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi-families[1]. All the families with which the Atris are closely related, are also related with the Aṅgirasa family. Kaṇva Ghaura was an Āṅgirasa and so all the Kaṇvas can be generally said to have belonged to the Aṅgirasa family. Priyamedha is an Āṅgirasa and so must have been all the Priyamedhas. Kakṣīvān is the son of Dīrghatamas Māmateya, who was the brother of Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati, who again was the son of Aṅgirasa. Gotama is the son of Rahūgaṇa and of his two sons Nodhas and Vāmadeva, the latter is clearly declared to be Āṅgirasa. Thus, all the families which are closely related with the Aṅgirasa family can be regarded as having been, in one way or the other, sub-branches of the original Aṅgirasa stock. So the Atri family also, though not directly mentioned as such, appears to have been a sub-branch of the Aṅgirasas.[2]

From the socio-historical point of view, therefore, the Āṅgirasas must have occupied a prominent position in the *Ṛgveda*. The authorship of the fifth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* is traditionally attributed to the Atri family. In the *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, ascribed to Gobhila's son we get :—

"The Vasiṣṭhas wear a braid on the right side[3], the Ātreyas have a threefold braid, the Aṅgirasas have a fivefold knot, the Bhṛgus are clean shaven, the rest wear a crest"[4].

The family of the Atris had relations with other families of the Ṛgvedic seers. The Atri family stood in close relationship with

1. The Marathi proverb *Atri sarvasin maitri* (Atris are friendly towards all) may be said to have its origin in these circumstances.
2. Mankad D. R., *Date of the Ṛgveda*, p. 87, has tried to prove that Aṅgirasa family is the main stock to which most of the seers of the Ṛgveda trace their origin.
3. Cf. RV. 7.33.1 where the Vasiṣṭhas are described as *dakṣiṇataskapardāḥ*.
4. *Gṛhyasaṁgraha* ii. 40, Z D M G 35, p. 57 :—

dakṣiṇakapardāḥ vasiṣṭhāḥ ātreyās trikapardinaḥ.
aṅgirasaḥ pañcacūḍāḥ muṇḍā bhṛgavaḥ śikhino anye.

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the Priyamedhas, the Kaṇvas, the Gotamas and the Kakṣīvatas. Parucchepa mentions Atri with Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Dadhyañc and Aṅgiras (1. 139. 9). Brahmatithi mentions Atri, Priyamedhas and Kaṇva together (8.5.25) while Kakṣīvān mentions Atri and Kaṇva as proteges of the Aśvins. Mṛlīka Vāsiṣṭha refers to Atri, Priyamedha Kaṇva together with Bharadvāja and Gaviṣṭhira (10. 150. 5).

Significantly, a number of seers of the Atri family appear in the eighth Maṇḍala which normally contains the compositions of the Kaṇva family. The Sūktas 35-38 in the eighth Maṇḍala belong to Śyāvāśva Ātreya. Sūkta 42 belongs to Arcanānas Ātreya and 62-63 belong to Gopavana Ātreya, while Sūkta 80 belongs to Apālā Ātreyī. The Āprī Sūktas of the Kaṇvas and Atri, viz., 1.13 and 5.5. have a stanza in common, viz., stanzas 9 and 8 respectively. Besides, certain names of patrons in the fifth and the eighth are also common e.g. Purumīḷha (5.61.9, 8.71.14), Ruśama (5.30.12, 8.3.12), Babhru (5.30.11, 8.22.10) and Aśvamedha (5.27.4, 8.68.15-16). Therefore, these two families must have originally formed a common family and even after separation they must have maintained family affiliations. Sāṅkhya Atri mentions Atri and Kakṣīvān together as proteges of the Aśvins (10.143.1). Kakṣīvān also refers to Atri's rescue from the *ṛbīsa* (1. 116. 8) and describes the seer as Pāñcajanya (1. 117. 3), and in another passage (1.118.7) refers to the succour given to Atri and Kaṇva by the Aśvins. Ghoṣā Kakṣīvatī refers to the protection of Atri Saptavadhri by the Aśvins (10.39.9). Bhauma Atri has been referred to by Śāyaṇa (5.41.5) as the priest of Kakṣīvān, the son of Uśij. Highly interesting is the occurrence in the Aśvādigaṇa of the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini of two entries Ātreya Bharadvāja and Bharadvāja Ātreya. This implies that the Gotra name is Bharadvājāyana when an Ātreya is meant, and conversely, it is Ātreyāyaṇa when a Bharadvāja is meant. This is confirmed by the Pravara lists, the family of Bharadvājāyanas being included under the Atris and the Ātreyāyaṇas among the Bharadvājas. Thus, the relation between the Atris on one hand and the Kakṣīvats or the Bharadvājas on the other is continuously traced from the *Ṛgveda* down to the Sūtra literature.

Thus, the Atri family had been one of the most popular among the Ṛgvedic ṛṣi-families. It is to this Atri the authorship of the fifth Maṇḍala is traditionally attributed. The fifth Maṇḍala has 87 Sūktas having 6 Anuvākas. The *Bṛhaddevatā* (5. 12ff.) refers to the fifth as the Atri Maṇḍala. In the *Ṛgveda* two interesting legends are narrated in which Atri figures prominently. Assuming

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that Atri mentioned in these legends is the same as the progenitor of the family responsible for the fifth Maṇḍala, we may analyse these. In the first legend, Atri figures as the protege of the Aśvins. The words Atri and Ātreya occur 22 times in the RV., and nearly in all these he is mentioned as a protege of the Aśvins The legend in brief narrates that the Asuras threw Atri into a kind of dungeon for harassment and then began to scorch him in fire. The seer then invoked the succour of the Aśvins who quenched the fire with snow and water and took out Atri safe from the dungeon. He is drawn out of a pit (ṛbīsa) safely together with his host (sarvagaṇa) by quenching the heat (ghraṁsam) with snow (himena) and by offering him food (1.116.8). The *ṛbīsa* is said to have thousand doors (śatadureṣu 1.51.3). The heat (taptaṁ gharmam) is made tolerable and pleasant (omyāvantam) by the Aśvins (1.112.7). That ṛbīsa was a place of torture is suggested also in 1.117.3. The ṛbīsa is described as *tapta* and Atri is offered dainty food by the Aśvins (1.118.7).

Sāyaṇa tries to give an alternative explanation of this legend in his commentary on 1.116.8 where he tries to identify Atri with Agni. Yāska in his *Nirukta* 6.36 supports the second interpretation. Before proceeding further let us examine the word *ṛbīsa* in the four passages, viz., I. 116. 8; I. 117. 3; 5. 78. 4, and 10. 39. 9. These verses are :—

himenāgniṁ ghraṁsamavārayethāṁ pitumatīmūrjamasmā adhattam ।
ṛbīse atrimaśvināvanītamunninyathuḥ sarvagaṇaṁ svasti ॥

I.116.8.

O Aśvins, you two extinguished the dazzling fire by snow, you gave him strength through food. You two took out Atri with his entire host quite safely from the fire pit.

ṛṣiṁ narāvaṁhasaḥ pāñcajanyamṛbīsādatriṁ muñcatho gaṇena ।
minantā dasyoraśivasya māyā anupūrvaṁ vṛṣaṇā codayantā ॥

I.117.3.

O you valorous heroes, you two released the sage Atri, who belonged to the group of the five, together with the band from the fire pit, the calamity, putting an end to the unholy dasyu, O you mighty ones, impelling in due order one after the other.

atriryad vāmavarohannṛbīsamajohavīnnādhamāneva yoṣā ।
śyenaysa cijjavasā nūtanenāgacchatamaśvinā śantamena. ॥

5.78.4.

When like a woman in labour pain Atri invoked you when fallen into the fire pit, O Aśvins, you two came rushing with the fresh speed of a bliss-bringing hawk.

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yuvaṁ ha rebhaṁ vṛṣaṇā guhā hitamudairayataṁ mamṛvāṁsamaśvinā ।
yuvamṛbīsamuta taptamatraya omanvantaṁ cakrathuḥ saptavadhraye ॥
10.39.9

"O Aśvins, you two lifted up Rebha who was dying. O you mighty ones, he who was lying in a cave. You two made comfortable Atri Saptavadhri in a burning fire pit."

Geldner translates the second line :—

"Den in einen Glutofen gesteckten Atri helfet Ihr mit ganzen Gefolge heil (O Aśvins, you safely took out Atri with his entire band, Atri who was placed in a glowing fire). He explains ṛbīsa as einer Art Ofen oder einer Grube mit unter der Asche glimmendem Feuer i.e. a kind of stove or a pit having a glowing fire under the ash, cf. *Jaim. Br.* 1. 151; RV. I. 112. 7, 16; 117. 3; 118. 7; 119. 6; 180. 4; V.78.4; VI.50.10; VII.68.5, 71. 5; VIII.73.3, 7. 8; X.39.9, 143. I. Khila I. 12. 2.

In I. 117. 3 also Geldner translates ṛbīsa as Glühende Ofen a glowing stove. In 5. 78. 4 as Glutofen and in 10. 39. 9 as glühende Ofen.

Let us now turn to some of the Dictionaries for the meaning of the word. In *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol.I. (1852-1855) p. 1058, Böhtlingk and Roth write :—Ṛbīsa n. 1) Erdspalte, Schlund (aus welchen heisse Dämpfe aufsteigen. 2) Erdwärme : *Pūtidārvādhānānyṛbīsapakvānyaudakāni varjayet, Kā. Śr.* S. 4. 10. 15 *ṛbīsapakvaṁ nāśnīyāt* cited by Durgācārya on *Nir.* 6. 36. The German words here mean respectively a crevice in the earth, gorge from which hot vapours rise upward.

In *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* Vol. I, 1956 Manfred Mayrhofer gives on p. 124 :—

Ṛbīsam n. Ofen/stove oder Grube [Sāyaṇa] mit unter der Asche glimmendem Feuer. Cf. Geldner *Der Rigveda* [1923] I.40 Anm., Neisser I. 192 ein heisser (tapta) Ort, aus dem Atri durch die Aśvins errettet wird.

Nach Scheftelowitz, Ind. Ling. 3. 145 dialektisch für ṛvisa, lit. urva Loch in der Erde, poln row Graben (suffix iṣa wie in amlit. barīṣa, uṣnīṣa ṛjīṣa, kārīṣa, purīṣa) unsicher kaum brauchbar Peterson AAst 30f.

Here also the German words mean stove, pit, under which fire is glowing covered by ash.

Śabdaratnamahodadhi pt. I, 1937 p. 390 gives :—Ṛbīsa n. (*ru varjane bhās ac pr*) *pṛthvī agni.*

Vācaspatyam vol. ii; 1962 on p. 1448 gives :—Ṛbīsa n. *ru varjane Bhās ac pr*) *pṛthivyāṁ nirutatsthe agnau ca,* then quotes 1.116.8

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imām ṛcamadhikṛtya yāskena ṛbīsam apagatabhāsam antarhitabhāsaṁ gatabhāsaṁ vā iti nirucyoktaṁ yo ayaṁ ṛbīse pṛthvyāmagnirantaro vādhivanaspatyapsu tamuninyatuḥ; quotes then *10. 39. 9 taptamṛbīsamagnikuṇḍaṁ Bhā.* quotes *5.78.4 ṛbīsaṁ tuṣāgniṁ Bhā. anṛtātithyapanodapūtidārvādhānānyṛbīsapakvānyaudakāni varjayet. K. 4. 101. 5 ṛbīsaśabdaḥ pṛthivīvācī yo ayamṛbīse pṛthivyāmiti yāskokteḥ ṛbīse yat pakvaṁ tindukādi Karkaḥ.*

V.S. Apte's *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary* Pt. I, 1957 gives on p. 491 :—ṛbīsaṃ ved. I) warmth of the earth, fire—2 A fissure, rent abyss.

From the above sources we can surmise that *ṛbīsa* means a cleft or abyss in the earth which contains glowing fire.

Let us now examine the above-quoted four verses in which the word *ṛbīsa* occurs. What is its exact connotation ? Sāyaṇa in his *Bhāṣya* on I. 116. 8 says that *ṛbīsa* is a kind of dark dungeon prepared for harassment (*ṛbīse apagataprakāśe pīḍāyantragṛhe*), while Yāska explains it as *apagatabhāsam apacitabhāsam apahṛtabhāsaṁ gatabhāsaṃ vā*, (*Ni.* 6.35), i.e. a pit from which light has gone out, therefore a dark pit. According to *A Grammatical dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic)* p. 60, it means a pit and the absence of change of *sa* to *ṣa* indicates that the word is non-Aryan.

In *Worterbuch zum Rigveda* von Hermann Grassmann, 3rd ed. 1955, p. 290 we get :—

Ṛbīsa, n. Schlund, Erdspalte i.e. abyss, a cleft in the Earth, Sie wird heiss (tapta 865.9) genannt. (It is called *tapta* in 10. 39.9, cf. *ghraṁsam* in 1.116.8. In allem vier Stellen wird aus der heissen Erdspalte Atri durch Aśvinā errettet (In all the four passages Atri is rescued by the Aśvins from the hot earth cleft. The word *ṛbīsa* in connection with Atri occurs in the following cases: *ṛbīsam* 5.78 4; 10.39.9; *ṛbīsāt* 1.117 3; *ṛbīse* I.116.8.

The above discussion leads us to surmise that *ṛbīsa* is a word of neuter gender and signifies a fiery pit or a cleft in which fire may be smouldering or glowing under the layer of ashes. Now a question arises as to why Atri was thrown into *ṛbīsa* by the Asuras ? The Vedic Aryan tribes were active and warlike. From their home in the Balkh region these adventurers set out on a mission of conquest and colonization towards the South-East. This was not an easy task. On their further march these people, who were the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans, had to encounter serious opposition from several antagonistic tribes. Atri[1] may be

1. Karandikar, *Dāśarājña Yuddha*, pp. 20-30 tries to prove connection of Atri with Iran. According to him *aira* (aila) is the Iranian title of kings. The

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one of the prominent priestly leaders of these Aryan colonisers. He must be arrested and persecuted by the non-Aryan tribes of India. They threw him into a burning pit (*ṛbīsa*). Atri must have been a popular leader and zealous missionary. This is borne out by the fact that he is referred to as *pāñcajanya*[1].

Is Saptavadhri mentioned in stanzas 5,6 of V. 78 identical with Atri? Oldenberg[2] points out that the whole Sūkta particularly the last part from stanza 5 onwards is a later addition. Geldner[3] divides the Sūkta into three parts. Sāyaṇa in his commentary on 5.78. 5-6 gives an interesting account. The relatives of Saptavadhri shut him (Saptavadhri) in a wooden box but Atri releases him everyday. The *ṛṣi* used to return to the box after enjoying his wife. Prof. H.D. Velankar[4] is inclined to see a homogeneity in the hymn. According to him stanzas 1-3 constitute Saptavadhri's request to Aśvins, to come to the Soma sacrifice; stanzas 4-6 refer to the help which he received from them wherein he compares himself with his wife Vadhrimatī, who received help from them at the time of a difficult delivery. Stanzas 7-8 are Atri's words of command to the Mūḍha garbha of Vadhrimatī.

The problem here is : are Atri and Saptavadhri the same or different ? As regards the identity of Atri with Saptavadhri, Prof. H.D. Velankar entirely agrees with Bounack[5] and Geldner. According to him, Saptavadhri was the famous Atri, who was saved by the Aśvins from the *ṛbīsa* where he was tormented by

Ailas are great grandsons of Atri. Atri is called Vṛka in the *Ṛgveda* and Vṛka is now a province in Iran. Atrius is mentioned in Greek Mythology as the grandson of Persus.

1. Cf. *RV*. I. 117.3. The same epithet is applied to Indra (I. 100. 2; 5. 32. 11), to Agni (9.66.20) to wealth (7.72.5,73 5). Dr. R. N. Dandekar, *The cultural background of the Veda*, the *University Ceylon Review*, XI, nos. 3-4, pp. 10-11 points out that the term *Pañcajanāḥ* must be of a very general import. Among the territorial states and monarchical kingdoms prominent among the latter were the kingdoms of five tribal leaders—Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa and Yadu. The political prestige of these five became so great that the entire Vedic Indian community as against the original inhabitants of Saptasindhu came to be designated as *pañcajanāḥ*. Sāyaṇa interprets the phrase as one who acts for the welfare of five tribes.
2. Noten, I, p. 364.
3. Geldner, *Der Ṛigveda*, ii, pp. 82ff.
4. The story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī, *Kane Commemoration Vol.*, pp.547ff.
5. Z D M G, 50 226ff. Bounack regards Atri and Saptavadhri to be the same. In Khila I. 12.2 Vadhri stands for Saptavadhri and Vadhri also stands for Atri. Just as Atri was saved by the Aśvins from *ṛbīsa*, so Saptavadhri from

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heat and darkness. A. B. Keith[1] also identifies him with Atri. A closer examination of the various passages relating directly or indirectly to the second legend about Atri would, however, seem to show that Atri is not the same as Saptavadhri. In 8.73.9 Saptavadhri is only mentioned while Atri is referred to separately from him in the same Sūkta in stanzas 7-8. Similarly, in 10.39.9 the words Atri and Saptavadhri occur in such a manner as to show that they were different persons as proteges of the Aśvins. In Khilas 1.5.9-10 Saptavadhri is described as *vṛkṣā*, *samiddha* and *dṛṇi baddhaḥ*. Here he is clearly different from Atri. Besides, Atri and Vadhri are mentioned as *proteges* of the Aśvins in two separate stanzas in Khilas I. 12. 2 and 1. 12. 6. Here though Vadhri is taken out of *ṛbīsa* and not out of the *vanaspati* still Vadhri denotes Saptavadhri. In AV. (4.29.4) Atri and Saptavadhri are mentioned separately as proteges of the Aśvins. In the same hymn of the *Atharvaveda* (4.29.3) there is a separate mention of Atri and Saptavadhri. Can it be that Saptavadhri is a member of the Atri family but not Atri himself. The *Anukramaṇī*[2] refers to Saptavadhri as Ātreya and not as Atri.

What can be the meaning of Saptavadhri ? Bounack explains it as one who is bound with seven straps. This is not corroborated, however, by the context. The *Bṛhaddevatā*[3] explains it seven times weak but this explanation is an after-thought. We know that Vadhrimatī was helped by the Aśvins for a safe delivery (RV. 1.116.13, 117. 24; 6.62. 7 and 10.39.7). The word Vadhri according to Prof. H.D. Velankar is used in a figurative sense, viz., forceless. His suggestion is that it means 'a man who had suffered a number of reverses of fortune'.

Now the question is, whether Saptavadhri mentioned in 5,6 of 5. 78 is identical with Atri. Oldenberg[4] points out that the

a wooden box. Both Atri and Saptavadhri figure together in a hymn 5.78. Sāyaṇa characterises the last part as Garbhasrāviṇyupaniṣad. In the last three stanzas Aśvins are invoked and they are entreated to come like a swan to a lake (5.78. 1-3). In the fourth verse the poet reminds Aśvins as to how he saved Atris from *ṛbīsa*. In verses 5 and 6 Saptavadhri himself implores Aśvins to take him out from a wooden box (*vanaspati*). The last three stanzas have no connection with the earlier part of the hymn.

1. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 227. With Atri Saptavadhri seems to be identical. He is only named in immediate juxtaposition with Atri and the same rescue seems to have been performed for him as for Atri.
2. Sāyaṇabhāṣya, *RV*. V S M ii, on 5.78.1, p. 969.
3. *Br D*. 5. 80-86.
4. *Noten*, i, p. 364.

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whole Sūkta especially from the fifth stanza onwards is a later addition to the original RV. *Saṁhitā*. Geldner divides the Sūkta into three parts. According to him the first three stanzas are an invitation to the Aśvins. In stanzas 5-6 two succours of Aśvins are referred to, viz., one of Atri from *ṛbīsa* and the other of Saptavadhri from the tree. The concluding stanza according to him constitutes a magical formula for an easy delivery. From the commentary of Sāyaṇa also it appears that the hymn can be divided into three parts and these are composed by Saptavadhri himself, on different occasions and for different purposes. Stanzas 4-5 are composed for his release from a wooden box, the next three for a safe delivery of his own wife.[1]

1. Oldenberg (*Noten*, i. p. 335) assumes the unity of the hymn and considers it to be a charm for safe delivery which is introduced by a soma hymn consisting of the last four stanzas. This is probably based on the following statement in the *Ṛgvidhāna:*—

vijihīṣva vanaspate tadidaṁ cyāvanaṁ smṛtam |
yaṁ cyāvayitukāmaḥ syāc cyāvayettamidaṁ japan ||

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THE FOLK-LORE IN THE *ṚGVEDA*

P. N. KAWTHEKAR

The *Ṛgveda* has preserved the most ancient elements of the story literature. We find Saṁvāda Sūktas in the *Ṛgveda*. Whether they formed parts of the Vedic drama or epic is a disputed matter, but it is not unreasonable to accept that they incorporate the legends and folk-tales of the ancient heroes and leaders of the people. Most probably there existed some popular literature which influenced the Vedic sages. The dialogue hymns and the legend hymns of the *Ṛgveda* can be traced to this influence.

Unfortunately, we do not have full versions of the legends in the *Ṛgveda*. But it is very likely that the principal elements of legends about the heroes were recorded in the earliest corpus of the *Ṛgveda*. Maybe this corpus incorporated popular tales of the heroes. Maybe that at the later stage of editing, the editors selected the hymns of prayers, and dialogues of the archaic legends but dropped the narrative altogether. Maybe the portion dropped contained a full history of the heroes which is now found in the *TS* and the *Brāhmaṇas* but not in the *Ṛgveda*.

If we study the remanents of the oldest legends and folk-tales preserved in the *Ṛgveda*, we shall find an immense material to reconstruct the archaic legend or folk-tale as a whole. On the basis of dialogues we can trace not only the motif of the ancient folk-tales, but also the notions and ideas of the ancient Indian people.

The dialogue of Yama and Yamī[1] preserves the oldest ethical ideas of the earliest Indian society. It gives us fossils of human mind,[2] the motif of a folk-tale in which the dawn of moral and ethical thoughts was reflected in the relationship between a sister and a brother. Western scholars, Max Müller and others have explained such themes symbolically as illustrations of personification of the natural phenomenon. For instance, the Indra-Vṛtra conflict has been interpreted metaphorically. Vṛtra, the demon,

1. RV. 10.10.
2. J. Frazer : *The Golden Bough.*

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is identified with the cloud and Indra with the thunderbolt. Indeed, the Vedic Aryans were fond of rains. In the Maṇḍūka Sūkta, Vasiṣṭha has described frogs as pining for rains[1]. Like frogs, the Vedic Aryans were immensely pleased with rains. When Indra released waters from Vṛtra, the Vedic sages offered prayers to Indra.

But this may not be the only way of interpretation. The approach to these legends is possible through folk-lore also. In that way, we can reach nearer the truth and trace the motifs of the oldest society of mankind. The demon Vṛtra might have been the villain involved in the anti-social activities of the old age and Indra might have been the Aryan hero who slew him and released waters from the reservoir held up by Vṛtra.

We cannot apply the principle of personification of the natural phenomenon everywhere. Most of the deities were popular characters of ancient Indian folk-lore. The folk-lore was the secular literature, most popular among the common people. The Vedic sages could not escape the influence of this popular literature which primarily arose out of the valiant exploits of the heroes of olden days on the one hand and the animals and other creatures on the other. In fact, the heroes inspired the Vedic seers to sing songs of their prowess and as a result of their glorification, the heroes were raised to divinity. With the supernatural power assigned to them they were deified by the people.

The Vedic sages preferred to select heroes for their ballads. They were inclined towards them, and they ignored the inferior creatures who also played a part in the folk-tales of the Vedic age. Thus we can explain the absence of an animal tale or of a dialogue of inferior creatures in the *Ṛgveda*. The Vedic anthology suffers from the lack of interest in the animal world. The zoological contents of the *ṚV*. are comparatively poor. The selection of characters was restricted to human beings. The legends and myths of Indra and other deities figured prominently. No animal tale from the old stock was selected or commented upon. The Vedic editors preferred human beings to animals for their glorification. However, we can trace the elements of folk-lore in the *Ṛgveda*. In the Maṇḍūka Sūkta we read how frogs were rejoicing when it was raining. The description of frogs in their merriment reflects the interest of the Vedic Aryans for the advent of rains. There was a popular belief that the prayers to frogs brought forth the clouds to shower. The

1. RV. 7.103.

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noise of frogs was likened to the recitation of hymns for the propitiation of *Parjanya*. This personification of *Parjanya* was obviously due to its generous nature.[1] The primitive mind had a strong belief in frogs as the instrument of bringing rains. Even today, in some parts of India, the marriages of frogs are celebrated[2] for the purpose. Dr. Frazer is not wrong when he extends the personification process to the frogs.[3] The deity of the Maṇḍūka hymn is the Maṇḍūka himself.[4] There seems to be a positive influence of ancient folklore in this hymn of the *Ṛgveda*. People in the Northern India still perform rain-compelling rites.[5] It is no wonder if at the early stage of agricultural civilization in ancient times, frogs were regarded as symbols of rain. Moreover, the primitive belief that man does not differ from animal is also discernible here. As the survival of this belief the Maṇḍūka has been deified in this Sūkta.

Moreover, the *Ṛgveda* records similes and metaphors drawn from animal life. Indra drinks Soma as a thirsty bull who empties the reservoir of water. A disease crushes a patient as the wolf crushes a deer.[6] A patient is eaten up by disease as threads by rats.[7] The seer Vāmadeva compares Indra to a lion.[8] The Sauparṇa Ākhyāna contains a folk-tale of the bird[9] Śyena who brings Soma from heaven. According to Bloomfield Soma is the divine water restrained in the cloud. At the end of summer when the clouds appear in the sky Indra tears them open and releases the water. Western scholars explain the episode as the personification of the natural phenomenon by recourse to the metaphor.

But this is not the only possible interpretation of the hymn. We can take Śyena, the bird, as the real character of the Vedic folk-tale. Real characters are common in the folk-tales. There existed a strong belief amongst the common people that animals and birds can help man in his pursuits, and this has been amply demonstrated by the happenings recorded in the fables of the *Pañcatantra*. The oldest stock of the Aryan race contributed to this belief. The *Ṛgveda* has enough material for reconstructing the Vedic folk-

1. Mitra : The Frog in North Indian Rain-compelling Rites, *Journal of BORS*, Vol. XIV, Pt. III, Sept. 1928.
2. Kawthekar : *Nītikathā kā Udgama Evaṁ Vikāsa*, p. 170.
3. *The Golden Bough* : London, 1923, p. 78.
4. RV. Sāyaṇa, 7. 103.
5. Mitra : *Journal of BORS*, Vol. XIV, pt. III.
6. RV. 1.16.5; 105.7.
7. RV. 1.105.8.
8. RV. 4.14.16.
9. RV. 4.26.4.

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tale of Śyena bird. The reconstruction process is supportable by the legends of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* tells us about the metamorphosis of the metre Gāyatrī in the form of the bird Śyena.[1] In the Sauparṇa Ākhyāna we find how the bird Śyena helped in bringing down the rains for the welfare of mankind. The Ākhyāna has taken the form of a legend in the Vedic literature, but originally it might have been a popular tale in the ancient folk-lore. Vāmadeva is influenced by the Vedic folk-tales when he offers prayers to Śyena in the *Ṛgveda*.

It is, however, to be noted that the original characters of the folk-tales lost their secular nature when they were transformed into divinity by the Vedic sages. The oldest folk-tales supplied the material and motif but there remained very little to reconstruct the lost original. There is a dialogue in the *Ṛgveda* between Saramā and Paṇis.[2] Yāska, the oldest of the Vedic commentators, calls Saramā a divine bitch. In fact, she was the messenger of Indra who threatened Paṇis of the dire consequences if they refused to return the kine. The *Ṛgveda* contains stray material which implies the existence of folk-tales as early as the Vedic era. Vedic sages hardly took recourse to fiction for the propagation of their creed. They preferred legends to fables and exploited them in narrating the exploits of their favourite heroes. They often evolved myths for their glorification or deification but avoided Arthavāda wherein the folk-tales are utilized for illustration.

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* : 3.13.1-3.
2. RV. 10 110.

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VEDIC *AYÁS*-"NOT TO BE INJURED"

F. B. J. KUIPER

1. An ample discussion of the secondary literature on this word, from 1852 downwards[1], is unnecessary. Only the following facts are relevant :

a) the word occurs 16 times in the *Ṛgveda*, mainly in the older parts, viz. I^6 III^2 IV^1 V^1 VI^2 VII^1 IX^3. It has further been restored by conjecture in Khila 1.19.2, cf. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* (1906/1966), p. 65. There are a few repetitions in the *Yajurveda* and besides a passage, found in several *śākhās*, which is independent from the *Ṛgveda*.

b) although the word has, ever since 1852 (Roth, *Petersburger Wörterbuch* I, col. 395), been treated as a cognate of *ayásya* "undaunted (?)", there is not the slightest reason to regard the two words as etymologically related. The etymological speculations on which this connection is based lack any foundation.

c) Roth (1852) derived the word from the root *yas*-and rendered it by "(sich nicht anstrengend), behende, leicht, gewandt." Grassmann (1873) accepted this with slight modifications ("gewandt, behende, munter, eilend"). Böhtlingk's smaller Petersburg Dictionary (*pw*. 1879) gave a more specific translation

1. 1852 : Rudolph Roth, *Petersburger Wörterbuch* 1, col. 395 : "(sich nicht anstrengend), behende, leicht, gewandt". 1869 : F. Max Müller, *Rig-Veda-Sanhita* vol. I, *Hymns to the Maruts*, p. 148 ; "indefatigable." 1873 : H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 97 "sich nicht anstrengend (yās von yas), d. h. gewandt, behende, munter eilend". 1876 : A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brāhmaṇa* (a) "behende" (7), "rasch" (2), "schnell" (1); (b) "unermüdlich" (2), "nie müde" (1), "unablässig gewährend" (1); (c) "kräftig" (? 683, 9). 1879 : Otto Böhtlingk, *pw*. I, p. 103 "unermüdlich, sich nicht abnutzend". (1883-) 1884 : Abel Bergaigne, *Etudes sur le lexique du Ṛgveda*, pp. 141-143 on *ayás* and *ayásya* : derivation of *ayás-* from the root *yas-* is impossible because *yas-* means "bouillonner, écumer" and is rare in the Veda, and because *ayásaḥ* is four-syllabic, as pointed out by Grassmann; perhaps a proper name ?). 1885 : Alfred Hillebrandt, *Vedachrestomathie*, p. 71 "rastlos" (see Windisch, *KZ*. 27, p. 170).

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by "unermüdlich, sich nicht abnutzend." With a few exceptions (1883-1884 Bergaigne, 1889 Pischel, 1893 von Bradke, 1907 Geldner) this translation has been accepted up to the present day. Neisser (1924) and Renou (1960) defended explicitly the etymology proposed by Roth.

d) *The form.* Nevertheless Grassmann (1873) had already pointed to the fact that the metre shows that *ayáso* must have been pronounced as a four-syllabic word in I. 167. 4a *párā śubhrā́ ayáso yavyá́* and in VI.66.5c. *nā́ yé staunā́ ayáso mahnā́*. In both passages Grassmann read the word as [*ayaāso*], but the first passage must obviously be read as *ayáaso yavīyá*. Oldenberg, *Noten* I (1909), p 421, quoted the form as *ayā̃saḥ* for these passages, although on p. 77 footnote he contemplated the alternative possibility of reading *aïāso* (see Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*). The facts there mentioned, however, would now require a new interpretation in the light of the laryngeal theory. The circumstance that in two out of the sixteen occurrences the *ā* is apparently disyllabic justifies our positing [ayáas-] as the original form of the word stem. Bergaigne (1883) was the first to recognize the importance of the four-syllabic nature of *ayáso* for the explanation of the word and rightly concluded that Roth's etymology is simply impossible. His conclusion, however, has been entirely ignored

1889 : R. Pischel, *Vedische Studien* 1, p. 226f. (p. 227 "unbändig, wild"). 1891 : Max Müller, *SBE*. 32, pp. 371 and 460 "untiring" (with references). 1893 : P. von Bradke, *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 124: etwa "hell, glänzend, glitzernd, bunt" (cf. *éta-/éṇī-*). 1897: H. Oldenberg, *SBE*. 46, p. 278 "The meaning of *ayāsaḥ* is doubtful" (with references). He translates "nevertiring". 1901: K. Geldner, *Vedische Studien* 3, p. 122 n. 5 "äusserst schwieriges Wort", with a reference to MS. I.4.8 and to *ayasā* in some Sūtras. Hence *ayás-*: *áyas-* "iron". 1907: K Geldner, *Glossar*, p. 14 *ayās-*/*ayás-* "eisern, eisenfest". 1909: Hermann Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten* 1, p. 77 n. and p. 421 on *ayā̃saḥ* and *aïāsaḥ*. 1913: A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Ṛgveda*, p. 89 "schnell". 1924; W Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda* I, p. 86. defends Böhtlingk's connecting it with *ayā́sya-* ("wie billig" and derivation from *yas*. 1930: Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* III, p. 282 on *ayasā* beside *ayāsā*. 1951: K. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda... übersetzt* : "unverzagt" (11), "unverdrossen" (3), "unerschrocken" (2), but in 1923, in the first edition of the books I-IV : "unverzagt" (5), "unverdrossen" (1), and "ungeschwächt" in IV. 6.10. 1954: A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* II/2. p. 223 "unklar". 1960: L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes* 7, p. 31 "qui ne se fatigue pas" (*yās-*: *iyasyati* ŚB.); S.S Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda* II, p. 79f. "active, agile" (from *yas-* "to strive"). 1962: B. Schlerath; *OLZ*. 57, col 580 **yās*—"Mühe, Anstrengung (?)" : *yas-* . 1963: H. D. Velankar, *Rgveda Maṇḍala* VII, pp. 135, 238 "untiring, vigilant", 1966 : L. Renou, *EVP*. 15, p. 35 "infatigable".

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in the nearly ninety years that since have passed. In this connection it should be observed that *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ*, which occurs in some Sūtra-texts (ĀpŚS., ĀpMB., HG.) as a variant of *ayāsan manasā hitaḥ* does not justify the assumption of a stem *ayás-*(Geldner 1901, cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* III, p. 282) since this formula is merely a corruption of *ayáḥ sán mánasā kṛt(t)áḥ* MS. KS.

e) *The meaning*. The only serious attempt to determine the meaning of *ayás-* on the basis of the context was made by Pischel (1889). He rightly pointed to the circumstance that *ayás-* occurs three times along with *ghorá-* (I. 167. 4; 169. 7, IX. 89.4) and once with *bhīmá-* (VII.58.2). The notion of power is indicated by I.87.4 *ayá īśānás táviṣībhir ávṛtaḥ* "*ayás*, mighty, surrounded by powers"; I.168.9 *tveṣám ayásam marútām ánīkam* "the fierce army of the *ayás* Maruts", IV.6.10 *sáhamānā ayásas tveṣáso* "victorious, *ayás*, fierce", VII.58.2 *bhīmāsas túvimanyavó 'yāsaḥ* "O terrible, wrathful, *ayás* ones", IX.41.1 *bhūrṇayas tveṣá ayáso* 'rash, fierce, *ayás*" and IX.89.3 *siṁhám...ayásam* "the *ayás* lion". For Pischel's more detailed exposition of the material see *Vedische Studien* I, p. 226-227. Pischel rightly concluded from it that in many passages a meaning "untiring, infatigable", assumed by most scholars, does not suit the context.

On the other hand, although *ayás-* was used with reference to mighty gods (especially the Maruts) or things (such as the flames of fire, IV.6.10), Pischel's own translation "unbändig, wild" (indomitable, savage) is not likely to be correct since a few passages, where *ayás-* is used side by side with a negative expression, would seem to point to a different conclusion. These are the Yajurvedic mantra in which Agni is addressed with the words *ayāś cāgné 'sy anabhiśastíś ca* "thou art *ayás*, O Agni, and not subject to malediction"[1] and the curse in ṚV. III.18.2 *ví te tiṣṭhantām ajárā ayásaḥ* "may thy never-ageing, *ayás* flames spread out". The last passage suggests the inference that there is a certain parallelism between the notion "not subject to old age" and *ayás-* . It must be admitted that in both passages the meaning "never-tiring" (as Oldenberg translates in *SBE*. 46, p. 277, but with a note added which says that the meaning is doubtful) would not seem excluded by the context. The same is true of the Yajurvedic prayer *ayá no dhehi bheṣajám* (see below, p. 105), by which Agni in

1. This, rather than "blameless, faultless" (Monier-Williams), is the proper meaning of *anabhiśasti*.

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his quality of *ayás-*, is prayed to give a remedy. This translation is, however, impossible in MS. I.4.8. (56, 19) and KS. XXXII.4 (22,6), where the context suggests some relation between *ayás-* and intelligence: *ayáś cāgné 'sy anabhiśastíś cé 'ty, ayá vaí námai 'ṣā' gnéḥ priyá tanūr, ayá maryā dhaíryeṇé 'ti khálu vá āhuḥ* "Thou art *ayás*, O Agni, and not subject to malediction' : *ayás* verily, is the name of this dear body of Agni. Verily, they say "(he is) *ayás* owing to his intelligence."[1] The difference between this passage and RV. VI.66.5. *ayáso mahná* "*ayás* through their greatness" should be noted.

Geldner, in 1901, was the first to point to this passage. He, however, wrongly inferred from it that *ayás-* is here synonymous with *dhīra-* "steady, firm" and, therefore, etymologically connected with *áyas-* "iron". It need not be pointed out that *dhīra-* "steady" is a post- Vedic word and in the *Yajurveda dhaírya-* "intelligence" is used as the opposite of *málvya-* "foolishness, thoughtlessness"—, a fact that was already duly noted in 1861 in PW. III, col. 994. See MS. II.4.2 (39,15), KS. XII.12 (174,14). The translation "eisern, eisenfest" (of iron), which Geldner gave —for *ayás-* in 1907 (*Der Ṛigveda im Auswahl*, I. Glossar) is accordingly incorrect and has rightly been abandoned in his translation of the Ṛgveda.

2. The Ṛgvedic plural [*ayaasaḥ*] points to a type of word-formation which occurs in such Ṛgvedic words as *bháas-* (written *bhás-*), *dáas-* (in *dáasvant-*, written *dásvant-*). These are, as has long been known, *-as*-nouns derived from the roots *bhaH- daH-* respectively. When paralleled with these words, *ayás-* is most likely a *bahuvrīhi* which means "without (or, not subject to) *yáas-*." For its accent see, in that case, Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* II/1 (1905), p. 293.

It has been pointed out above that *ayás-* is used conjointly with *ajára*—"not subject to old age" and *anabhiśastí-* "not threatened by malediction". If *ayás-* is analysed as *a-yaas-* and has a similar negative meaning, this can account both for its occurrence along with such words as *ghorá-* and *bhīmá-* and for the fact that the word does not seem to express a direct aggressiveness. Geldner, in his translation, renders it by the German words "unverzagt"

1. *maryā* remains obscure but it must be a separate word, probably an interjection. See F. Max Müller, *The Hymns to the Maruts* (1869), p. 18, Pischel, *Vedische Studien* I, p. 61ff., Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42, p. 458, against, e. g., Whitney, translation of Ath. S.V. 31.10, Geldner, note on his translation of ṚV. I.6.3, Renou, EVP. 17, p. 3 ("o jeunes [chantres]").

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(11), "unverdrossen" (3) and "unerschrocken" (2), that is, "undaunted, fearless". Although in many passages this might seem to fit the context satisfactorily, such passages as III.18.2, where *ayás-* characterizes the flames of the fire, show that no moral quality can be meant.

For the kind of meaning that can be expressed by such a negative word the epithets of the bull, which Pischel, *Vedische Studien* I, p. 226, enumerates, are instructive. Among them there are such words as *anādhṛṣyá-* "invincible, not to be meddled with", *anānudá-* "not giving way, obstinate", *áṣāḍha-* "not to be overcome, invincible", *durgṛ́bhi-* "difficult to be seized or laid hold of." A similar meaning "not subject to violence or defeat, not to be attacked, invincible" would suit the context of all passages where *ayás-* occurs.

3 The possibility that a root *yaH-* "to attack" existed in Proto-Indo-Iranian has long been considered but it has always been admitted that this assumption was not based on a solid foundation. Nevertheless, every one has followed Roth (*PW.* VI, col. 120) in assuming an agent noun *yātár-* "avenger" in ṚV. I.32.14 *áher yātáraṁ kám apaśya indra hṛdí yát te jaghnúṣo bhír ágachat* 'which avenger of the serpent didst thou see, O Indra, when fear arose in thy heart after thou hadst slain (him) ?." Thus also, in the most recent translation, Renou, *EVP.* 17, p. 12: "vengeur."

It is impossible, on the basis of this *hapax*, to determine the exact meaning of the root *yā-* . Such semantic constructions as found in J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 501, viz. "to be excited", hence "to punish, avenge" (etc.) are worthless. See also Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I. p. 613f. As Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, p. 107f., has pointed out, the exact meaning of *yātár-* cannot be determined on the basis of *ṛṇa-yá-* , which contains a different root. Cf. *ṛṇáṁ tvā yāmi.*

Much more uncertain than *yātár-* , whose meaning can, it seems, be determined with a certain degree of exactness, is another *hapax*, viz. *yávan-* . For this word Roth left the choice between "heavily-armed horseman" and "aggressor". If the second meaning were correct, the word could be connected with *yātár-* but from VII. 1.5c. (*rayím*) *ná yáṁ yávā tárati yātumávān* "den nicht der angreifer, der zauberkundige, besigt" (Ludwig I, p. 408) it is impossible to ascertain the exact meaning. Geldner's and Renou's

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translations are in any case wrong.[1] Equally inconclusive is Late Avestan *yāta-* in Nirangistan 42 *hē him yātəm āstryeiti*, Frahang i oīm 4f. *yātəm āstryete*. Earlier scholars interpreted the word as referring to some kind of injury; cf. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* III (1893), p. 106 n.1, resp. p. 21, *SBE*. 4, p. 329, resp. p. 255 (with n. 20) and Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1283. On the other hand, Anatol Waag, *Nirangistan* (1941), p. 60, takes the word as identical with *yāta-* "property".

As for Vedic *yātú-*, m. sorcery, witchcraft; sorcerer", Avestan *yātu-*, m. "sorcerer", they must originally have been an action noun of root *yā-*, like Ved. *mántu-*, m. "counsel; ruler", Gatha-Avestan *mantu-*, m. "ruler" (see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik* II/2, p. 665). It is quite possible that the meaning of this root was "to harm, injure" but other semantic developments are conceivable.

There is finally a complex of problems which can only briefly be indicated since a full discussion would be out of place here. This concerns Skt. *īti-*, f. "plague, distress, calamity, infectious disease", Late Av. *iti-* "injury, offence (?)", *ain-iti-* "gentleness, mildness; not offending", etc., which were briefly discussed in *IIJ*. 3 (1959), p. 137ff. The corresponding present form was [*inauti*], cf. Vend. 18.61 *kō thwam yim ahurəm mazdam +mazistayaiti inaoiti* "who offends (?) thee, Ahura Mazdā, with the greatest offence?." For well-known reasons,[2] however, the original present to *īti-* must have been **inā́ti*, and it is from such a present form that Vedic *iná-* "energetic, mighty" (Renou : "puissant") must have been derived. See, in general, Wackernagel *Altindische Grammatik* II/1, p. 181 with *Nachträge*, *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 1 n. 1 (*a-miná-*, *jina-*). It should be noted, however, that Ved. *iná-* apparently had not the connotation of aggressiveness that is found in Avestan. As for Avestan *inaoiti*, it must secondarily have taken the place of **ināti* (against the general tendency in Indian, see Wackernagel, *Festgabe Jacobi*, *p.* 2). For secondary presents in

1. Geldner translates "den niemals ein Zauberer überwindet" with a foot-note "*yā́vā* wohl- av. *yavā* (wie *yā́vat-* av. *yavañt*)". He, accordingly, takes *nā... yā́vā* in the sense of Avestan *nōi yava* "never". The Avestan word, however, is (in spite of Parthian *y'wyd* ('*n*), MPers. *j'yd'n*, NPers. *jāvēd*, see I. Gershevitch, *Hymn to Mithra*, p. 250) an instrumental sing. of *āyu*, see *IIJ*. 5, p. 39. Av. *yavant-*, on the other hand, must stand for an older form **yāvant-*, cf. OP. *yāvā* "as long as". Renou, *EVP*. 13 (1964). p. 52, modifies Geldner's interpretation, which he misinterprets as though it proves that Vedic *yā́vā* can stand for *yā́vat*. He accordingly renders *yā́vā* "autant que (faire se peut)".
2. See, e.g., Wackernagel, *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 1.

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**—nauti* in Indo-Iranian see *Die indogermanischen Nasalpräsentia*, p. 111. It may be noted in passing that the traditional connection with Vedic *inóti*, *invati* "to drive, impel" should be given up for semantic reasons. It was based on Roth's assumption that the Vedic verb could mean "Gewalt brauchen, zwängen, bewältigen, verdrängen, abhalten" (hence Grassmann "bewältigen, in seine Gewalt bringen", Monier-Williams: "to use force, force; to drive away; to keep back, remove; to have in one's power, take possession of, pervade"). Geldner's translation of the passages concerned shows that we can dispose of these meanings. It cannot, therefore, be connected with *énas-* either: in Vedic this word means *exclusively* "sin, guilt", but in Zarathustra's idiom *aēnah-* seems to express the notions "violence, damage, injury, crime, sin (sinner?)". They will not further be discussed here.

4. This, then, is the evidence for a root *yā-*whose meaning must have been "to injure, harm", "to attack violently" or something similar. It has been pointed out above that in some passages Geldner's translation "unverzagt" (undaunted) does not suit the context but that a meaning like that of *anādhṛṣyá-* , *áṣāḍha-* "invincible, not to be overcome" would be quite appropriate. In this connection a comparison of two passages where there is a reference to the flames is instructive. ṚV. IV. 6. 10 *yé ha tyé te sáhamānā ayásas tveṣáso agne arcáyaś cáranti* "Those victorious, ayás, fierce flames of thine, O Agni, which move about.....", when paralleled with I. 36.20 *tveṣáso agnér ámavanto arcáyo bhīmáso ná prátītaye* "Agni's flames are fierce and violent; they are frightening and not to be withstood" shows that *sáhamānā* and *tveṣáso* in the first stanza have their counterparts in *ámavanto* and *tveṣáso* of the second, whereas *ayás-* , when taken in the sense of "not subject to **yáas-*", could correspond to *ná prátītaye*. The conclusive force of such presumptive parallels is, of course, restricted. See, e g., Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 765. Still, the negative expression *ná prátītaye*, when parallel to *ayás-* (analyzed as *a-yaas-*) might indicate in which direction the meaning of *ayás-* should be sought. The meaning best suiting the various contexts would seem to be "not subject to injury, not to be injured".

The assumption of a word **yáas-* "injury" naturally raises the question if there can be some connection with Avestan *yāh-* [*yaah-*]. This question must, it seems, be answered in the negative. Its meaning is still disputed[1] but in *IIJ*. 4, p. 251, it was pointed

1. See the references in *IIJ*. 4 (1960), p. 257 and further Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, p. 220f. ("Krise"), von Wesendonk, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, pp

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out that in Later Avestan it was a term for a verbal contest which had its roots in an annual socio-religious ceremony of the Ancient Aryan society. Since this social contest had, from the outset, a cosmic significance, Zarathustra's use of the term *yāh-* for a religious decision can hardly be considered an innovation : he simply stressed an aspect that had been present of old. In this contest chariot races must also have played a prominent part. Karl Hoffmann, *MSS.* 4 (1954/1961), pp. 43-49, *IIJ.*10 (1967-68), p. 284, has shown that Avestan *zā*—meant "to leave behind (the rival)"= "to come in first, to win (the race)" and that, again, Zarathustra used this term in a religious context, e.g. Y. 30. I0bc *aṭ asištā yaojantē... yöi zazəntī vaŋhāu sravahī* "then the quickest (horses) will be harnessed, which will win (the racing for) good glory". Since the specific Vedic term for running a race is *ājíṁ yā-* (with loc.),[1] Hanns-Peter Schmidt, *Pratidānam*, p. 178, is evidently right in explaining *yāh-* as a term of the racing sport. It stands, accordingly, for **yaH-ah-* and is derived from the root for going.[2]

Since such words in *-as-* have every chance of being old formations, we must apparently conclude that in Proto-Indo-Iranian there existed two homophonous words, viz. **yaHas-* "injury" and **yaHas-* "race, contest".

95, 314, 442, K. Hoffmann, *MSS.* 8, p. 5 ("Bittgang"), Humbach, *Die Gathas Zarathustras* II, p. 20, and Schlerath, *OLZ.* 57 (1962), col. 580, who still considers the possibility of deriving *yāh-* from Proto-Indo-Iranian *yas-* "to froth up, foam" (RS.).

1. Cf., e.g., MS. I.11.5 (166, 8), IV.3.2 (41, 1), KS. XIV.7 (204, 6), XII.7 (169, 4), TS. V.3.2.3, GB. II.1.17, ŚB. II.4.3.4, V.1.1.3.

2. For Avestan [*yaah-*] see, e.g., Kurylowicz, *Traces de la place du ton en gāthique*, p. 21, Kuiper, *IIJ.* 4, p. 250 The semantic development of *yāh-*, if originally synonymous with Vedic *ājí-*, must have been different from that mostly assumed (see Schlerath, *OLZ.* 57 (1962), col. 580 with references, H.-P. Schmidt, *op. c.*, p. 178). In this connection a slightly different interpretation from the one proposed by Hans-Peter Schmidt may be suggested for Y.49.9b-d *nōit ərəš. vacao sarəm didas drəgvātā, hyaṭ daēnao vahištē yūjən mīzdē, aśā yuxtā yāhī dəjāmāspā*, viz. "The right-speaking man does not know union with the liar, when the *daēnās*, together with Aśa(?), harness the teams on the occasion of the contest (race ?), O Jāmāspa, when the best reward is at stake". For *mīzda-* see, e.g., E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* I (1969), p. 164 : **mizdho*—="récompense—de caractère matériel ou non—attribuée à celui qui sort victorieux d'une lutte ou d'une compétition" and my note, *IIJ.* 4 (1960), p. 220, on *svarmī[ha- ājí-* "a race at which the sun is at stake". For non-contraction in the last word of the last line *[rtā yuxtā yaahi jamaaspa]* cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 441f. and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* I, p. 315.

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5. Survey of the occurrences of *ayás*—

Ṛgveda

I.64.11cd

makhá ayásaḥ svasṛ́to dhruvacyúto
dudhrakṣ́to marúto bhrājadṛṣṭayaḥ

"The generous Maruts with their brilliant spears (throw open the mountains), they who are not to be injured and move by themselves, throwing down what is firm, the boisterous ones."

I. 87. 4ab

sá hí svasṛ́t pṛ́ṣadaśvo yúvā gaṇò
'yá ṛ́ṣānás táviṣībhir ávṛtāḥ

"That youthful band [of the Martus], with their spotted horses, moves by itself, not to be injured, mighty, surrounded by strength".

I. 154. 6ab

tá vām vástūny uśmasi gámadhyai
yátra gávo bhū́riśṛṅgā ayásaḥ

"We long for coming to those abodes of you, where are the cattle who have many horns and are not to be injured."

I. 167. 4

párā śubhrá ayáso yayyá
sādhāraṇyéva marúto mimikṣuḥ,
ná rodasí ápa nudanta ghorá
juṣánta vṛ́dhaṁ sakhyáya devā́ḥ

"They [the Maruts], (going) away, the brilliant ones who are not to be injured, have associated themselves with.....as if she belonged to them all; the terrible ones did not drive away Rodasī; the gods enjoyed strengthening [their band] for friendship". See Renou, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda* (1958), p. 34, *EVP* 10 (1962), pp. 23, 72.

I. 168. 9

ásūta pṛ́śnir mahaté ráṇāya
tveṣám ayásām marútām ánīkam,
té sapsaráso 'janayantá' bhvam
ád ít svadhám iṣirám páry apaśyan

"Pṛśni brought forth for the great fight the fierce army of the Maruts who are not to be injured. They, partaking of the same festive meal, produced something monstrous. Forthwith they (= men?) saw round about their invigorating nature." Many details are uncertain. See Geldner, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische*

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Grammatik, III (1930), p. 282 on *sapsarásaḥ* and Renou, *EVP.* 10, pp. 25, 74 (and p. 115 for the *svadhá* of the Maruts).

I. 169. 7ab

práti ghoráṇām étānām ayāsám
marútāṁ śṛṇva āyatám upabdíḥ

"The trampling is heard of the fierce antelopes, of the Martus who are not to be injured, while they are coming".

III. 18. 2

tápo ṣv àgne àntarāṁ amítrān
tápā śáṁsam áraruṣaḥ párasya,
tápo vaso cikitānó acíttān
ví te tiṣṭhantām ajárā ayásaḥ

"Burn, O Agni, the nearer enemies, burn the curse of the distant one, who has not given. Burn, O Vasu, knowing the unknown ones. May thy (flames), not subject to old age and injury, spread out"

III. 54. 13ab

Vidyúdrathā marúta ṛṣṭimánto
divó máryā ṛtájātā ayásaḥ

"The Maruts, who have lightning for a vehicle and who are armed with spears, the young men of Heaven, born in accordance with the cosmic order, who are not to be injured...,

IV.6.10ab

yé ha tyé te sáhamānā ayásas
tveṣáso agne arcáyaś cáranti

"Those victorious, fierce flames of thine, O Agni, which move about, not to be injured..."

V.42.15d (Maruts)

úpa stuhi pṛṣadaśvām ayásaḥ

"Praise them, who have spotted horses and who are not to be injured."

VI.66.5

makṣú ná yéṣu dohase cid ayá
á náma dhṛṣṇú mārutaṁ dádhānāḥ
na ye staná ayáso mahná
nú cit sudánur áva yāsad ugrán

"They, among whom (Pṛśni) who cannot be injured needed not to be milked, quickly, assuming their defiant name of Maruts, who are not..., not to be injured as they are owing to their greatness, never will the *sudánu* (?) appease the vigorous ones". ["Untranslatable": Max Müller, *SBE.* 32, p 371.]

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VII.58.2ab

janū́ś cid vo marutas tveṣyèṇa
bhī́māsas túvimanyavó 'yāsaḥ

"Even your birth was [marked by] fierceness (?), O Maruts! You, terrible, wrathful, who are not to be injured".

IX.41.1

prá yé gávo ná bhū́rṇayas
tveṣá ayáso ákramuḥ,
ghnántaḥ kṛṣṇám ápa tvácam

Who went forward, like excited cattle, fierce, not to be injured, while driving away the blackskin(ned) people)..."

IX.89.3ab

siṁhám̐ nasanta mádhvo ayásam
hárim aruṣám̐ divó asyá pátim

"The sweet (milch-cows) approach the lion, who is not to be injured, tawny, reddish, the lord of this heaven". See Geldner and, for *nasanta*, K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda*, p. 130ff. Otherwise, but unacceptable, Bhawe, *The Soma hymns of the Ṛgveda* II,p.80.

IX.89.4ab

mádhupṛṣṭham̐ ghorám ayásam áśvam̐
ráthe yuñjanty urucakrá ṛṣvám

"The terrible horse whose back consists of sweetness and who is not to be injured, the lofty one they harness to the broad-wheeled chariot."

Khila I.10.2., see I, Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* (1906/1966), p. 65:

prá vām máhī mandate devákāmā
yayaír ayāso vayúnāni viśvā

Scheftelowitz proposes to read *yayér ayáso* but even so the stanza is not clear. The *Ṛgveda* has twice the phrase *víśvā vayúnāni vidván* (VI.15.10; 75.14, cf. X.122.2. *víśvāni vidván vayúnāni*, etc., Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda* (1949), pp. 15, 20f.), but here, where the two Aśvins are addressed, the only possibility of getting an understandable text would seem to consist in reading *yáyor ayásor vayúnāni víśvā* "to whom, being not to be injured, (belong) all mysteries".

Yajurveda

MS. I.4.3 (51,10), KS. V.4 (47,2), XXXIV.19 (49,22)

ayáś cā 'gné 'sy anabhiśastíś ca
satyám it tvám ayā́ asi

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ayáḥ sán mánasā kṛttó
'yáḥ sán havyám ūhiṣe
'yá no dhehi bheṣajám

(KS. *ayás san manasā kṛto. See Vedic Concordance* for variants).

"Thou art not to be injured, O Agni, and not threatened by curse; verily, thou art not to be injured. As one not to be injured thou hast been made (formed ?) by the mind. Being not to be injured thou hast borne the oblation (to the gods). As one who is not to be injured, do thou grant us medicine".

MS. I.4.8 (56,17), KS. XXXII.4 (22,16)

"*ayáś cā 'gné 'sy anabhiśastíś cé*" *'ty: ayá vaí námai 'ṣá 'gnéḥ priyá tanūr, ayá maryā dhaíryeṇé 'ti khálu vā āhuḥ.* See above, p. 97.

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SAPTA DEVALOKĀḤ

M. A. MEHENDALE

Lüders in his *Varuṇa* I p. 57 ff. points out that in the *Ṛgveda* we often read about the three heavens, the three midregions and the three earths. He then observes (p.64 f.) that in the late Vedic period the 'seven worlds of gods' (*sapta devalokāḥ*) take the place of the 'three heavens' of the early Vedic period. In this regard he refers to a passage in the *Kauṣ. Br.*20. 1 which reads as : *tad devāḥ samāruhya sarvāl lokān anu pariplavante devalokaṁ pitṛlokaṁ jīvalokam imam apodakam*[1] *agnilokam ṛtadhāmānaṁ vāyulokam aparājitam indralokam adhidivaṁ varuṇalokaṁ pradivaṁ mṛtyulokaṁ rocanaṁ brahmaṇo lokaṁ nākaṁ saptamaṁ*[2] *lokānām.* He translates it as : "After mounting this (i.e. the wheel of the gods), the gods move around all the worlds: the world of the gods, the world of the fathers, this world of the living beings, *Apodaka*, the world of Agni, *Ṛtadhāman*, the world of Vāyu, *Aparājita*, the world of Indra, *Adhidiv*, the world of Varuṇa, *Pradiv*, the world of Mṛtyu, *Rocana*, the world of Brahman, *Nāka*, the seventh of the worlds."

Lüders rightly observes that in the above enumeration two different lists of the worlds have been put together. The first comprises the world of the gods, the world of the fathers, and the world of the living beings; the second list gives the seven worlds of the gods beginning with *Agniloka* and ending with *Nāka*. It is, however, not clear why Lüders considers *Apodaka*, *Ṛtadhāman Aparājita Adhidiv*, *Pradiv* and *Rocana* as the names of the worlds of Agni, Vāyu, Indra, Varuṇa, Mṛtyu, and Brahman respectively.

1. v. l. *upodakam*.
2. v. l. *sattamam*. Keith in his translation of the *Kau. Br.* accepts this reading and translates it as 'the most real'. He says that the reading *saptamam* is 'clearly wrong'. But Lüders considers *saptamam* as the 'only correct' reading. He also rejects Keith's translation of *sattamam*. In the opinion of Lüders *sattama* can at the most mean 'the best' (*Varuṇa* I. 65. 6 n. 1). The reading *sattamam* is accepted in the Kauṣ. Br. edited by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma (Wiesbaden, 1968).

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He says that *Adhidiv* is a fitting name for the world of Varuṇa since he lives in the highest heaven; that Indra's world is called *Aparājita* because Indra himself is called *aparājita* 'invincible';[1] that *Rocana*, the world of Brahman, is the oldest designation of the heaven's 'space of light' (Lichtraum); that *Ṛtadhāman* as the name of the world of Vāyu, appears to be reminiscent of *ṛtadhāmāsi svarjyotiḥ* occurring in the *VS* 5. 32;[2] and that *Apodaka* 'waterless' is self-explained as the name of Agni's world.

It appears that Lüders has been led to the above interpretation of the passage in the *Kauṣ. Br.* because in this passage the world of Mṛtyu is characterised as *pradiv*[3] and Lüders believes (p.62) that in the *AV* 18.2.48 *Pradiv* is mentioned as the name of the heaven in which the fathers live. There is probably nothing wrong in identifying the *Mṛtyuloka* of the *KB* with the third and the highest heaven in which the fathers live, of the *AV*. But there is nothing in the *AV* verse to indicate that it purports to give the names of the three heavens. The verse in question reads as: *udanvátī*[4] *dyaúr avamá pīlúmatīti madhyamá tṛtīyā há pradyaúr íti yásyāṁ pitára ásate*. Lüders believes that this verse gives *udanvatī*, *Pīlumatī*, and *Pradiv* as the names of the lowest, the middle, and the third (which is apparently the highest) heaven respectively. But these three worlds can easily be interpreted as only giving the special characteristics or the location of the three heavens, and hence they need not be looked upon as proper names. Thus, according to this verse, the lowest heaven is characterized by water, the middle one by *pīlu*,[5] and the third by the fathers. The prefix *pra* in *Pradiv* is only indicative of the highest location among the

1. It may, however, be noted that in the *ṚV*. 3.12.4 and 8.38,2 Agni, together with Indra, is also called *aparājita*. In the VS 28.2, perhaps, *tanūnapāt agni* is called *aparājita*. In the AV 10.2.33 Brahm ā is said to have entered the golden *púḥ* which is *aparājitā*.
2. The connection between *VS* 5.32 and *KB* 20.1 is not clear. In the *VS*, as explained by the commentator, the *mantra* is addressed to the branch of the *Udumbara* tree. The word *ṛtadhāman* occurs once again in the *VS* 18.38. Here it is Agni who is said to be *ṛtadhāman*. Apparently the association of Vāyu with *ṛta*, as given in the *Kauṣ. Br.*, is based on some different tradition and not on the *Vāj. Saṁ*.
3. Incidentally *pratidivam* is the reading accepted by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma.
4. The words *udanvatī́* and *pīlumatī* are accented on the last syllable in *Varuṇa* I.62.4. *udanvatī* is also to be found in the Roth-Whitney edition.
5. Whitney, following the commentator's 'worthless etymological guess', translates *pīlu* as 'stars (?)'. But verse 35 of this hymn seems to suggest that the

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three heavens since no such word as *uttamā* is used regarding the third heaven to contrast with the words *avamā* and *madhyamā* used of the other two heavens. And what has been achieved by the possessive suffixes *vant* and *mant* in *udanvátī* and *pīlúmatī* has been sought to be achieved by the expression *yásyām pitára ásate*. In other words this expression is as good as *pitṛmatī*. If *pitṛmatī* would have been actually used, then probably Lüders might have considered that, and not Pradiv, as the proper name of the third heaven.

If *pradiv* is not the proper name of the highest heaven in the *AV*, there is little justification in interpreting *apodaka* and other words of the *KB* as proper names. It is, therefore, better to understand *apodaka* 'without water'[1], *ṛtadhāman* 'the seat of *ṛta*', *aparājita* as 'invincible', *adhidiv* as 'the heaven above (the preceding three)', *pradiv* as 'the heaven further up', and *rocana* as 'shining.'[2]

In the above interpretation *rocana* is taken as an adjective and not a noun (for a proper noun). Lüders has clearly shown (p.66 ff) that in the *RV rocaná* occurs as a noun and refers to the invisible part of the heaven, to the region of light above the firmament (unsichtbarer Himmel, Lichtraum). But he also demonstrates (p. 71 ff) that towards the end of the Vedic period, the word *rocaná* has come to be used as adjective meaning 'shining lustrous' (glänzend, leuchtend). Not only this. He further makes clear (p. 78) that *rocaná* seems to have been used as an adjective already in the *Ṛgveda* in three places : 3.5.10; 3.61.5; 10. 189.2.

It seems possible to show that *rocaná* occurs as an adjective also in two other places in the *Ṛgveda*. In 5.69.4 we read about

middle heaven is characterized by *svadhā* (*yé.....mádhye diváḥ svadháyā mādáyante*). Hence *pīlúmatī*, which also refers to the middle heaven, may be translated as 'full of the drink of the fathers'. However, it should be noted that in the verse 48 it is the highest heaven, and not the middle one, in which the fathers are said to live.

1. If, as seen above, one of the divisions of the world is characterized by water (*udanvátī*) then, perhaps, the reading *upodakam*, as adjective of *Agniloka*, is to be preferred to *apodakam*. It would mean that the *Agniloka* is close (*upa*)to that division of the heaven which is characterized by water (*udaka*). In that case *apodakam* would be an emendation of one who did not know what to do with *upodakam*. He thought that *apodaka* 'waterless' would go better with Agniloka. *Upodakam* is also the reading accepted in the edition of E. R Sreekrishna Sarma. Further, in this edition *imam* is construed with *Agniloka*, and not with the preceding *jīvaloka*.

2. Keith also does not look upon these words as proper names. He renders *ṛtadhāman* 'established in moral order', *adhidiv* 'over the sky', *pradiv* 'the highest sky', *rocana* 'the welkin'.

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Mitra and Varuṇa : *yá dhartárā rájaso rocanásyotáditya divyá pārthivasya*. Lüders interprets *rocaná* here as a noun and translates[1] : "Those you, the heavenly Ādityas, who are the holders (Erhalter) of the expanse of the light space (Lichtreichraum) and of the earthly (one)."[2] But in this line there is clearly intended a parallelism between *pārthiva* (*rájas*) and *rocaná rájas*. In other words, *rocaná* here takes the place of *divyá* and hence, like *pārthiva*, it should be understood as an adjective qualifying *rájas*. The line, therefore, may be translated as : "you, the heavenly Ādityas, who are the holders of the shining space (i.e. the invisible heaven) and of the earthly space (i.e. the earth)". Lüders usually translates *rocaná* as 'Lichtraum', but since in the present passage he takes both *rocaná* and *rájas* as nouns he combines the two into a single expression 'Lichtreichraum', which hardly seems to differ from 'Lichtraum'.

In the *ṚV* 1. 19. 6 we read about the Maruts : *yé nákasyádhi rocané diví devása ásate* which Lüders translates (p.66) ; "who live as gods in heaven, in the lightspace of heaven (Die im Lichtraum des Himmels, im Himmel als Götter wohnen)". He observes on p. 76 that in this line the word *nákasya* has been chosen in place of the usual *diváḥ* because the word *divi* occurs in the same line. Hence, according to Lüders, in the above line *nákasya rocané* is as good as *diváḥ rocané* 'in the lightspace of the heaven'. Understood this way, there occurs an unnecessary repetition of 'heaven'. It is therefore better to interpret *rocané* as adjective qualifying *divi* and understand *náka* in its usual Ṛgvedic sense attributed to it by Lüders viz. 'the visible heaven, the firmament'. The line may then be translated as : "who, as gods, live in the shining heaven on the firmament."[3]

According to Lüders (pp. 75-76) *náka* appears, not in its special meaning 'firmament', but in the generalized meaning 'heaven' clearly only in two places in the *Ṛgveda*, viz. 1. 164. 50=10.90.16 and 1. 19.6. It is true that these references are from the later portions of the *Ṛgveda* and hence the occurrence of *náka* in them in its generalized meaning is not surprising. But, as shown above, in 1. 19. 6 *náka* can very well mean the 'firmament'. If this is true then the clear use of *náka* 'heaven' in the *Ṛgveda* is reduced to one.

1. *Varuṇa* I, p. 66.
2. "die Erhalter der Lichtwelt und der irdischen Welt" Geldner.
3. "Die über dem Lichte des Firmaments, im Himmel als Götter wohnen..." Geldner.

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While discussing the *Kauṣ. Br.* passage referred to above, Lüders calls attention (p. 65) to the fact that *nāka* has been named last in the list of the worlds of the gods which, at least apparently, is thus made also the highest among the *sapta devalokāḥ*. He says that this is rather peculiar since *nāka* originally designates just the lowest, the visible part of the heaven and not the highest. He tries to reconcile this contradiction by pointing out that in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* this distinction between the visible and the invisible parts of the heaven was forgotten.

But although *nāka* appears last in the *Kauṣ. Br.* enumeration it does not, on that account, mean that it is also to be considered the highest. The author of the *Brāhmaṇa* obviously starts the enumeration of the invisible worlds of the heaven beginning with *Agniloka*. And having mentioned the sixth, the *Brahmaloka*, which is apparently the highest, it mentions in the end *nāka*, the lowest, only to add that it is the *saptama*, i.e. it makes the total of seven complete.[1] Hence in this passage *nāka* can very well be interpreted as designating only the lowest visible part of the heaven.

It can be shown that the word *saptama* does not point to the highest but to the lowest world in one more passage cited by Lüders on p. 65 where the 'seven worlds' include not only the parts of the heaven but also the earth and the midregion. In the *Muṇḍaka Up.* 1. 2. 3 it is said that one who gives the offering at a wrong time[2] (*ahutam*) or in a wrong way (*avidhinā hutam*), for him the offering destroys the worlds upto i.e. including the seventh (*āsaptamāṁs tasya lokān hinasti*). Lüders says that Śaṅkara is right when under the 'seven worlds' he understands *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, *suvaḥ*, *mahaḥ*, *janaḥ*, *tapaḥ*, and *satyam*.[3] Now when it is said that a sacrificer who offers badly loses the worlds, there can be no question of saying that he loses them all including the highest. What is obviously meant is that he by his wrong act loses all the worlds including

1. P 5.2.48 : *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* and 49 : *nāntād asaṁkhyāder maṭ*.
2. Śaṅkara : *samyag agnihotrakāle 'hutam*.
3. Śaṅkara : *bhūrādayaḥ satyāntāḥ sapta lokāḥ*. Śaṅkara also gives an alternative explanation of *sapta lokāḥ* which is far-fetched. Lüders, apparently, does not look upon it worth mentioning. According to this explanation *sapta lokāḥ* may refer to the seven generations, the three preceding and the three following, and the one of the sacrificer himself which are related to him by the rite of the offering to the deceased (*piṇḍadānādyanugraheṇa vā sambadhyamānāḥ pitṛpitāmahaprapitāmahāḥ putrapautraprapautrāḥ svātmopakārāḥ sapta lokāḥ .....*). The meaning 'generation' assigned to *loka* by Śaṅkara is rather peculiar.

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the lowest, i.e. he loses even this world[1], and this is what the expression *ā saptamān lokān* should mean. Thus, here, earth, which is the first in the enumeration, and lowest in order when looked at from the highest world, is designated as *saptama* 'seventh', i.e. the one which completes the total of seven.

1. *nāyaṁ loko 'sty ayajñasya kuto 'nyaḥ kurusattama*, Gītā 4.31.

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BRAHMAN : A SEMANTIC DISCUSSION

HARI MOHAN MISHRA

The word *brahman*, in the *Ṛgveda*, has two different accents and genders. The one which has accent on the first syllable is in the neuter, the other which has accent on the last is in the masculine. The radically accented *bráhman* occurs 247 times while suffixally accented *brahmán* occurs 50 times in the *Ṛgveda*. *Brahmī*, a feminine form of *brahman* also occurs once[1]. Again, *brahmaṇy*, a denominative verb, having forms in pr. pt. also occurs in the *Ṛgveda*[2]. According to H. Grassmann (*Wörterbuch Zum Ṛig-Veda*) the general meaning of the radically accented *brahman* is 'prayer' and that of suffixally accented 'a priest'. Sāyaṇa does not adhere to this semantic bifurcation, e.g. he explains, *bráhmaṇaḥ*[3] as '*jagatsraṣṭuḥ*' although the word has accent on the first syllable. Sāyaṇa, not only mixes up these two but assigns different meanings to the same radically accented *brahman* at different places, e.g. in *ṚV*. 1. 10. 4, he explains *brahman* as food. This meaning is not helpful to the text although Sāyaṇa quotes *Nighaṇṭu*[4] in his support.

The usually accepted derivation of *brahman* is from √*bṛṁh /bṛh* (=swell, grow big)+*man* (*manin*).[5] Yāska also points to the same derivation: "*brahmā paribṛḍhaḥ śrutato brahma paribṛhaṁ sarvataḥ.*" This derivation is accepted by western scholars H. Grassmann, A. A. Macdonell (*A Vedic Reader*, see, vocabulary), M. Monier-Williams (*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) and others. But there is no correspondence between the meaning of the verb and that of its derivative. It is, therefore, proposed here that *brahman* should be derived from √*bṛṁh/ bṛh* to speak aloud, to roar.

1. *RV*. IX.33.5.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, III.29.15.
4. *Ibid.*, II. 7.
5. Uṇādi, 4.145.
6. *Niruktam* 1.8.

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This meaning of √ *bṛṁh* is corroborated from parallel forms in cognate languages, e.g. Lith. *brunzga*, *branzgu*=to sound, make a noise; GK. *bremo*=roar; O.H.G. *bremen*=roar; Lat. *bremere*=to roar. It is true that verbal forms having this sense do not occur even in the *Ṛgveda*. But the well known refrain, *bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ* which occurs in 23 out of 43 hymns of the second Maṇḍala of the *RV*., contains the pr. pt. form of this verb. The pr. pt. *bṛhat* is used here adverbially and means loudly. *Bṛṁhita*, past pt. of the same root is mentioned in the *Amarakośa*[1] in the sense of 'roar of an elephant'. This *bṛhat* is different from *bṛhat*, pr.pt. of √*bṛṁh* (=swell, grow big). The second *bṛhat*, which also occurs several times in the *Ṛgveda*, does not have the participial meaning. It means big, large, wide etc. The root *bṛṁh* (=swell, grow big) is also Indo-European, cf.Av. *bərəzant*; Goth. *braiths*; OE *brād*; Ger. *breit*; NE. *broad*. The existence of semantically two different verbs having the same phonetic structure is, thus, proved even in the Indo-European period.

Besides being a verb, *bṛh* (=speak aloud) is also a substantive and survives as such in a compound word, *bṛhaspati* (=lord of spells). The meaning of the first part of this compound is obviously, spells. The word *bṛh* appears to be older than *brahman* and may be equated phonetically as well as semantically with Irish *bricht* (=magic). It was H. Osthoff who first equated *brahman* with Irish *bricht*. The equation of Irish *bricht* with *bṛh* appears to be more convincing.

From morphological view-point, radically accented *bráhman* is an action noun and suffixally accented *brahmán* is an agent noun. Tracing the development of agent nouns, T. Burrow says—"Again in the old dichotomy of these types, *brahman* : *brahmā* we have in the second of these pairs a type of secondary derivation. Logically and presumably historically, the neuter action noun precedes the agent noun. The form *brahmā*, 'one connected with *brahman*' presupposes by its meaning the existence of the more primitive neuters. In the Sanskrit system such agent noun formations count as primary formations, and this is what the majority have become owing to the disappearance of the corresponding neuter types."[2]

That substantives *bṛh* and *brahman* (n.) have the same semantic value is proved by compounds formed from them separately, that is *bṛhaspati* from *bṛh* and *brahmaṇaspati* from *brahman*. The

1. 2.8.107.
2. T. Burrow : *Sanskrit Language*, p. 120.

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central meaning of *bṛh* as well as *brahman* appears to be spells or magical charms. The use of *brahman*, in the *Ṛgveda*, along with *stotra* and *uktha*[1], *suṣṭuti*[2], *stoma*[3] and *gir*[4] reveals its distinctive characters. But, gradually, it extended its meaning and became the synonym of prayers. A large number of seers and their families are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as composers of *brahmans* or spells. But in the beginning there must have been *brahmans* or spells of unknown authorship which were treated as divine. Fxpressions like *brahmaṇā daivyena*[5] and *Yo brahmaṇā devakṛtasya rājā*[6] refer to these god-made spells. It is interesting to note that Varuṇa, the great magician (*māyin*), has also been mentioned as making *brahman*, *brahmā kṛṇoti varuṇaḥ*.[7] A shift towards abstraction, that is a change from magical spells to magical powers, is also available in the *RV.* : *Abhinad brahmaṇā Valam*,[8] *Asmākaṁ brahma pṛtanāsu sahyā*,[9] *Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmedaṁ bhāratam janam.*[10] The sense of magical power appears to be more appropriate in these passages than any other sense. From magical power to divine power is an easy leap and the *Upaniṣads* abound with the passages where *brahman* (n.) occurs in the sense of supreme god.

The general meaning of suffixally accented *brahman*, masculine, in the *Ṛgveda*, is a priest. If *brahman* (n.) means spells, *brahmā* primarily should mean 'one who practises divinity.' There are passages in the marriage-hymn[11] of the *Ṛgveda* where *brahmā* appears to have been used in this primary sense. Agni, Indra and Bṛhaspati are called *brahmā* in the *Ṛgveda*.[12] Although *brahmā* is reckoned as one of the four priests[13] he is the most important of all the four priests. Commenting upon the *mantra* where all the four priests are mentioned Yāska says, "*brahmā sarvavidyaḥ sarvaṁ veditum arhati*".[14] Importance of the word *brahmā* can be realized

1. *RV.* 7.23.1.
2. *Ibid.*, 2.39.6.
3. *Ibid.*, 4.22.1.
4. *Ibid.*, 6.38.3.
5. *Ibid.*, 7.33 11.
6. *Ibid.*, 7.97 3.
7. *Ibid.*, 1.105.15.
8. *Ibid.*, 2.24.3.
9. *Ibid.*, 6.75.19.
10. *Ibid.*, 3.53.12.
11. *Ibid.*, 10.85.34, 35.
12. *Ibid.*, 2.1.2; 8.16.7; 10 141 3.
13. *Ibid.*, 10.71.11.
14. *Niruktam* 1.8. on *RV.* 10.71.11.

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from the simple fact that *brāhmaṇa*, a derivative of *brahman*, became a class-name of the whole priestly class.

A priest was a creator of sacrifices. Prajāpati (=creator of beings), the later meaning of *brahmā*, is an extension. There is only one passage in the *Ṛgveda*[1] where the word *brahmā* may be said to have been used in this sense. Here *brahmā* is described as the best of gods presumably on account of his being a creator of beings.

1. *RV*. 9.96.6. *Brahmā* is Bṛhaspati, the Lord of Prayer, among the Gods, (*brahmā́ devā́nām*) or, chief among the priests.

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VEDIC SACRIFICE—A CONSPECTUS

R. S. SHIVAGANESHA MURTHY

Sacrifice forms the foremost element in the Vedic culture. Almost the whole of the Vedic Literature hinges about the sacrifice. It is so dominant that one cannot think of the Veda without sacrifice. A major portion of the Vedic Literature is devoted to the elucidation of the sacrificial system. The *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* set forth the manner of performance of the sacrifices and the *Āraṇyakas* including the *Upaniṣads* bring out their inner significance.

A sacrifice in very simple terms is the offering of an object in favour of a deity by an individual. The object is offered through the medium of fire. Thus fire is an essential element in a sacrifice. But curiously enough, there is a solitary passage in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which speaks of a sacrifice without *homa*.[1]

The idea of sacrifice in the *Veda* is not confined to ritual only. A patient perusal of the *Brāhmaṇas* reveals that the concept of sacrifice extends beyond the mere ritualistic form. It has a deeper and wider significance : the very life could be considered a sacrifice.

The term widely used for sacrifice is *yajña*. The other terms generally used are *yāga*, *kratu*, *adhvara* and *makha*. Though these terms are usually employed as synonyms, sometimes a special meaning is attached to them. *Yajña* is said to be that type of sacrifice in which there is no *yūpa*; *yāga* and *kratu* are applied to that type in which a *yūpa* is prescribed.[2] *Adhvara* and *makha* are terms which denote mostly the bigger sacrifices. The process of offering an object into the fire is called *homa*. The object of offering is called *havis*.

The Vedic sacrifice or *Śrauta-yajña* is to be distinguished from the *Smārta-yajña*. Roughly, the *yajñas* enjoined in the *Śrautasūtras* are *Śrauta-yajñas*. The *Smārta-yajñas* are those based on the authority of the *Gṛhya-sūtras* and the *Smṛtis* and comprising the *Pākayajñas* only.

1. प्रजा वै सत्त्रमासत । तपस्तप्यमाना अजुह्वतीः । तै. ब्रा. 1. 4. 9.3.
2. यूपरहिता अग्निहोत्रादयो यज्ञाः । तद्वन्तः ज्योतिष्टोमादयः क्रतवः । सूतसंहिता-तात्पर्य-दीपिका, यज्ञवैभवखण्डे, ब्रह्मगीतासु. 7. 28.

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While the continuous maintenance of fire till life is common to both, the distinction lies in that the *Śrauta* requires the *homa* to be performed daily in three fires whereas the *Smārta* has only one fire. It may also be observed that these forms of *yajña* are different from those in vogue in the *Mantra* and *Tantra śāstras*, the deities of the latter being different from those of the former.

There are many sacrifices enjoined in the texts. Accordingly, there are several modes of classifying them. Depending upon the practice, the *yajñas* are grouped as *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Kāmya*. The Obligatory ceremonies to be performed daily are called *Nityakarmans*. Those that are to be performed due to exigencies (*nimitta*) are *Naimittikas*. *Kāmyas* are those which are optionally attended to for attaining certain specific desires. The *Brāhmaṇas* do not speak of the *Nitya* or the *Naimittika* though they prescribe *yajñas* yielding special fruits.

On the basis of the *pradhāna-havis*, the *yajñas* are classified threefold. The following are generally used as *havis* in a Vedic *yajña* : Rice and its flour and milk (of cow and goat), the omentum (*vapā*) and other parts of an animal (goat or horse) and Soma juice along with *ghee* and twigs of certain trees (*samits*). Of these, rice flour, *paśu* and *soma* are the chief ingredients which form the basis for the distinction. A sacrifice in which the chief offering is flour (*i.e.*, *puroḍāśa*) is known as *Iṣṭi*. If the *paśu* is the chief object, the sacrifice goes by the name of *Paśuyāga*. *Somayāga* is that in which the offering of Soma juice is the principal one. It may be noted that though a *paśuyāga* or *paśubandha* is not described independently in the *Brāhmaṇas* there are statements like इष्टिपशुबन्धाः, सोमेन पशुना इष्ट्वा (*JB.*, 1.4; *Tait. B.*, 2.7.5.1) which clearly point to its distinction from *Iṣṭi* and *Soma*.

The *Iṣṭi* and the *Paśuyāga* could be performed in a day, whereas the *Soma* requires three days. It may be extended to twelve days or even a year. Accordingly *Somayāga* is of three kinds : *Ekāha*, *Ahīna* and *Sattra*.

For the purpose of easy treatment in a text book the sacrifices are designated as *Prakṛtiyajña*, the model and the *Vikṛtiyajña*, the modified. Thus *Iṣṭi*, *Paśuyāga*, *Somayāga* and *Sattra* have each a *Prakṛti* : *Darśeṣṭi*, *Nirūḍhapaśubandha*, *Agniṣṭoma* and *Gavām ayana* respectively.

There is yet another distinction made between *Pradhāna* (Main) and *Aṅga* (Auxiliary). A *Pradhāna-yajña* may have many *Aṅga-yajñas*. Such an *Aṅgayajña* might itself be performed as *Pradhāna*.

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The *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* classify the *yajñas* differently : *Pāka-saṁsthā*, *Havis-saṁsthā* and *Soma-saṁsthā*. Each of these has seven sacrifices under it. The *Pāka* sacrifices are the *Smārta* ones. The *Nitya* sacrifices are brcught under the second. Soma sacrifices form the third. The different *Sūtras* differ in naming the fourteen sacrifices.[1]

Thus the sacrifices are classified as :—

(1) *Prakṛti* and *Vikṛti*,
(2) *Pradhāna* and *Aṅga*,
(3) *Iṣṭi*, *Paśu* and *Soma*,
(4) *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Kāmya*.
(5) *Pāka*, *Havis* and *Soma*.

The *Somayāgas* are further divided into : *Ekāha*, *Ahīna* and *Sattra*.

A householder who would be called *yajamāna* has to maintain the sacred fire from the day of his marriage. The śrauta sacrifice cannot be performed with this fire. For this, the *yajamāna* has to prepare himself by conducting the *Ādhāna*. It is necessary that the *yajamāna* should be having his wife with him while performing the *yajñas*. From the day of *Ādhāna*, the *yajamāna* should attend on the three fires at both twilights; this is called *Agnihotra*. He comes to be called *Āhitāgni* or *Agnihotrī*. Once in a fortnight, on the new moon and the full moon days, an *Iṣṭi* is performed. Once in four months, a sacrifice is prescribed. The three such in a year are called the *Cāturmāsyas*. These form the Obligatory sacrifices. On certain

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1. Gautama enumerates the following in his *Dharmasūtra* :
पाकसंस्था—अष्टका, पार्वणम्, श्राद्धम्, श्रावणी, आग्रहायणी, चैत्री, आश्वयुजी.
हविस्संस्था—अग्न्याधेयः, अग्निहोत्रम्, दर्शपूर्णमासौ, चातुर्मास्यानि, आग्रयणेष्टिः, निरूढपशुबन्धः, सौत्रामणिः.
सोमसंस्था—अग्निष्टोमः, अत्यग्निष्टोमः, उक्थ्यः, वाजपेयः, अतिरात्रः, आप्तोर्यामः
Baudhāyana lists पाकसंस्था thus : हुतम्, प्रहुतम्, आहुतम्, शूलगवः, बलिहरणम्, प्रत्यवरोहणम्, अष्टका. Under हविस्संस्था, instead of the sixth of Gautama, दाक्षायण is prescribed and for the seventh, कुण्डपायिनाम् अयनम्. It is also recorded that some Ācāryas enjoin सौत्रामणि as the seventh. There is no change in the third group. Dhūrtasvāmin in the opening of his *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra-Bhāṣya* gives the list of पाकसंस्था—औपासनहोमः, वैश्वदेवम्, पार्वणम्, अष्टका, मासिश्राद्धम्, सर्पबलिः, ईशानबलि. Under the second group, he omits the first of Gautama's list and adds at the end : पिण्डपितृयज्ञ. He too does not differ in the third group.

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occasions, the *yajamāna* is called upon to perform certain sacrifices —mostly *iṣṭis*. For example, when the new corn is brought home from the fields, *Āgrayaṇeṣṭi* is enjoined. Such are the *Naimittikas*. Whenever the *yajamāna* desires to perform the *Somayāgas*, he may do so and begin with the *Agniṣṭoma*. The *Paśubandhas* may be attended to at any time, whenever the *yajamāna* chooses to do so.

While the *Agnihotra* is carried out by the *yajamāna* and his wife, the *Iṣṭi* and other forms require them to be assisted by others called *Ṛtviks* or priests. Each is an office with definite duties ordained. For an *Iṣṭi* four *ṛtviks* are needed : *Adhvaryu*, *Hotā*, *Āgnīdhra* and *Brahmā*. For a sacrifice where a *paśu* is involved, two more—*Pratiprasthātā* and *Praśāstā* are required. For a *Somayāga*, ten more are employed. These sixteen *ṛtviks* are grouped into four *gaṇas* of four *ṛtviks* each and each *gaṇa* is named after its first : *Adhvaryu*, *Pratiprasthātā*, *Neṣṭā* and *Unnetā*; *Hotā*, *Praśāstā*, *Acchāvāka*, and *Grāvastut*; *Udgātā*, *Prastotā*, *Pratihartā* and *Subrahmaṇya*; *Brahmā*, *Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin*, *Āgnīdhra* and *Potā*. *Adhvaryu* is the executive chief. *Pratiprasthātā* and *Unnetā* are his assistants. *Brahmā* is the supervisor. *Udgātṛgaṇa* is of *sāma*-singers. Of this *Subrahmaṇya* sings in the preliminary function only. *Grāvastut* too sings *sāmans* but only on one occasion. The other *ṛtviks* are called *Hotṛkas* (*Saptahotṛs*). *Hotā* is the chief of them.

The Vedic *yajña*, as already observed, is performed in three fires. Each of these has a receptacle called *kuṇḍa*. The area in which these three *kuṇḍas* are situated is called the *vedi*. It is necessary to have clear ideas about the *kuṇḍa* and the *vedi*. The *vedi* is not an altar but only a measured and sanctified part of the ground. For *kuṇḍa*, the ground is dug only to a maximum depth of about four *aṅgulas*;[1] and round this pit, is built a bund for about six inches in height with brick and mud. It may also be noted that the term *āyatana* is used for *kuṇḍa* in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

On the ground where the *vedi* is desired to be constructed, the place of one fire-place is marked first. This is for the *Gārhapatya* and is in circular shape. To the east of this is another *kuṇḍa* square in shape. This is *Āhavanīya*. The distance between their centres is said to be twelve steps. But it is not rigid as the *Brāhmaṇas* testify.[2] The opposite sides of these two are connected by two mud lines

1. चतुरङ्गुलं खनति। तै. ब्रा. 3. 2. 9. 8; शत. ब्रा. 1.2.5.17.
2. द्वादशसु विक्रामेषु अग्निमादधीत। ... चक्षुर्निमित आदधीत। इयद् द्वादशविक्रमा इति। तै. ब्रा. 1. 1. 4. 1. नात्र मात्रास्ति। यावतीमेव मनसा मन्येत तावतीं कुर्यात्। शत. ब्रा. 1. 2. 5. 14.

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which start at the western corners of the *Āhavanīya* and reach *Gārhapatya*, the space in between them becoming broader as they proceed. To the south east of and very near *Gārhapatya* there is another *kuṇḍa*, *Dakṣiṇāgni* of semicircular shape. This is the simplest form of the *vedi* and is called *Dārśikī vedi*. *Iṣṭis* are performed on this. A variation by addition to this *vedi* is constructed for other types of sacrifices.

We may now briefly survey the various types of sacrifices.

Ādhāna : It is the ceremony in which the *yajamāna* prepares himself for the *śrauta* sacrifices. The *Brāhmaṇas* speak of certain asterisms and dates for this function but add that this could be performed any time, whenever a person has a strong inclination to do so[1]. The *yajamāna* builds the *Dārśikī vedi* in a convenient place. The fire is produced by churning a piece of *Aśvattha* wood over another piece. He has to undergo certain sacraments. The fire thus sanctified should always be looked after. It will be maintained in the *Gārhapatya*. If for any reason the fire in the *Gārhapatya* should get extinguished the *yajamāna* has to go through *Ādhāna* again.

Agnihotra : At both twilights, the *yajamāna* along with his wife should wait on the sacred fire. The fire from the *Gārhapatya* is distributed to the other *kuṇḍas*. All the principal *homas* are performed in the *Āhavanīya*. Rice is the chief offering.

Iṣṭi : On every new moon day and full moon day *Iṣṭis* called *Darśeṣṭi* and *Pūrṇamāseṣṭi* respectively, are performed. Rice-flour is baked on potsherds, *kapālas*, in the *Āhavanīya* fire. The number of potsherds is also important. It varies according to the purpose and the deity. This baked flour is called *puroḍāśa*, which is offered to the divinities. The remnants are partaken by all the *ṛtviks* and the *yajamāna*. Most of the ritual is carried out by the *Adhvaryu*. The *Brahmā* sits with the *yajamāna* and supervises the *Iṣṭi*. The *Hotā* recites the proper invocations. The *Āgnīdh* assists the *Adhvaryu* and looks after the protection of the sacrifice from the attack of evil spirits.

Cāturmāsyas : Once in every four months, on full moon day a sacrifice is enjoined. The three such in a year are : *Vaiśvadeva*, *Varuṇapraghāsa*, and *Sākamedha*. These together are named *Cātur-*

1. कृत्तिकासु अग्निमादधीत । ...रोहिण्याम्...।...वसन्ते...ग्रीष्मे । तै. ब्रा. 1.1.2. 1-7. अथो खलु यदैवैनं यज्ञ उपनमेत् । अथादधीत । सैवास्यर्धिः । तै. ब्रा. 1.1.2.8. तस्माद्यदैवैनं कदा च यज्ञ उपनमेत् । अथाग्नी आदधीत । न श्वः श्वमुपासीत । को हि मनुष्यस्य श्वो वेद । शत. ब्रा. 2.1.3.9.

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māsya. These are *Iṣṭis*. The *Varuṇapraghāsa* involves a *paśu* also, and requires a special *vedi*. Curious features of this are that together with the real *paśu*, a model of it is to be made with flour, and the purification rite for the wife, in which she is asked to confess her moral breach if any.

Paśubandha: For the *Vedi* in this *yāga*, there is some addition to the *Dārśikī vedi*. To the east of *Dārśikī vedi*, a large trapezium is marked with a mud bund, the western edge almost touching the *Āhavanīya*. This is called the *Mahāvedi*. Very near the eastern edge, an altar (*Uttaravedi*) to the knee-height of the *yajamāna* is constructed. On the middle point of the eastern line, the *yūpa* is fixed. The centre of the *Āhavanīya*, *Uttaravedi* and *yūpa* should all be on one east-west line. With reference to the *Uttaravedi* which is the *Āhavanīya* in this, the *Āhavanīya* and *Gārhapatya* of the *Dārśikī vedi* are called the *Gārhapatya* and *Prājahita* respectively. And the area covered by the *Dārśikī vedi* is called the *Prāgvaṁśa*. To the west of this, there is the *Patnīśālā*, the retiring room for the wife. On the day of the performance, the *yajamāna* and his wife assume *dīkṣā*. *Āgnāvaiṣṇaveṣṭi* is attended to. The *yūpa* is fixed in its place after due sacraments. Fire is carried to the *Āhavanīya*. The *paśu* is tied to the *yūpa* and water is sprinkled over it. It is then led to the *Śāmitragṛha*, a covered enclosure a little off the *vedi*, where the required parts of the animal like omentum, heart etc., are taken out. The omentum is offered first followed by *puroḍāśa*. The other parts of the animal are later offered. Many *homas* like *Prayāja* and *Anuyāja* are prescribed in between. The concluding portion is like that of an *Iṣṭi*.

Somayāga : The function begins with *Dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi* in which the *yajamāna* and his wife take vow for the *Somayāga*. Next day, the *Prāyaṇīyeṣṭi* marks the beginning of the *Somayāga*. The soma creeper is bought and there is an Iṣṭi in honour of Soma (*Ātithyeṣṭi*). Following this is the ritual called *Tānūnaptra* : the *yajamāna* and all the *ṛtviks* take an oath to carry on their assignments with mutual cooperation and without malice. For three days, the rites called *Pravargya* and *Upasat* are performed both in the morning and evening, followed by *Subrahmaṇya-āhvāna* : The *ṛtvik Subrahmaṇya* sings *sāmans* inviting Indra to the sacrifice. On the fourth day, after the morning rituals the *Mahāvedi* is constructed, as in *Paśuyāga* but with some modifications. Between the *Āhavanīya* and the *Gārhapatya*, there are two enclosures on a *Saumika-vedi*. (1) *Sadomaṇṭapa* where the *hotṛkas* and the *Udgātā* and others sit. (2) To the east of this, there is the *havirdhāna-maṇṭapa*; soma juice is extracted

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and stored here. On the middle point of the northern border, there is an enclosure for the *Āgnīdh*. The actual *Somayāga* begins on the sixth day after a *Paśuyāga* on the fifth. After the preliminary rituals in the morning, the *soma* creeper is divided into two halves: One of it is pounded with stones by four *ṛtviks—Adhvaryu*, *Hotā*, *Brahmā* and *Unnetā*. The juice is filtered and stored in a pot. *Vapā* of a *paśu* is offered. This is followed by several sets of *stotra*, *śastra* and *homa* of *soma* juice. The *sāma* singers sing a *stotra* in favour of a deity. The *Hotṛs* recite the *ṛks* in praise of the same deity; this is called *śastra*. Following this is the *homa* of *somarasa*. With these the morning session *Prātaḥ* savana *closes*. At midday, the other half of *Soma* creeper is pounded. The *ṛtvik Grāvastut* sings *sāmans* in praise of the pressing stones during pounding. After the *stotra*, *śastra*, and *homa* as in the morning, *Dakṣiṇā* is distributed for the *ṛtviks*. Thus comes to a close the midday session-*Mādhyandinasavana*. The residue of the creeper is again pounded in the evening. The rituals connected with this third session—*Tṛtīyasavana*—are completed by about the first watch of the night. It is curious that this is not called after the time of the day as the earlier two. In fact, some scholars argue that the third *savana* was a later appendage. There are a few statements in the *Brāhmaṇas* which point to such a conclusion.[1] After the rituals are over, the *ṛtviks* get together and partake curds in the *Āgnīdhrīya*maṇṭapa; this relieves them from the agreement entered into at the *Tānūnaptra*. Next morning, *avabhṛtha* is performed. The *yajamāna*, his wife and the *ṛtviks* go to a river or a pond and take an ablution. The *Udayanīyeṣṭi* marks the conclusion of a *Somayāga*.

This is, in brief, the *Agniṣṭoma*. Six other forms of *Somayāga* also called *Jyotiṣṭoma* are mentioned : *Ukthya*, *Ṣoḍaśī*, *Atyagniṣṭoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptoryāma*.

Cayana : According to the desire of the *yajamāna*, there is a variation effected in the *Somayāga*. The *Uttaravedi* will be built in different shapes. This is called *Cayana* and the *yāga* will be called *Sāgnicit-Somayāga*. The *Uttaravedi* may be in the form of a flying vulture (*Garuḍa-cayana*), round (*Rathacakra*), triangular (*Praüga*), and so on. These vedis are built in five layers. The *yāga* will have five preliminary days when the *vedi* is constructed. On each day, one layer of the *vedi* is laid. The number and size of the bricks (*iṣṭakā*) are prescribed. Each brick is laid along with the repetition of a *Mantra* and this ritual is called *iṣṭakopadhāna*.

1. घीतमिव तृतीयम् । लेलिहितमिव तत् तृतीयं सवनम् । जै. ब्रा. 1.4.

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Aśvamedha is also a *Somayāga*. The chief difference is that the *paśu* is the horse. The *yajamāna* after assuming *dīkṣā*, sanctifies a horse and allows it to roam at will. An army of soldiers follows it for its protection. This is a costly sacrifice and only a king can perform it. There is a peculiar ritual to note in this : the *patnī* (the queen) is directed to lie with the dead horse.

Puruṣamedha is a *Somayāga* in which a human being is the *paśu*. A list of the deities and their *paśus*, the types of human beings, is given in the *Brāhmaṇas*.[1] It is worth noting that the deities are not those with whom one is familiar in the *Veda*. A discerning critic can notice from the list that the sacrifice must be purely symbolic.

Rājasūya is a sacrifice which is performed at the time of the coronation of the king.

Sattras are only a series of *Iṣṭis* and *Somayīgas*.

There is a type of *Somayōga* called *Sādyaskra*. The *Somayāga* from *dīkṣā* and other preliminaries to the *Avabhṛtha*, and other concluding ceremonies are telescoped into one day's function. Some of these are called *Savas*, *e.g.*, *Brāhmaṇasava*, *Gosava*.

The *Kāmya* sacrifices are generally *Iṣṭis* and some of the *Savas* also come under this head.

A feature of the *Vājapeya* and the *Sattras* may be mentioned : All the sixteen *ṛtviks* are *yajamānas* and there is no *dakṣiṇā* distribution.

The concept of *Prāyaścitta* may well be touched upon here. While there is no mention of *Prāyaścitta* for the sins that might have been committed in the different births, there is expiation for various errors. The *Brāhmaṇas* admit that to err is human. Consciously or unconsciously, defects or faults are bound to occur in one's daily transaction either in private or in public life. Besides the errors that call for expiation in divine functions, the behaviour of a person in society beyond etiquette like the ill-treatment of a fellow being, is also counted as that which requires atonement.[2]

1. There are 185 paśus listed together with their deities. ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते । क्षत्राय राजन्यम् । मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यम् । तपसे शूद्रम् । तमसे तस्करम् ।... धैर्याय तक्षाणम् । ...पवित्राय भिषजम् । प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शम् । ...तुलाय वणिजम् ।... प्रतीक्षायै कुमारीम् ॥ तै. ब्रा. 3.4; वाज. सं. 30.5.

2. यद् ग्रामे यदरण्ये यत्सभायां यदिन्द्रिये यच्छूद्रे यदर्ये एनश्चकृमा वयं यदेकस्याधि धर्मणि तस्यावयजनमसि । तै. ब्रा. 2. 6. 6. 1-2.
मनुष्यकृतस्य एनसोऽवयजनमसि...यद्दिवा च नक्तं च एनश्चकृम तस्य अवयजनमसि । यद् विद्वांसश्चाविद्वांसश्च एनश्चकृम तस्यावयजनमसि । पञ्च. ब्रा. 1. 6. 10.

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The *Brāhmaṇas* are, however, very eager to clear off this commitment here and now. Therefore, they enjoin atonement to make good each of the defects. It is said that just as a surgeon or physician examines each part of the body and administers medicine,[1] so too one should review one's activity and perform *Prāyaścitta* for any of the shortcomings. Because of the errors, an act gets disjuncted and by performing *Prāyascitta*, it is brought together, as a torn cloth is sewn.[2]

The atonement may be in the form of *japa* of a Mantra or *mārjana* (sprinkling of water over oneself), or *homa*.

The topic of the Vedic sacrifices is not complete without a note on the idea of *ahiṁsā*. Generally, it is accepted that there is no place for *ahiṁsā* in the Vedic sacrifice and that the idea of *ahiṁsā* is not known to the *Brāhmaṇas*. This conclusion is based on the fact that the parts of a paśu are among the materials of offering. But it may be worth noting that the *Brāhmaṇas* see that there is violence even in *Iṣṭis* where only grains are used.[3] *Prāyaścittas* are recommended for such acts. The idea of *ahiṁsā* is not totally absent in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Even to strike the earth with the *sphya* is considered as doing violence to the earth and therefore, it is recommended to have some grass in between.[4] *Adhvara* is another word for *yajña* and it is explained as that function where there is no place for *hiṁsā*. This explanation is of no less an authority than *Yāska*.[5] On the whole, it may be said that an act which is necessary for the well-being of the society has to be attended to though it might be abhorring to the common man. Again there is no standard to designate a particular act as *hiṁsā*. If to inflict pain on another is violence, what should happen to the surgeons ? The Vedic sacrifice has a deep symbolic significance. Efforts are to be made to understand it on its own level.

1. तद् यथा शीर्णं तत् पर्वणा पर्व सन्धाय भिषज्येत् एवमेवैनं विद्वान् तत्सर्वं भिषज्यति । जै. ब्रा. 1. 358.
2. यथा श्लेष्मणा चर्मण्यं वान्यद्वा विश्लिष्टं संश्लेषयेदेवमेव एताभिः यज्ञस्य विश्लिष्टं सन्दधाति । ऐ. ब्रा. 25. 32.
3. उलूखलमुसलाभ्यां हविर्यज्ञं घ्नन्ति । शत. ब्रा. 2. 2. 2. 1.
   यत्ते ग्राव्णा चिच्छिदुः सोम राजन् ।...अनागसो अघमित् संक्षयेम । तै. ब्रा. 3.7.13.1.
4. तृणमन्तर्धाय प्रहरति । नेदनेन संशितेन पृथिवीं हिंसानीति । शत. ब्रा. 1.2.4.15.
5. अध्वर इति यज्ञनाम । ध्वरतिः हिंसाकर्म तत्प्रतिषेधः । निरुक्तम् 1.21.15,16. व्या.— द्वेषपूर्वकः प्राणिवधो हिंसा ।

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THE PAIPPALĀDA SAṂHITĀ (KĀṆḌA III)

H. C. PATYAL

Introductory remarks :

Among nine recensions of the *AV*,[1] the *Paippalāda* (=*AVP*) and the *Śaunaka* (=*AVŚ*) recensions alone have come down to us. The latter is preserved in the written and the oral traditions. Even the *Paippalāda* Mss, collected by Durgamohan BHATTACHARYA, do not contain accent marks. Needless to say, both these schools have been extremely popular in India.

The credit of finding the *Paippalāda* version goes to R. ROTH. He found in Kashmir a mutilated birch-bark manuscript of AV. pertaining to the *Paippalāda* recension.[2] This manuscript was reproduced by M. Bloomfield and R. Garbe.[3] Unfortunately, the text of this manuscript, written in Śāradā script, is corrupt, in many cases even beyond recognition, hence unintelligible.

Between the years 1906 and 1940, L. C. Barret did the arduous task of transcribing the Kashmirian manuscript, book by book

1. For details on the recensions see e.g., Bolling and Negelein (ed.), *The Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, Leipzig (1909-10), p. 337 f, ; B. R. Modak, *A Study of the Ancillary Literature of the Atharvaveda with special reference to the Pariśiṣṭas*, Vol. II (Pt. III Text), unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Poona, Poona (1959), p. 235; M. Bloomfield, *Introduction to the Kauśikasūtra*, *JAOS* XIV (1890), p. xxxii; Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, *Paippalāda Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda* (Ed.), Calcutta (1964), Introdn. p. ix; H. C. Patyal, *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa—English Translation with Notes and Introduction*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Poona, Poona (1969), Introdn. pp. i-iii; also see the forthcoming article on Kāṇḍa II under the same title in, *Jr. of Oriental Institute*, Baroda; Ganga Sagar Rai, *Śākhās of the Atharvaveda, Purāṇa*, XIV.1 (January 1972), Varanasi, pp. 58-69 (especially for Puranic references).
2. See Roth in *Alti del IV Congress internazionale Legli Orientalist*, ii, 89-96; also R. Garbe in *Verzeichnis* No. 14.
3. *The Kashmirian Atharvaveda (School of the Paippalādins) reproduced by chromophotography from the manuscript in the University Library at Tubingen*, Baltimore (1901).

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into Roman characters.[1] He made genuine efforts in his notes in emending the original text wherever it was possible for him. Unfortunately, more often than not, he could not be successful in arriving at convincing results. All scholars, dealing with AVP, feel grateful to Barret for the enormous amount of useful work done by him. This Barret's text was again reproduced by Raghu Vira in Devanāgarī script.[2] He made some improvements and a specification of parallel passages which was very much welcome. Despite the efforts of Barret and Raghu Vira, the text could not help remaining defective in many aspects. K. Hoffmann's remark is worth quoting "……everyone who has dealt with the Paippalāda version from a philological or linguistic point of view has, again and again, been driven to despair. There were only rare cases in which the details inferred from the text could be relied on."[3]

The findings of Durgamohan Bhattacharyya are phenominal and of the highest importance for the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature.

The first book : *Paippalāda Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda, First Kāṇḍa*, edited from original manuscripts with critical notes, Calcutta (1964), is now attested in three newly found sources.[4] The text is collated throughout with the Śaunaka version, but references to the Kashmir text, other Saṁhitā texts etc., and to unspecified tape-recorded material from Orissa are variously irregular.[5]

We are immensely delighted, indeed, that Volume II, consisting of *Kāṇḍas* II-IV, Calcutta (1970), has been completed by his son Dipak Bhattacharya. From his introductory note[6] it appears that his father had handed over to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta,

1. His edition appeared in several volumes of *JAOS* and also in two independent publications. *Kāṇḍa* I in *JAOS* 26.2, pp. 197-295; *Kaṇḍa* II in Vol. 30. pp. 187-258; *Kāṇḍa* III in Vol. 32, pp. 343-90; *Kāṇḍa* IV in Vol. 35, pp. 42-101 and so on. He began his work by saying : "The elaboration of the first book of the *Paippalāda* is in the nature of the case of experiment and only that" [*JAOS* 26, p. 197].
2. Vol. I, *Kāṇḍas* 1-13, Lahore (1936); Vol. II, *Kāṇḍas* 14-18, Lahore (1940); Vol. III, *Kāṇḍas* 18-20 with indices, Lahore (1941).
3. *Indo-Iranian Journal* XI, p. 1.
4. For the description of manuscripts see Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, Introdn. pp. xviii-xix; "A Palm-leaf Manuscript of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā : Announcement of a Rare Find", *Our Heritage* V. ii (1957), pp. 81-6; "Palm-leaf manuscripts of the Paippalādasaṁhitā : Textual importance of the new finds", *The Adyar Library Bulletin Jubilee Volume* (1961), pp. 203-15.
5. See K. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-10; J. C. Wright's review on this text in *BSOAS XXX* (1967), pp. 201-2.
6. P. xxi.

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the press copy of the text up to *Kāṇḍa* III. Moreover, he had himself seen the final proofs up to this portion. He had edited the text up to IV. 27. 7, after that the editing was done by his son, D. Bhaṭṭāchārya.

In this paper I shall make an attempt to examine a few important controversial or rather unintelligible readings in *Kāṇḍa* III.

III. 2. 1. This hymn (=AVŚ III. 7) is employed against the *kṣetriya*—(inherited disease). According to Kauś. (27. 29) it is used in a healing ceremony. The relation of the antelope (*hariṇa*—) and the practices to the *kṣetriya*—are extremely poor. Perhaps the swiftness of the animal (in this verse) symbolises the rapid removal of the disease.[1]

Bhattacharyya reads :

hariṇasya raghuṣyado 'dhi śīrṣāṇi bheṣajam ।
sukṣetriyaṁ viṣāṇayā visūcīnam anīnaśat ॥

Barret (emendation) and Raghu Vira read in pāda b *śīrṣaṇi*, instead of *śirṣāṇi*, and in pāda c *sa kṣetriyam* instead of *su-kṣetriyam*. The corresponding verse AVŚ III. 7. 1 has the same reading as adopted by Raghu Vira and Barret (emendation). In pāda b *śīrṣāṇi* of Bhattacharyya be emended to *śīrṣaṇi*, for the pre-verb *adhi* requires a form in the locative. In pāda d *visūcīnam* be corrected to *viṣūcīnam*. I have nothing to comment on the reading *sukṣetriyam*, for it can equally convey a good sense. In verses 1 and 2 there is pun upon the word *viṣāṇā*—'horn'. Perhaps the idea behind the employment of the 'horn' is that it has the capacity as a loosener of disease.

This verse may be understood as follows :

'On the head of the nimble antelope (*hariṇa*—) is a remedy. He has driven away the well (formed) *kṣetriya* (inherited disease) by means of (his) 'horn'.

III. 3. 6[a] : Bhattacharyya's *nirjhatir* (निर्झतिर्) be corrected to *nirṛtir* (निर्ऋतिर्).

III. 6. 3[cd] : This hymn is employed as 'charms for causing bewilderment'. In Kauś. (14. 17-21) the hymns III. 1 and 2 are called *mohanāni* 'confounders'. They are used in a rite for confounding an enemy's army. Barret (emendation) and Raghu Vira read : *tāṁ tvam indra vṛtrahann agniś ca dahataṁ prati/* The corresponding verse AVŚ III. 1. 3 reads : *yuváṁ tán indra vṛtrahann agníś ca daha-*

1. For details see e.g Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, *SBE* XLII, pp. 336-7; Weber, *Ind. St.* XVII. 208 ff.; Whitney, *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā* (Tr.), Vol. I, p. 94.

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tam práti/ Bhattacharyya reads : *yuvaṁ tha tān indra...../*Here *tha tān* is obviously an error for *tān*, the insertion of *tha* is very superficial. Pāda a reads *amitrasenām...*, therefore Sāyaṇa, the commentator of AVŚ III. 1.3 reads *tām* instead of *tān* of the text. This verse is also found at SV. II. 1215, which begins pāda c with *ubhaú tám*. This verse means :

'O bounteous one, the army of enemies, which contends against us—do ye, O Vṛtra-slaying Indra, and Agni, burn against them !'

III. 11. 4[a] : These two hymns AVŚ III. 26 (=AVP III. II) and III. 27 are 'connected with the quarters'. According to *Kauś.* (14. 25) these hymns are used in a battle rite with AVŚ VI. 13, for victory over a hostile army. Weber (*Ind. St.* XVII. 291) calls these two hymns (AVŚ III. 26 and 27) 'Schlangenzauber' (Serpent-incantation). Whitney (*op. cit.*), in his note to *AVŚ* VI. 56, duly reports the connection of AVŚ III. 26 and 27 with the 'snake charm'. In this verse homage is paid to the deities of the northern quarter.

Bhattacharyya's reading *udībhyām* be corrected to *udīcyām*. The latter reading is found in both editions as well as in the corresponding verse AVŚ III. 26.4. This would mean :

'Ye gods that are in this northern direction, piercing by name—of you the arrows are wind.'

III. 11. 6[ab] : Barret (emendation) and Raghu Vira read : *ye sthāsyām ūrdhvāyāṁ diśi avasvanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vo varṣam iṣavaḥ*/ Bhattacharyya reads *viśvanto* instead of *avasvanto*. The corresponding verse *AVŚ* III. 26. 6 has the same reading which is found in Barret and Raghu Vira. This text reads .... *bṛhaspatir*.....in place of *varṣam* of *AVP*. Bhattacharyya's reading *viśvantaḥ* posits a real problem. This could be a nom. pl. form of viśvat (??). In my opinion, such a base seems to be implausible. Unfortunately I do not have access to the Mss utilised for this text. The reading *avastantaḥ* is definitely more sensible. In the case of this reading there seems to be a possibility of some error either due to faulty hearing or due to some scribal error which might have been successively carried out by all these Mss. There appears to be loss of *va* which can be quite naturally mainly due to faulty hearing. Hence, I would suggest, though quite hesitatingly, *viśvavantaḥ* from the stem *viśvavat*—. These pādas can be understood as follows :

'Ye gods that are in the upper quarter, consisting of the word 'all' (*viśva*—) by name—of you the arrows are rain.' III.12.6[b] This hymn (=*AVŚ* III.21) is employed in a number of rites. It

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appears as a charm against the evil influence of the flesh-eating fire (*Kauś.* 43. 16-21); in the establishment of the domestic fire (*Kauś.* 72.13); in the funeral rites, on the third day after cremation (*Kauś.* 82.25).

Bhattacharyya reads : *vaiśvānarasya jyeṣṭhebhyas tebhyo hutam astv etat*, whereas other editions as well as the corresponding verse *AVS* III.21.6 read *vaiśvānara-jyeṣṭhebhyas* etc. In *pāda* a of this verse we get forms in *Bahuvrīhi* compound like *ukṣānnāya* etc. In my opinion a form in *Bahuvrīhi* compound gives better sense. This *pāda* would mean :

'This oblation be made to those fires whose chief is *Vaiśvānara*.'

III.13.1[a]. This hymn (=*AVŚ* III.5), along with *AVŚ* VIII.5 and X.3.6, accompanies the binding of an amulet for general prosperity (Kauś. 19.22).

Bhattacharyya has an obscure and unintelligible reading वृयमगन्ो. This makes no sense. He does not show any variant from the other editions and also from the corresponding verse of AVŚ. It seems quite reasonable to adopt the reading *āyam agan...*, which is attested everywhere. This would mean:

'This amulet of *parṇa*-wood has come hither, with (its) strength mightily crushing the rivals.'

III.17.4[a]. This verse (=*AVŚ* VI. 96. 2=RV. X. 97. 16=VS XII.90: of course, with minor variants) is employed by *Kauś.* (31.22) in a remedial rite against reviling by a Brahman, against dropsy etc.

In *pāda* a Battacharyya reads *naipathyād...*, whereas other editions and also AVŚ and RV. read *śapathyād...*Bhattacharyya does not record any variant reading. This reading seems to be an error, for it does not convey any sense. If we accept the reading *śapathyād*, in that case the rendering would be :

'I redeem you from (the misery) consequent upon a curse, and also from the (nooses) of Varuṇa.'

III.18.1[c]. Barret's edition reads: *tat sarve savitur mahyam etad...* He emends the reading *savitur* to *samudra* which (the latter) is accepted by Raghu Vira. This reading is in accord with the corresponding text AVŚ III. 22. 1[c]. Bhattacharyya reads *sa midur*, which is quite unintelligible. He also records a variant reading *samitu* (in foot-note No.2), which is also equally corrupt, hence unintelligible. The most plausible reading seems to be *samadur* (*sam*+√*dā* +root aorist 3/3). According to *Kauś.* (13.1) this hymn is used in a charm for splendour, with binding on an amulet of ivory. *Pādas*

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cd of this verse be understood as :

'All of them have together given this to me—all the gods, Aditi, in unison.'

III.24.2[a]. Bhattacharyya's reading *tebhro*...be corrected to *tebhyo*...

III.24.3[d]. This hymn (=AVŚ III.27) is applied as an imprecation against the enemies. In the refrain *tam u prāṇo jahātu*, in this verse, Bhattacharyya's text reads *tam u ṇaā* (णआ) *jahātu*. Here *ṇaā* be corrected to *prāṇo*...This portion of the refrain is not included in *AVŚ*. *Pādas* cd mean :

'One who hates us, whom we hate, we put him in your jaws, let the life-breath leave him.'

III.28.5[cd]. This hymn is used in a rite concerning women; the plant is fastened to the head (of the woman), and she enters the village. (Cf. *AVŚ* VII.38 and also *Kauś*. 36.12.)

Barret (emendation) and Raghu Vira read :...*cakṣur ākāśaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁ-paśyam abhirorudam*/ This part forms *Pādas* ab of these editions. Bhattacharyya (*Pādas* cd) reads : *cakṣur ākāsyaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁ paśyam abhi rorudam*/The word *ākāsyam* of the text be emended to *ākāśyam*. [See his Sanskrit short note *ākāśyam iti dṛṣṭi-prakāśiny oṣadhir lakṣyate*.] This verse should better be read as follows :

cakṣur ākāśyaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁ-paśyam abhi-rorudam/ Here *māṁ-paśya*—is a compound word (see e.g. AVŚ VII.38.1 : *idáṁ khanāmi bhéṣajam māṁpaśyám abhirorudám*. Cf. *AVŚ* IV. 20.1). These *pādas* may be rendered as follows :

'(I dig out ?) the eye (i.e. the plant), which is atmospheric and horrible, me-regarding, causes (love's) tears'.

III.30. 2[a]. Bhattacharyya's text reads *saṁ rājāno 'guḥ*. This hymn (=*AVŚ* XIX.57) is applied against evil-dreaming. This portion of the *pāda* means :

'Kings have gathered.'

III.31.6[a]. Bhattacharyya reads *deva bṛhaspate'po ghehy udadhiṁ bhindhi*. Here *ghehi* be corrected to *dhehi*. Barret and Raghu Vira read *dehi*. This *pāda* would mean :

'O god Bṛhaspati, provide waters, tear asunder the ocean.'

III.31.7[a] Like the previous verse here also the printed text *ghehi* be corrected to *dhehi*.

III.33.7[a]. Bhattacharyya reads *virāḍ agne kṣatrabhir dīdihīha*. Barret and Raghu Vira read *kṣatrabhṛd* for *kṣatrabhir*. This verse is found in *AVŚ* VII.84.I; also in VS XXVII. 7; TS IV.1.7.3 and Mait. S. II.12.5. All these texts unanimously read *kṣatrabhṛt* 'supporting the royal power'. The reading *kṣatrabhir* seems to

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be rather ungrammatical. This form we can get from a base like *kṣatran*, but such a base is an impossibility. Here one may better think of emending this reading *kṣatrebhir* (inst.pl. of *k atra*). If we adopt this reading, this *pāda* would mean:

'Wide-ruling, O Agni, shine forth here through (your) royal powers !'

III. 37. 2ab. This hymn is a love charm. *Kāma*, the god of love, is directed against the person whom one wants to keep under control. Bhattacharyya reads : *śocayāsya hṛdayaṁ kāma gacchāṅga jvaro dahatu śocatu tmanā/* Raghu Vira reads up to *hṛdayam* with verse 1. In place of *aṅga* he reads *aṅgā*. In my opinion, *aṅga* is the correct reading. Of course, our editor does not record any variant reading, hence it seems to be a printing error. These *pādas* may mean :

'O Cupid, gleam the heart, go to the limbs; let the fever scorch, let him even gleam through his own self !'

III. 37. 5cd. Bhattacharyya reads: *aśvinā devaḥ savitā bhagaś ca manas ta ughnantu naram āsā atra/* Here *u* should be separated from *ghnantu*. These *pādas* can be understood as follows :

'Let the Aśvins, the god Savitṛ, Bhaga hurt here your mind and (then) immediately the man'. *āsā* here seems to be used as an adverb meaning 'immediately'.

III. 38. 6cd. This verse is applied as one of the formulae for the 'yoking or equipment of Agni', causing the sacrificial fire to blaze up.[1] With some variations this verse is found in VS XVIII. 52; TS IV. 7. 13. 1; Mait. S II. 12. 3; ŚB IX. 4.4.4. The Kauś. (68. 26) adopts this formula *ad verbatim*. VS and TS read *tābhyām patema sukṛtām u lokaṁ yatrarṣayaḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ/* 'With these two (feathered wings) may we fly to the world of good men, where are the seers, the first-born, those of yore.'

Bhattacharyya reads : *tābhyāṁ patyāsma sukṛtasya lokaṁ.../* Raghu Vira reads *pathyāsmi* (?), whereas Barret (emendation) reads *pathyāsma*. The Kauś. 68.26 also reads *pathyāsma*, which seems to be a remarkable precative form of √*path*.[2]

Bhattacharyya's *patyāsma* is a precative first person plural (active) form of √*pat* 'to fly', to go.'[3] These *pādas* mean :

'By means of those two (feathered wings) may we go to

1. See J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas* (*Kauśikas ūtra* 60-68), Amsterdam (1965), p 112, and pp. 413-4.
2. See Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha* I. 900 : *pathe gatau*; Whitney, *The Roots, Verb, Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Skt. Lg* , p. 94 √*path* 'to go' (?)
3. See Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.*, §417; Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 567-8, 573c, 921-5.

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the world of noble deed, where (are) the first-born seers, those of yore'.

Concluding remarks :

From the foregoing discussions we are led to the following considerations *argumenti causa* :—

(i) The editor seems to have been influenced at times by the local Bengali pronunciation, e.g. *ḍ* or *ḷ* is always written as *ṛ*. The list of errata is quite inadequate. At times *b* is printed as *v* (see e.g. III. 3. 7 *nirvādha* for *nirbādha* and *vandhanāt* for *bandhanāt*). There are several instances where the text is not properly split, hence becomes unintelligible.

(ii)From some of the discussions it is quite evident that the editor has not shown his sharp critical acumen.

(iii) The references to the Kashmirian text as well as to the other Vedic texts are variously irregular.

Despite all these remarks, the importance of the edition of Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya is phenomenal and of the highest importance for the Vedic studies. In fact, he has unearthed a rich hidden treasure of materials.

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PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS AND THE PADAPĀṬHA

(*The problem of avagraha*)

K. L. Sharma

Prātiśākhya is a branch of Vedic Studies which is closely connected with the problems of turning saṁhitāpāṭha (sp.) into padapāṭha (pp.) and vice-versa. Whereas other Prātiśākhyas have engaged themselves in forming saṁhitāpāṭha from the padapāṭha. Atharvaprātiśākhya[1] is the only one which forms pp. from the sp. Earlier writers on Prātiśākhyas like Whitney[2], Keith[3], Max-müller[4] were very much perturbed by the large number of discrepancies between the rules prescribed for turning pp. into sp. and the facts observed in a large number of mss of both the pp. and the sp. They did not realise that the rules prescribed in a particular Prātiśākhya operated not only on the texts available to them but also upon many other texts of different śākhās of that Veda. Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya (vpr) is said to be connected with all the fifteen śākhās of the Śukla Yajurveda[5], and C. A. (चतुरध्यायिका) was dealing with the Śaunakīya Śākhā of the *Atharvaveda* and that the text available to them was not the Śaunakīya text; Taitt. Prātiśākhya (Tpa) concerns itself with many branches of the Taittirīya school. It is quite possible that originally a separate Prātiśākhya was planned for each branch of the Vedic Saṁhitās; but when many of these branches were superseded by one main branch of each Saṁhitā, one prātiśākhya took the responsibility of looking after the interests of the other branches too and a consequent unity in the sphere of the Prātiśākhyas became discernible. This also explains the discrepancies, overlappings and repetitions in the texts of the present Prātiśākhyas which have been termed as 'interpolations' in the original texts of these treatises. Now that another

1. Ed. Sūryakānta, Delhi.
2. *CA.*, second ed., Vārāṇasī, pp. 252-53.
3. *V. B. Y. School* (*TS.*) Tr., Vol. I, Intro. p. XXXIV; XXXVIII.
4. *Rpr.* Intro. Eng. Tr. *I. H. Q.* III, pp. 611-12.
5. Anantabhaṭṭa on *VPr.* pp. 2-5, Madras Univ. ed.

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Prātiśākhya of the *Atharvaveda* has been discovered, it has become clear that the C. A. belongs to the Śaunakīya school, different from the vulgate. The new Apr. cites 3236 Atharvanic passages, out of which there are hardly ten passages where the vulgate mss do not follow the rules prescribed in the Prātiśākhya, whereas there are hundreds of passages cited in C. A. where "not a single Vulgate ms follows the sanctions of this treatise."[1] Overwhelming evidence has been adduced by the editor of Apr.[2] to prove that the C.A. belongs to the Śaunakīya school and the Apr. to some other branch. The present text of AV. is not the Śaunakīya text but even in the latest edition of this text,[3] no care seems to have been bestowed on the rules prescribed in the Prātiśākhya regarding the text and pp. Some of the readings are according to the rules of C. A. while others accord with those of the Apr. The word तन्नः; analysed in the pp. as तम् नः according to Apr but as तत् । नः according to the Śaunakīya school.[4] All the mss of spp read तम् in the pp while those of Whitney read तत् । Ācārya Viśvabandhu's edition (v) reads तम्[5] । Similarly Apr[6] reads उप॒रिषन्ति॑ (AV. IX. 8. 14-15=pp. उप॒ऽरि॒षन्ति॑) whereas C. A.[7] prescribes उप॒र्षन्ति॑ (पप० उप॒ऽऋ॒षन्ति॑) for the Śaunaka school, which has been adopted by all the editions.[8] There is direct conflict between Apr. 148 and C. A. II. 65. C. A. prescribes षत्व in place of *visarjanīya* before कृणोतु, whereas Apr negatives it. V. does not seem to have any definite view about this rule because in the three examples given by the com. of C. A., V. reads अग्निष्कृणोतु (AV. VI. 106. 3); आयुः कृणोतु (VII. 32. 1) and मणिः-कृणोतु (X. 6. 31). Sāyaṇa claims to have written his commentary on the Śaunakīya text—a claim which requires investigation. From the above statements of facts it is clear that the mss of both the texts are available; only a thorough examination is required to sift one from the other according to the rules of their respective Prātiśākhyas.

There are many rules in the Vāj Prāt. (Vpr.) which are concerned more with the Kāṇva text of the White YV than with that of the Mādhyandina, so much so that Burnell propounded a theory

1. *Apr.* Intro. p. 32.
2. Intro., p. 33 ff.
3. V. V. R. I, Hoshiarpur.
4. 'अकारान्तं पुंसि वचनम् । नपुंसकं तकारान्तं शौनके' (*Apr.* p. 4).
5. *AV.* XII.3.12.
6. 14 (35-36).
7. III.47.
8. *SSP* has given ०रि॒षन्ति॑ as a variant from four mss.

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that Vpr originally belonged to the Kāṇva school.[1] Some of the rules here are concerned with all other texts except that of the Mādhyandinas;[2] there are others which are meant for the Carakas only;[3] some are concerned with the Vājasaneyins,[4] whereas some are operative on the Kāṇva text alone.[5] Some of these rules do not apply to any known branch of this Veda,[6] for which illustrations have been taken from outside the Vedic lore and are termed as 'rūpodāharaṇas.' Tpr also propounds certain rules for which illustrations are not available in the extant Saṁhitā.[7] For example, विशाखे' has been declared *Pragṛhya*[8], but the word is not found in the TS. The com. has postulated a wholly untenable view that the author meant to say 'सहस्रशाखे'. But at the same time we cannot accept the view of Whitney[9] and Keith[10] that such examples of the Tpr are either 'corruptions' or are the result of the 'Confusion of memory'. These examples must be traced to some other branch which is not available to us.

Yāska's Nirukta has described all the Prātiśākhyas as 'पदप्रकृतीनि' —a word variously interpreted.[11] But there can be no doubt that the Padapāṭha is the first Commentary on the Saṁhitā, and the division of the Saṁhitā into Padas (पदविभाग) is meant for the proper understanding of words, their accent and thereby, of the meaning of the *mantras* as uttered by the sages[12]. And for such elucidation, material must have been collected in various schools in the form of lists of similar words so that out of their similarities rules could be carved out which could govern their formation, accentuation, euphonic combinations, lengthening, nasalisation, cerebralisation and the like. This was, in fact, the first beginning of the Prātiśākhya and we find long lists of similar words drawn up in the Vpr, Tpr and Apr, whereas C. A. has formed them into gaṇas. The original

1. *Aindra School*, pp. 86-87.
2. IV. 104; 146.
3. IV. 13.
4. V. 43.
5. III. 87; 91; V. 44.
6. III. 43; 47; IV. 9; 95; VI. 20-23.
7. i.e. स्तनुत: (*TPr.* VIII. 8), चर्षन् (*TPr.* XIII.13) जिगीवां (*TPr.* XVI. 13) and जिघासि (*TPr.* XVI.8).
8. *TPr.* IV.11.
9. *TPr.* p. 426.
10. *V. B. Y. S.* (Tr.) Intro. 6, XXXIII.
11. See *Nir.* I.17 and Durga thereon.
12. *Apr.* 3 (b)—'ऋषिप्रोक्तमन्त्रादिशब्दस्वरज्ञानार्थ: पदविभाग:'.

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aim of the Prātiśākhyas must have been to frame rules to create Padas out of the Saṁhitā, as this was the Prakṛti of the Padas ('पदप्रकृतिः संहिता'—*Nir* I. 17).

Yāska not only knew the Pada text as we have it today but has actually named and criticised Śākalya, the Padakāra, for his analysis of certain words, i.e. मेहना[1] मासकृत्[2] and वायो[3]. It is strange that in spite of these glaring examples H. Sköld should have made such a remark as, "It does not imply that Yāska is in direct opposition to the Padakāra, for it can mean that he did not know the Pada text at all."[4]

It is a convention with the Padakāras to elide from the Pada text the words which are repeated in the Saṁhitās. These are termed as गलितपदानि and are treated according to certain definite rules laid down in the manual of their respective schools.[5]

The analysis of the words into their component parts is an important function of the Prātiśākhyas for framing the Pada text, as without showing these parts separately, their composition cannot be understood clearly. Hence the suggestion that *avagraha* could not form an integral part of the original Prātiśākhya.[6], cannot be accepted[7]. It is no argument that because Vpr declares 'स्वरसंस्कारयोश्छन्दसि नियमः' (I.1) as its basis, it has no right to deal with "avagraha". Now Rpr does not say anything about the topics to be dealt with, yet it deals with Krama text very elaborately[8] while C. A. deals with it in hardly 17 sūtras[9], and Tpr does not deal with this topic at all. Should the portion dealing with the Krama text be declared as an interpolation in the 'original' Rpr ? The basis of C. A. is brought out in these words, "of the four kinds of words—viz. noun, verb, preposition and particle—the qualities exhibited in euphonic combination and in the state of disconnected vocables are here made the subject of treatment."[10] As no mention of the classification and description of sounds has been made here, we will have to scrap them as interpolation, as these topics per-

1. RV. V.39.1; *Nir.* IV.4.
2. RV. I.105.18; *Nir.* V.21.
3. RV. X.29.1; *Nir.* VI.28.
4. *Nir.* p. 98.
5. See गलितप्रदीप by लक्ष्मीधर सूरि, वाराणसी।
6. Sūryakānta, *Apr.* Intro., p. 25.
7. See Whitney on *CA.* I. I.
8. Chapters X-XI.
9. *CA.* IV. 110-126.
10. *CA.* I.1., Whitney's tr.

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tain neither to the 'qualities' exhibited in 'euphonic combinations' nor to those 'in the state of disconnected vocables'.[1] Moreover, what is that 'original' Prātiśākhya to which reference is made so often ? If the classification of the sounds and their description is essential to understand the 'euphonic combination' and the 'disconnection of the vocables', the treatment of avagraha is equally essential for the formation and understanding of the Padas.

Anyhow, all the Prātiśākhyas deal with the problem of avagraha in their own way. But a large number of rules for the division of words are common to almost all of them and the examples given by the texts or their commentators are in most cases the same. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Padapāṭha was planned and worked out originally by a single teacher and revised and changed at certain places by the teachers of the various schools to meet the requirements of their own Saṁhitās.[2] According to the tradition, this original planner of the treatises was Śākalya. A large number of teachers must have intervened between that teacher of the hoary past and the compilers of the present treatises, as is clear from the large number of references to the old Ācāryas of these schools.

As was to be expected, in spite of this close similarity of treatment, there are certain discordant notes among the Prātiśākhyas which require attention for further investigation.

It has been said, certain words are indivisible because of the uncertainty about their formation. षोडशी is one such word.[3] But the construction of this word has been given earlier in the text itself as षट् + दश[4]. पुरोडाश[5], षोडन्त[6], अनड्वाह्[7] are also declared indivisible[8], though their formation has been explained earlier.

(2) पाङ्क्त, अनुद्र and अवभ्र are also declared अनवगृह्य due to the doubtful formation.[9]

Uvaṭa raises the doubt whether in पाङ्क्त the component parts are a combination of पङ्क्ति and त्रायति or that of √पा and तनोति. Now CA. (II. 20) prescribes the dropping of a non-nasal mute in between a

1. See Whitney on *CA.* I.1.
2. 7. Whitney on *CA.* IV.54.
3. षोडशी सन्देहात्—*CA.* IV.51.
4. *CA.* I.63; *VPr.* III.47.
5. *CA.* I.63; *VPr;* III.44.
6. *VPr.* III.47; the word does not occur in *VS.*
7. *VPr.* III.45.
8. *VPr.* V.34, 37.
9. *VPr.* V.34.

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nasal and a non-nasal. The commentary gives these examples पङ्तिः (पङ्क्तिः), पाङ्तं छन्दः[1] (पाङ्क्तम् । छन्दः) and भङ्धि[2] (=भङ्ग्धि). This rule applies to Saṁhitā alone. The mss of Saṁhitā text observe this rule with few exceptions and Whitney followed it in his edition though V. has not cared to follow it. Other examples are अङ्तम्[3] (=अङ्क्तम्); युङ्धि[4] (=युङ्ग्धि). It is evident that there was no doubt in this regard in the mind of the author of CA. at least.

But it is strange that there should be any doubt about the beginning of the second component of उत्तम्भन,[5] उत्थाय, and उत्थिताय. Was the padakāra so ignorant of grammar ? Uvaṭa has tried to explain the anomaly by postulating two theories regarding the elision of initial स् i.e. either by पूर्वरूप (पा० 'उदः स्थास्तम्भोः') or by लोप; the difference being insignificant. The real difficulty seems to be that of showing the real form in the pp. which should readily conform to the sp. The same difficulty arises in cases where a part of the word (preposition : Vpr V. 42 or root : Vpr V. 45) is elided or an anusvāra (Vpr V. 44) or anunāsika (in Kāṇva) is inverted or comes as a penultimate letter (Vpr. V. 43) or in the case of irregular compounds (Vpr V. 39) and Sandhis (Vpr. V. 40-41). The commentator has quoted a Kārikā in this connection which, however, does not cover all such cases.

(3) The words प्रा॒णति and प्रा॒णन्ति are indivisible.[6] The rule also covers other forms like प्रा॒णतः,[7] प्रा॒णते[8] etc. If, however, the prefix be accented, the word is divisible i.e. प्र॒+आ॒न॒ति॒ (AV. X. 8. 19). Similarly we have अपा॒न॒ते (AV. XI. 4.8) and अप । अ॒न॒ति॒ (AV. XI. 4. 14). ĊA. prescribes avagraha in व्यान and समान, when these mean 'breath',[9] i. e. स॒म् । आ॒न॒म्[10] प्रा॒णम् and व्या॒न॒म् (=वि॒ऽआ॒न॒म्) occur in the same hymn with different types of pp. Vpr. does not divide प्रा॒णः (V.S. 4.15),[11] but it prescribes avagraha for समान in the Aśvamedha mantra only[12] in स॒म्ऽआ॒नः, Otherwise it has स॒मा॒न in the pp.[13]

1. *AV.* XII.3.20; V. reads पाङ्क्तं.
2. *AV.* X.3.13; V. reads भङ्ग्धि.
3. *AV.* VI.69.2; *V.*—अङ्क्तम्.
4. *AV.* VIII.3.11; V.—युङ्ग्धि.
5. *VPr.* V.38.
6. *CA.* IV.57; *AV.* IV.30.42.
7. *AV.* IV.2.2.
8. *AV.* XI.4.8.
9. *CA.* IV.39.
10. *AV.* X.2.13; *CA.* IV.39.
11. V. 33.
12. *VPr.* V. 36.
13. Ibid.

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The difference of meaning is the cause of the difference in the treatment in pp. In the Aśvamedha mantra (VS. 22. 23) Samāna means a type of "breath"; elsewhere (VS. 5. 23) it means 'equal'. Hence it is clear the Vpr also follows the rule prescribed by CA.[1]

But why should Prāṇa and Apāna be not divided like Samāna and Vyāna is not quite clear. In Vpr (V. 33) the restriction on divisibility is prescribed in the case of श्लेष with 'pra' and 'Agni' only otherwise we have प्रायंणाय=प्र अयनाय as a counter example (V. S. XXII. 7) Here also the preposition 'pra' is accented, which is separated, as is the case in the CA.

(4) A monosyllabic member of a compound which has suffered Vṛddhi and ends in a vowel, is not separable[2] e.g. सापत्नः (AV. II.7.2) : सौमनसः (AV. III. 30. 7). But this last word is avagṛhya in TS. Padapāṭha (cf. also Vpr. V. 29).

(5) A monosyllabic member of compound ending in *a*, or *ā*, and having a negative particle as its component part is not avagṛhya[3] : Vpr. has no such conditions attached[4] e.g. अरक्षसा and अनाततायं. According to Uvaṭa the rule applies to the cases of प्रतिषेध and not to पर्युदास e.g. अनिऽशितः (VS. I. 29 : i.e. ०तम् RV. II. 38. 8). If the word negatived is already a compound, the negative prefix does not effect the previous division of the compound. In *Sāmaveda*, however, the negative compounds are avagṛhya.

(6) Nor is a division made in any case when a 's' has been inserted, except in tuviṣṭama[5] e.g. तस्करः (AV. IV. 3.2) वनस्पतिः (AV. IV. 3.1) and बृहस्पतिः (AV. II. 13.2) Now Vpr. accepts the insertion of 's' in बृहस्पतिः but derives it as बृहत् पतिः (III. 52) and तस्करः as ततकरः.[6] According to Whitney[7] बहस्पतिः is a compound of पतिः with preceding genitive of an absolute noun बृह्, being analogous with ब्रह्मणस्पतिः, वाचस्पतिः and शुभस्पतिः. But evidently, बृहस्पतिः cannot be equated with वाचस्पतिः and शुभस्पतिः because of the very clear difference in accent between them. Had 'बृहः' in बृहस्पतिः been the gen. sg.

1. Cf. the examples given by Uvaṭa and Annambhaṭṭa on *VPr.* V. 29, i.e. यं मे समानः यमसमानः (VS. 5.23) and यं नः समानः (काण्व० 5.6.2) respectively. Annambhaṭṭa gives another example ये समानाः (VS. 19.45).
2. *CA.* IV.55.
3. *CA.* IV.56.
4. *VPr.* V.24; 25.
5. *CA.* IV.59.
6. "तद्बृहतौ करपत्योस्तलोपश्च" । cf. वा० on पा० VI.1.157—तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च ।
7. On *CA.* IV.59; see also Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 168-169, para 280.

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of बृह्, it should have been oxytone[1] like वा॒चः. We should rather postulate बृहस् as an independent word with the suffix कसुन् which should be added to the uṇādis. Similar is the case with वनस्पतिः[2], रथस्पतिः and ऋतस्पतिः[3]. In the Ṛpr (XIII. 30) we have more instances like these when avagraha is prohibited ('अनिङ्नयन्') e.g. राधस्, ग्नास्, दिवस्, and जास्. In all such cases we must postulate the stems ending in स्. In the case of the stem 'वन्'- (=tree), the original consonantal stem is clearly discernible in 'वनाम्' (gen. pl) and वंसु (loc. pl). A third stem 'vanar' appears in 'vanarṣad'[4] and vanargu and perhaps in the nominal derivative 'vānara.'[5] शु॒भस्पतिः is like वा॒चस्पतिः in which शु॒भः and वा॒चः are oxytones in conformity with grammar, and both are completely separated from the word पति in the PP. because they are gen. sg. and do not form a compound with Pati. बृहस्पतिः and वनस्पतिः are anavagṛhya words.[6] If we accept the āgama of s or r in these words we should have no avagraha even in ऋ॒त॒स्पते॒ (ऋ॒तः॒प॒ते॒),[7] अ॒व॒र॒स्प॒राय (अ॒व॒रः॒प॒राय)[8] and व॒न॒र्ष॒दः (व॒नः॒ऽस॒दः)[9] on the same ground as in वनस्पति[10]. वनस्पतिः and बृहस्पतिः[11] are indivisible because these are the names of either a specie (जाति) or a person (संज्ञा).

(7) Words denoting a specific appellative are not separable.[12] The rule is all pervasive without any specification. Ex. अश्वत्थाः, (AV. IV. 37.4), कश्यपः, (AV. IV. 37.1) न्यग्रोधाः (AV. IV.37.4). But seeing a large number of exceptions, the Commentator hastens to remark, 'बहुलमिति च वक्तव्यम्'. In the same verse we have names which are separated and others which are left undivided i.e. विश्वामित्रम् and भरद्वाजम् (AV. IV. 29.5); पराशर (AV. VI.65.1); जमद्अग्ने, and वामऽदेव (AV. XVIII. 3.16). Perhaps the rule is meant to cover certain obscure and anomolously formed words.

1. पा॰ IV. 1.165.
2. *VPr.* III.50.
3. *VPr.* III.51.
4. *VPr.* III.49.
5. B. K. Ghosh, *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, p. 123; cf. अहस् (अहस्कर), अहन् and अहर् ।
6. *VPr.* V.37.
7. *RV.* VIII.26.21; *VS.* XXVII.34.
8. *VS.* XXX.19; *VPr.* III.51.
9. *SV.* XXXIII.1; *VPr.* III.49; *RV.* II.31.1.
10. Cf. Uvaṭa on *VPr.* V.45—

    आदिमध्यान्तलुप्तानि समासन्यायभाञ्जि च ।
    नावगृह्णन्ति कवयः पदान्यागमवन्ति च ॥

11. *CA.* IV.67; Uvaṭa on *VPr.* V 37.
12. *CA.* IV.67.

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(8) Indeclinables are not separable.[1] But many of them are divided in the PP.

अस्तमीके > अस्तम्ऽईके (RV. I.129.1).

पत्सुतः > पत्ऽसुतः (MS. II.13) but पत्सुतः (RV. VIII. 43.6).[2]

—था is separable when combined with a polysyllable. The rule is too wide for the actual examples, which have been specified in VPr.[3] as प्रत्नऽथा, (VS. VII.12; RV. V.8.5; AV. XX.8.1); पूर्वऽथा (VS. VII.12; RV. III.29.1; AV. XX.61.3); विश्वऽथा (VS. VII.12; RV. V.44.1); इमऽथा (VS. VII.12. RV. V. 44.1) and ऋतुऽथा (VS. XX. 65; RV. V.39.12).

The Commentator of CA. gives ऋतुऽथा (AV. IX.10.26) and नामऽथा (AV. XI.8.7). It is not the length of the word to which the suffix is appended which determines its separability, but the character of the word and the suffix. The pronominal bases are not separable यथा, तथा but इमऽथा.

—धा is separable when it is a Taddhita suffix.[4]

The examples given are अष्टऽधा, द्वादशऽधा etc. In AV. there is only one exception to this rule—विश्वधा (VI.85.3) which has gone unnoticed in the Prātiśākhya as well as the commentary. VPr[5], on the other hand, totally prohibits avagraha when the suffix—धा is preceded by any numeral, i.e., अष्टधा (VS. VIII.32); कतिधा (VS. XXIII.57; RV. I.31.2) but कतिऽधा (AV. VIII.9.10); द्वादशऽधा (AV. VI.113.3); बहुधा (RV. VIII.58.1) but बहुऽधा (AV. I.33.3). But there is no avagraha in पृथुधा either in RV. or in AV. (RV. I.122.2; AV. VII.5.5).

The Comm. on CA. (IV.13) overshoots the mark when it includes स्वधा, श्रद्धा etc. for prohibition of avagraha under this category as the rule relates to the Taddhita suffixes only and not to कृत्. But the reading is doubtful. Anyhow the suggestion[6] that श्रद्धा has not been analysed in pp. because of the difficulty of showing the second element—धा of the word in pp. cannot be accepted. If the second element of अपऽधा (RV. II.12.3) can be shown, why can it not be shown in श्रद्धा, especially when Yāska[7] has 'with a brilliant etymological insight', shown it to be divisible—श्रद्धा, श्रद्—धानात् ? The fact is that RV. itself has made the formation of the word

1. *CA.* IV.71.
2. *CA.* IV.15.
3. V.12.
4. *CA.* IV.13.
5. V.27.
6. S. Varma, *Etymologies*, p. 175.
7. *Nir.* IX.30; *RV.* II.12.5.

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crystal clear in "अदस्मै धत्त". Hence there is no difficulty regarding the component parts of the word. The only explanation which seems to be cogent is that the word has come to be regarded as appellative and hence not separable.

(9) Those words in which a part of the preposition has been elided, are not separable.[1]

Ex (i) उगणाभ्यः (VS.26.24)=उद्गणाभ्यः (उवट).
सुगणाभ्यः (म० भाष्य, पा० VI.1.9).

It has been suggested by the authors of वै० पदानु० that the word here is "उरुगणाभ्यः" which, however, cannot be accepted, as 'उरु' is not a preposition.

(ii) इष्कृतिः (VS. 12. 83; RV. X. 97. 9).[2]
= निष्कृतिः.

Here we have both the forms used side by side in the same verse "इष्कृतिर्नमि वो माताऽथो यूयं स्थ निष्कृतीः", similarly इष्कृणुध्वम् (RV.X. 53. 7) = निष्कृणुध्वम्.

(iii) In ऊवध्यम् (VS. 19. 84; RV. I. 62.10), उखे (VS. 11.61) and उदरम् (VS. 19.86; RV. I. 42. 9) the last letter 'द्' of the preposition 'उद्' is supposed to have been lost.[3] Therefore ऊवध्यम्=उद्—वध्यम्;[4] उखे <उत्+√खन्+ङः (वा० पा० III. 3. 125)[5] and उदरम्<उद्+√दॄ+अल् (उणादि, V. 19).[6]

(10) The suffixes—tara and—tama are separable without any addition whatsoever.[7]

Ex. मधुऽतरः (AV. I.34. 4); उत्ऽतमः (AV. VI. 39. 3); भगवत्ऽतमः (AV. II.9.2).

But while उत्तम is always divided in the AV. pp, उत्तर is sometimes divided, sometimes not.[8] It is the Vpr[9] which lays down the condition that—तर and—तम are not separable in a word which has any connection with the word Dakṣiṇa when it means North : उत्तरम्. This condition is adhered to in the AV. but has not been noted in

1. *VPr.* V.42.
2. आप० श्रौ० सू० XVI.182. has a variant 'निष्कृतिः'.
3. Uvaṭa on *VPr.* V.42.
4. cf. also *RPr.* V.55—दूणाशम्=दुःऽनशम् (*RV.* I. 176. 3) *VPr.* III. 43; दडभम्=दुःऽदभम् (*RV.* I.15.6), दुढ्यः=दुःऽध्यः (*RV.* VIII.19.15).
5. The suggestion in वै० पदानु० that 'उखा' should be derived from √उख् पाके goes against the *Prāt.*
6. "उदि दृणातेरजलौ०" forms उदरम् with अच्, not found in Saṁhitās.
7. *CA.* IV. 16.
8. *AV.* III.5.5; IV.22.6; V.28.10 etc.
9. V. 2. Veṅkaṭarāma Śarmā is wrong in translating "अदक्षिणप्रत्यासङ्गे" as "except the word dakṣina".

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the Prāt., perhaps due to its being an appellative.

(11) The prefixes sam and pari are not separable from the root √kṛ if a sibilant intervenes.[1]

Ex. सं॒स्कृ॒तम् (AV. XI. 1. 35), परि॑ष्कृता (AV. IX. 3. 10). संस्कृतः (AV. XX. 53.3; RV. VIII. 33. 9) is also not divided in the pp. though there is difference in accent.[2] परिष्कृत is divided in the pp. of RV. (III.28.2) and VS. (XXI. 42) as परि॑ऽकृतः (—ताः).[3] The words सँस्कृतम् and सँस्कृतिः etc. are indivisible even in the VS. but the reason given for it in the Vpr. is different. The indivisibility here is due to the nasal element (अनुनासिक) in the penultimate.[4] According to the Kāṇvas it is due to अनुस्वारागम.[5] Different reasons have been adduced for the same phenomena.

In परिष्कृत this nasal element is missing, hence it has been divided in VS.

On the other hand, there are certain words which are indivisible in the VS.[6] but are divisible in the AV. These are—

उप॑स्तिः (VS. XII. 101; RV. X. 97. 23).
उप॒ऽस्तिः (AV. VI. 15.1)

It is interesting to note here that the same verse is repeated in the three Saṁhitās. There is no difference in the meaning of these words but *the accent is different*. Why should there be any difference in treatment in the pp. is not clear. There is another example :

सं॒व॒त्स॒रः (VS. XIV. 29; RV. X. 190.2).[7]
स॒म्ऽव॒त्स॒रान् (AV. III. 10.9).

Here there is absolutely no difference between the two words, yet the treatment in the pp. is different in the two Saṁhitās.

पवी॑रवत् (VS. XII. 71).[8]
प॒वी॒रऽव॑त् (AV. III. 17. 3) (पवी॑रवत् इति पाठभेदः).[9]

Here also the verse is almost the same, with displacement of words especially in the second hemistich. But the word Pavīravat has the same connotation in both the places. Yet there is difference in pp.[10]

1. *CA.* IV. 58.
2. Cf. प्राणति and प्राणति above under 3.
3. *VPr.* III.53,
4. *VPr.* V.43.
5. *VPr.* V.44 and Anantabhaṭṭa on it.
6. *VPr.* V.37.
7. *VPr.* V.32.
8. *VPr.* V.37.
9. वै० पदानु०, note d, p. 1968.
10. Vide Whitney's note on this Verse.

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At the same time there are words in the AV. which are wrongly divided in the pp; such as—अनम्ऽगूरेः (AV. VIII. 6. 22). V. ed. has अनऽङ्गूरेः in the pp. with a large number of authorities reading अनम्ऽगूरेः. But the editors have not stated any authority for their reading except Sāyaṇa who paraphrases it 'अङ्गुलिरहितात्' which has no bearing on the reading of pp. अनपऽत्य (द्य) तां (AV. IV. 17.6) < अनपत्य (द्य) तां[1] (गोऽपनम् (AV. XII. 4. 10) <गोपनम्. Here again no mss evidence has been referred in V. ed for the reading गोपनम् in pp. हुऽद्योतः (हुद्ऽद्योतः) (AV. I. 22. 1) is another such anomaly of pp.

(12) CA. (IV. 50)[2] prescribes that a word which shows a long vowel before an initial consonant of the latter member of a compound cannot be divided.

Ex. इष्टापूर्तम् (AV. II. 12. 4); द्यावापृथिवी (A.V. II. 1. 4); सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ (A.V. VIII. 2. 15) and प्राणापानौ (AV. II. 16. 1).

How does this last compound come under this rule, is not clear; unless we break up the compound into प्राणा पानौ which is absurd.

Vpr. in a corresponding sūtra covers both the Devatādvandva compound[3] as well as the scope of the present sūtra,[4] with the only condition that the first member ends in a vowel.

Ex. मित्रावरुणौ (VS. II. 3; RV. I. 35.1).
अग्नीषोमयोः (VS. I. 22).

In *Sāmaveda*, however, even Devatādvandva compounds are separable.

(13) There is a large number of words which are listed as anavagṛhya in CA.[5], Vpr[6] and Apr[7], whereas Vpr and Apr have in the ancient tradition, enlisted actual words of this nature, CA. has indicated them by समुद्रादिगण which in itself is an evidence of the late data of this sūtra. These lists are of course incomplete and redundant.

Some of the words are compounds with an irregular prolongation of the final vowel of the first member, for instance:—अपामार्गः

1. Weber vainly tired to defend the reading अनपद्यताम्. Vide Whitney's note on this verse.
2. *VPr.* V.28.
3. *CA.* IV.49.
4. *VPr* V.28.
5. IV. 54.
6. V.37.
7. 217.

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(AV. IV. 17. 8), but it is divisible in VS. (XXXV. 11)[1]—अपऽमार्गः, उभयादंति (AV. V. 31.3) उभयादंतः (RV. X. 90.10), but उभयऽदंतः (VS. XXXI. 8)[2]; Other words are नराशंसः (AV. V. 27. 3; RV. X. 92. 11; VS. XX. 37); प्रावृंता (AV. XII.5·2; RV. X. 82. 7; VS. XVII. 21) but परीवृंता>परिऽवृता (AV. XII.5.2); प्राविता>प्रऽअविता (RV. I.12.8); नीहारान् (AV. VI. 113. 2; VS. XXV.9); सूनृता (AV. III. 20. 3; RV. I. 8.8.; VS. XVIII. 9); कक्षीवन्तम् (AV. IV. 29. 5; VS. III. 28; RV. X. 61. 16); हृदयाविधम् (AV. VIII. 6. 18; RV. I.24. 8; VS. VIII. 23). Out of these नीहार, सूनृता and कक्षीवत् can be explained as appellatives; हृदयाविध् and मर्माविध् have been prohibited by C.A. IV. 68.[3]

There are other words of the nature of Aluk Samāsa which have been listed as indivisible.

अन्येद्युः (AV. I. 25. 4.) but उभयद्युः[4] (ibid).

गविष्ठिरम् (AV. IV. 29. 5; RV. V. 1. 12; VS. XV. 25).[5]

This can be explained as a name of a Ṛṣi. आशुगः (AV. VI. 14. 3), नरिष्टा (-ष्ठा) (AV. VII. 13.2; VS. XXX).

If we take नरिष्टा as a नञ् compound, its indivisibility becomes easy to explain.

There are other words whose formation is beyond any doubt, yet they are left undivided.

आघृणिः (AV. VII. 9. 2; RV.VI. 55. 1).

Yāska takes it to be a divisible compound with the prefix आ.[6] Sāyaṇa and almost all other commentators explain it as equivalent to आगतदीप्तिः।

TB. (II. 4. 1. 6) and TĀr. (VI. 1.1) show a variant अघृणि, which might have put the Padakāra in a dilemma and he left it undivided.

गोपीथाय (AV. V. 9.7) but गोऽपीथाय (RV. I. 19.1).

दायादः (AV. V. 18. 6).

आयुधः (AV. III. 19. 5; RV. I. 39. 2).

आर्पितः (AV. VI. 112. 3).

प्राणदः (AV. IV. 35. 5).

गोपाम् (AV. IX. 10. 11) but कुलऽपाः (AV. I. 14.3).

1. *VPr.* V. 21.
2. *Ibid.*
3. For lengthening see *C. A.* III.3.
4. *C A.* IV. 21.
5. *VPr.* V. 37.
6. *Nirukta* V. 9.

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There are certain words whose formation is doubtful. Hence they are not divided, such as—

आ॒ह॒नसः (RV. IX. 75. 5)=आ+√हन् ? meaning ?

आशु॑ शु॒क्षणिः (RV. II. 1.1) 'gleaming or shining forth'. Yāska[1] gives the following alternate analysis.

(a) आशु+√शुच्+√क्षण्, burning up quickly.

(b) आ+√शुशुक्ष्—burning thoroughly.

'आशु शुचा क्षणोति इति वा, सनोतीति वा'. So also Sāyaṇa.

Hence we are not sure about the constituent parts of the word.

द्रु॒रोणः (RV. V. 4. 5) has been analysed in the pp of TS. (I. 2. 14.3) and *Sāmaveda* (II. 654) as द्रुः+ओ॒नः. But this analysis is dubious, because we do not meet with 'ओनः' anywhere else as an independent word. It has been suggested by Sāyaṇa and others that ओन may be derived from √अद्+न. But the whole thing is purely imaginary.

शि॒रिम्बि॑ठ (स्य) (RV. X. 155. 1). Yāska : (VI. 30) has said, "शिरिम्बिठो मेघः, शीर्यते बिठे, बिठं बीरिटेन व्याख्यातम्"। He has connected बिठ with बीरिट (Nir. V. 28)—'atmosphere', which he derives from √भी or √भास्+तति (√तन्) which is a very complicated and awkward etymology. It has not been analysed due to uncertainty of its formation and its having become a proper name requiring no elucidation.

अ॒तिथिः (RV. V..4. 5)—Yāska (Nir. IV. 5) has given two etymologies for it : (a) अभ्यतितो गृहान् भवति—from the root अत् with the prefix अभि to denote 'going towards'. (b) अभ्येति तिथिषु परकुलानीति वा, परगृहाणीति वा.

He goes to the house of the yajamāna on specific days like पूर्णिमा etc. (Durga).

It should be derived from √अत्—गतौ with इथिन् (uṇādi IV. 2; P. VI. 1.197). The later popular etymology अ-तिथिः (Bahuvrīhi) is incompatible with the Vedic accent.

अ॒लात्तृ॑णः (RV. III. 30.10) for which Yāska and Sāyaṇa have given different etymologies, i.e. अलम्+√तृद् (Nir. VI. 2), अलम्+तृह् (Sāyaṇa), is an obscure word.

ऋ॒चीषमः (RV. X. 22. 2). Yāska renders it as ऋचा समः—स्तुत्या समानगुणः (Nir. VI. 23).

If this interpretation is correct ऋचि समः may be compared to अ॒ति॒ऽसह॑ः (अ॒ती॒पह॑ः) which has been analysed in pp.

दि॒वि॒ऽष्टि॒षु (RV. VIII. 4. 19). Yāska (Nir. VI. 22) renders it as

1. *Nirukta* VI.1.

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दिवएषणेषु. So also Sāyaṇa. If गविंष्टिषु could be analysed as गोऽइंष्टिषु (RV. I. 36.8) why दिविष्टि could not be analysed so. There are many more such anomalies in the pp.

There is a large number of words which apparently could be easily analysed but due to some inexplicable reason they have been left unanalysed by the Padakāras. The Prātiśākhyas also have taken no notice of them. No rules framed by them seem to apply to such words. As we have seen, there are many loopholes and exceptions which have gone unnoticed even in these rules.

Some of the modern writers[1] have expected too much from the Padakāras. They have demanded analysis of words which could not be analysed under their scheme.

For instance, अर्थो, (RV. I.164.40); अनूपाः (RV: X. 27.23); अम्यंक् (RV. I. 169.3); उत्सम् (RV. V. 32.1), तुरीपम् (RV. I. 142.10) नभन्ताम् (RV. VIII. 41.2); रोदसी (RV. V. 56.8); वराहम् (RV. I. 61.7); शुरुधः (RV. IV. 23.8); स्यालात् (RV. I. 109.2).

At the same time, some of their queries can be answered by the Prātiśākhyas. For instance, अकूपार (RV. V.39.2) can be explained as a negative compound.[2]

अपाञ्च्, प्राञ्च (RV. I.164.38), पराचैः (RV. X.108), पराके (RV. VII. 100.5), विषूचीना (RV. I. 164.38), देवाची and व्यचस्वतीः (RV. X. 110.5) are all connected, one way or the other with √अञ्चु. Both the Apr. (p. 136)[3] and C.A. (IV. 53) have noticed the phenomena and we should be satisfied with that. प्रस्कण्व (RV. I. 45.3) is a name.[4] At the same time we must realise the difference between the etymology of a word as conceived by Yāska and derivation of the same as propounded by Pāṇini. The Padakāra must be given the credit for deriving such a vast ocean of words with which even we at this time can find but little fault. But he had his limitations. He was not writing a treatise on grammar. He had to analyse compound words, deal with the anomalous lengthening of vowels in the Saṁhitā, proper accentuation of single words, cerebralisation, nasalisation, hiatus, Pragṛhya vowels, restoration of correct forms of words, such as अघुक्षत् for अदुक्षत् (RV. I.33.10), जुघुक्षतः for जुगुक्षतः (RV. VIII. 31.7), घृक्षन् for दृक्षन् (RV. I. 121.8), धक्षि for दक्षि (RV. II. 1.10), etc.[5]. And he has done his job commendably well. There are many ano-

1. See S. Varma, *Etymologies*, p. 154 ff.
2. *VPr.* V.24.
3. S. Varma, *ibid.*, p. 168.
4. *C. A.* IV.67.
5. See *RPr.* IV.98.

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malies which we have not been able to remove or explain. The Prātiśākhyas are our guide to a certain limit. They are not complete works which could explain every abnormality of the Saṁhitā or the Pada. We have to supplement even Pāṇini by our knowledge gained over centuries. Let us study these anomalies, abnormal phenomena of the words spoken thousands of years ago and try to peep into their secrets to find out their true import and behaviour.

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VIŚVĀMITRA IN THE VEDIC ANCILLARIES

UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA

As a seer of the third *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* Viśvāmitra commands prominently a superior position in the Vedic literature. This is proved by certain unique features of this *maṇḍala*. We know from the *Ṛgveda* that he was the leader of the great race of the Bharatas to whom he brought forth many favours by his association with the mighty god Indra. He was the chief priest of King Sudās Paijavana and was actively involved in the famous *Dāśarājña* war when he guided the advancing troops of the king through the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī which happened to be in flood. Likewise, he accomplished several miracles, as is clear from the text of the *ṚV.*, which only a powerful leader could do.

In the *Brāhmaṇas* he is associated with many sacrifices and *sāmans*. He contributed greatly to the perfection of the sacrificial cult and composed many hymns.

The ancillary literature of the Veda also contributes, to a great extent, to the life-history and achievements of Viśvāmitra. The main aim of this literature, however, is to help to understand it better by means of explanation and interpretation from various points of view. The relevant portions from these texts are perused and discussed in the following pages. The ancillary texts taken into consideration are the *Nirukta* of Yāska, the *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka, the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana, the commentary *Vedārthadīpikā* of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* and the *Nītimañjarī* of Dyā Dviveda.

In the *Nirukta* Yāska relates a short story about Viśvāmitra and the rivers while explaining the etymology of the name Sarasvatī.[1] "The sage Viśvāmitra was the priest of King Sudās, son of Pijavana. Taking his wealth, Viśvāmitra came to the confluence of Vipāś and Śutudrī. Viśvāmitra praised the rivers so that they could become fordable."

This statement of Yāska is based on the *ṚV.* III. 53. 9, where it is mentioned that Viśvāmitra, born from gods and inspired by them, stopped the flowing rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī. But the fact

1. *Nirukta* II.24.

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that Viśvāmitra carried wealth to the confluence of the rivers is not borne out by other texts. The *BD.* tells that he accompanied Sudās, after performing sacrifice as his priest, to the confluence of Vipāś and Śutudrī.[1] The *Sarvānukramaṇī* has introduced the *RV.* III. 33, only as a conversation between the rivers and Viśvāmitra who desired to cross them.[2] None of these texts has cleared the mystery of wealth being carried by Viśvāmitra and his followers. Durga states that the wealth consisted of gifts earned by him as a priest and the followers might have been either his attendants or robbers. Sāyaṇa mentions the following legend in this context[3]. "Once Viśvāmitra officiated as a priest at the sacrifice of king Sudās, the son of Pijavana. He came to the confluence of Vipāś and Śutudrī carrying gifts of wealth which he received as a priest. Desirous of crossing the rivers he praised them to be fordable. This also does not explain as who his followers were. This only shows that he was a wonder-worker.

The *BD.*[4] refers to Viśvāmitra, for the first time, as follows— "Because all men making a friend of him worship him, Viśvāmitra praising him calls him Mitra." Thus, according to the *BD.*, Mitra is a universal friend. In the *RV.* III. 50, Viśvāmitra praises the god Mitra as friend to all. He might have put before him the exemplar of Mitra for his guidance and in that way tried to be a universal friend. It is, however, difficult to defend his hostility to Vasiṣṭha on this background.

In the *BD*, the name Viśvāmitra has been referred to in several contexts. At one place, he is mentioned in connection with the *vaiśvadeva* hymns.[5] There is the praise of Tanūnapāt in the hymns of Viśvāmitra.[6] It has been mentioned that Viśvāmitra was a king who by penance elevated himself to the position of a *Brahmarṣi*. The whole of the third *maṇḍala* is ascribed to him.[7] At another place, mention is made of his talk with the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī. He was successful in crossing the confluence of these rivers in the company of Sudās.[8]

The *BD.* records a significant event of his (Viśvāmitra's) life.

1. *BD.* IV.106.
2. *Sarvānukramaṇī*, pp. 15-16.
3. Sāyaṇa's preface to the *RV.* III.33.
4. *BD.* II.49.
5. *Ibid.* II.131.
6. *Ibid.* II.156, 157.
7. *Ibid.* IV.95.
8. *Ibid.* IV.105, 106.

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It happened at the sacrifice of Sudās that he was forcibly deprived of consciousness by Śakti, the son of Vasiṣṭha. He became totally unconscious. Then the Jamadagnis brought forth from the abode of the Sun a speech called *Sasarparī* the daughter of Brahman, or the Sun and gave it to him. This revived him to consciousness.[1] The same story is related in the *Sarvānukramaṇī* which points to the feud between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. It is certain that both the *BD.* and the *SA.* are influenced by the Epic and the Purāṇic versions of this story. The case can also be vice versa.

The *BD.* styles four verses ascribed to Viśvāmitra as *vasiṣṭhadveṣiṇyaḥ.* This also points to the rivalry between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. These four verses are imprecations against his enemy Vasiṣṭha. The Vasiṣṭhas do not listen to these verses, because to recite or to hear them is sinful. It is also said that those who do violate this rule, get their heads split into hundred pieces and their childern also slain. These verses therefore are forbidden to be recited.[2]

It will be worthwhile, at this juncture, to turn our attention to the *SA.* and the *VD.* The *SA.* gives the pedigree of Viśvāmitra as follows— Iṣīratha>Kuśika>Gāthī>Viśvāmitra.[3] It also points out to his adoption by Śunaśśepa with the name Devarāta (*RV.* I. 24-30).[4] The point has been further elaborated by the *VD.*

The *VD.* adds that the assasins of Śakti Vāsiṣṭha were surrounded or supported by the fiends directed by Viśvāmitra.[5]

Finally, we turn to the references in the *NM.* First, it is said that Viśvāmitra robbed Sudās of his wealth and therefore fell a prey to grief.[6] The statement is very strange and is not supported by any text—Vedic or non-Vedic. Various sources mention only the fact that Viśvāmitra carried wealth which he had earned as a priest of Sudās. He crossed over the confluence of Vipāś and Śutudrī quite safely.[7] The accusation of Viśvāmitra is, therefore, quite unbecoming. Secondly, it is declared that the Brāhmaṇahood accrues from drinking the *Soma* juice. For this purpose, Viśvāmitra, after robbing Sudās of wealth, said to the rivers, "I shall purchase *Soma* by this wealth." This explanation of *NM.*[8] is also not convincing.

1. *BD.* IV.112-14.
2. *Ibid.* IV.117-20. The said verses are the *RV.* III.53.21-24.
3. *SA.* p. 14.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
6. *NM.* 60.
7. *Nir.* II.24; *SA.* on *RV.* III.33; *BD.* IV.105-6.
8. *NM.* 66.

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It casts a slur on the character of the priestly class of the Ṛgvedic times. Thereby the *NM.* declares a maxim that one should try to succeed by hook or crook. Viśvāmitra assumed the role of a flatterer and crossed the rivers.[1] This also casts reflection on the sage. The three occurrences quoted in the *NM.* appear to be incredible.

We know that in all the ancillary texts, with the exception of Yāska's *Nirukta*, Viśvāmitra is described as a person reputed for his divine and superhuman achievements, especially in the context of his enmity with Vasiṣṭha. Hariyappa[2] holds that the myth of enmity between the two seers is of later origin. But a well established tradition is traceable in all the Vedic ancillaries, and it cannot be brushed aside or branded as spurious.

1. *NM.* 76.
2. Hariyappa, H. L., *Rgvedic Legends Through the Ages*, Poona, 1953, p. 289.

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IS WEBER'S EDITION OF THE *ŚBR.* FINAL ?

SURYAKANTA

In my *History of Sanskrit Literature*[1] I have exemplified the shicksal through which majority of Sanskrit works have passed and have emphasized the need of preparing fresh editions thereof.

While preparing my *Practical Vedic-Hindi-English Dictionary*[2] I had an occasion to scrutinise Vedic works; and it is at random that I am taking up Weber's edition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as an example of the neglect to which we have so far been submitting our Vedic works.

ŚBr. XIII. 5.4-6 reads :

तदाहुर्यदुभौ दिवा गायेतां प्रभ्रंशुकास्माच्छ्रीः स्याद् ब्रह्मणो वा एतद् रूपं यदहर्यदा वै राजा कामयतेऽथ ब्राह्मणं जिनाति पापीयांस्तु भवति ॥४॥

यदुभौ नक्तम् । अपास्माद् ब्रह्मवर्चसं क्रामेत् क्षत्रस्य वा एतद् रूपं यद् रात्रिर्न वै क्षत्रे ब्रह्मवर्चसं रमत इति दिवा ब्राह्मणो गायति नक्तं राजन्यस्तथो हास्य ब्रह्मणा च क्षत्रेण चोभयतः श्रीः परिगृहीता भवति ॥५॥

अयजतेत्यददादिति । ब्राह्मणो गायतीष्टापूर्तं वै ब्राह्मणस्येष्टापूर्तेनैवैनं समर्धयतीत्ययुध्यतेत्यमुं संग्राममजयदिति राजन्यो युद्धं वै राजन्यस्य वीर्यं वीर्येणैवैनं समर्धयति तिस्रोऽन्यो गाथा गायति तिस्रोऽन्यः षट् संपद्यन्ते षड् ऋतवः संवत्सर ऋतुष्वेव संवत्सरे प्रतितिष्ठति । ताभ्यां शतं ददाति शतायुर्वै पुरुषः शतेन्द्रिय आयुरेवेन्द्रियं वीर्यमात्मन् धत्ते ॥६॥

Harisvāmin's comment alone is available on this; and the same reads :—

प्रभ्रंशुका प्रकर्षेण भ्रंशनधर्मिका इत्येवं बह्वन्नमभक्षत् । बहुभिर्ऋतुभिरयं राजा अयजत इष्टवान् इति । एवं प्रभूतं सारम् अचितमक्लिष्टं सात्त्विकं पात्रेषु अददात् दत्तवान् इति ब्राह्मणो गायति । एवं बहुभिः शूरैः सह निर्यात्यं जयोत्तरमविक्रव्यम् अयुध्यत इति । एवं चतुरङ्गेण बलेन वक्त्रादिना व्यूहेन अनीकोरःकक्ष्यादिकमबध्नन् । अमुं चतुर्दशकूटयुद्धादिकं संग्रामम् । अथवा कुरुसंग्रामं बलसंग्रामं प्राच्य-

1. PP. 324-25. Orient Longman : 1973.
2. In the press : Moti Lal Banarsi Das : Delhi.

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संग्रामम् उदीच्यमपीत्यादिकम् अजयत् जितवान्। अयं राजेति राजन्यो गायति। नान्यं प्रत्येकं शतं ददाति। परिक्रीयमाणयोस्तयोः प्राधान्यात्। ऋत्विजां तु क्रतुदक्षिणोक्तपरिमाणा दीयते। इति न प्रत्येकं सकला दीयते।

Harisvāmin's commentary, as printed, is defective and deficient. But he is thoroughly aware of the *ŚBr.* tradition and is therefore valuable. Besides he is refreshingly original, brief, and to the point.

On the passage quoted above his remarks are terse. बहुभिर्ऋतुभिः may be corrected into बहुभिः क्रतुभिः; full stop between जितवान् and अयं राजा should be removed, while नान्यं may be corrected into ताभ्यां, though the footnote, commenting on प्रत्येकं, leaves नान्यम् untouched.

But the point I want to make out concerns the *ŚBr.* text : प्रभ्रंशुका [प्रकर्षेण भ्रंशनधर्मिका] is found in the *ŚBr.* text, but where is the warrant for इत्येवं बह्वन्नमभक्षत्? Has something dropped out of the *ŚBr.* text?

ŚBr. अयजत् and अददात् have been rendered as इष्टवान् and दत्तवान्, but where is the text for एवं प्रभूतं सारमचितमक्लिष्टं सात्त्विकं etc. so pointedly referred to by Harisvāmin? अयुध्यत is found in the text; but where are the words for 'एवं बहुभिः शूरैः सह निर्यात्यं जयोत्तरमविक्रव्यं etc. on which the commentator waxes so eloquent? *ŚBr.* संग्रामम् has been noted by Harisvāmin; but where is the warrant for 'एवं—अबध्नन्'?

One of the alternatives is irresistible : either portions of the *ŚBr.* text have dropped out or Harisvāmin is drawing upon some text supplementary to the *ŚBr.* My suspicion that portions of the *ŚBr.* text have dropped out is materially strengthened when I scrutinise the reading :—

अयजतेत्यददादिति। ब्राह्मणो गायतीष्टापूर्तं वै ब्राह्मणस्येष्टापूर्तेनैवैनं समर्धयतीत्ययुध्यत.....

The reading अयजत···समर्धयति is clear, but where is the reference for इति in इत्ययुध्यत? Surely the verse-portion containing अयुध्यत has dropped out rendering the use of इति utterly meaningless.

This is just one example,[1] but it is enough to typify the shicksal through which this monumental Vedic work has passed.

No scholar can work harder or on more judicious lines than Prof. Weber did; but he was a versatile flaming genius : he had no time to collate manuscripts. It is for us—mediocres—to do this job and thereby supplement his monumental work on *ŚBr.*

1. Cp. Sāyaṇa on ABr. III.5, 'नेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायाम्। उपरिष्टादुपचार उपमार्थीयः'. Nirukta however reads : उपरिष्टादुपचारस्तस्य येनोपमिमीते। (Nir. I.4.10)

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DĀTISTĀN Ī DĒNĪK—PURSISHN 35

M. F. KANGA

Introductory Remarks :

In this paper for the Felicitation Volume in honour of Professor Charu Deva Shastri I have selected Pursishn 35 of the Pahlavi Text *Dātistān ī Dēnīk*. It is a Pahlavi text containing ninety-two questions asked by Mihr-Xᵛ arshēt Ātur-Mihan and others to Manushchihr Gōshn-Jhamān, Pontiff of the Zoroastrians in Iran about 881 A.C. and their answers. The work may be styled as a treatise on various matters pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion, expounded according to the ideas handed down from Dasturs and Pōryōtkēshas respectively. Readers' attention is invited to my paper entitled "Life and Letters of Manushchihr Gōshn-Jhamān" in Professor Poure Davoud Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1951, pp. 189-204, wherein I have dealt with the life and works of the author Manushchihr.

I have followed the text pp. 72-73 edited by Ervad T.D. Anklesaria, Part I and have referred to a facsimile of one Manuscript in *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis* III, 1934. I have based my transcription of the text on the same using variants of other Mss. wherever deemed proper. Dr. E. W. West translated the entire text of the *Dātistān ī Dēnīk* into English in *the Sacred Books of the East*, Volume XVIII, 1882. A.C.

This Pursishn 35 deals with the question : 'Who are those who will be requisite for the performance of Frashkart—Renovation of the Universe—who will they be and how are they ? The answer to the question is found in para 4 of this chapter wherein the author mentions the names of the most extraordinary performers of the Renovation. The thirty-fourth chapter of the Pahlavi text '*Vicītakīhā i Zātsparam*—Selections of Zātsparam fully deals with the subject-matter 'apar frashkart-kartārīh', i.e., 'on the final Rehabilitation'. Professor R.C. Zaehner has dealt with this chapter in his monumental work, '*Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*', pp. 343-54. Manushchihr himself has treated of this subject in *Dātistān*, ch. 36, in a detailed and lengthy argument.

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Transcription

1. 35—om pursishn ān ī pursīt ku: 'ōyshān kē andar frashkartārīh[1] andar apāyēnd kē hēnd, kē bavēnd ut chēγōn hēnd ?'

2. Passox^{v} ē ku apāyishnīkān[2] ī pat ān ī pāshōm kār gōkān-ē ōshmūrt drāzh; chē Gayōkmart, Jhamshēt ut Zartōsht Spītāmān ashōkān rat ut vasān vazurγ-spāsān[3] aβzhār ī frashkart frazāmēnītan[4] rāδ brēhēnīt; ut shān vazurγ aβd ut avichērishnīk rāδēnītārīh apar raft ī ō kartan frashkrat kūnēt.

3. Pat-ich ān ī frashkart nazdīkīh, Sāmān Karsāsp kē Dahāk vānīt ut Kay Husrav kē hach vāy[5] ī dērang-x^{v} atāy vitārēnīt ut Tūs ut Gīv apākān apārīk chand vazurγ kunishnān aδyār hēnd[6] frashkartārīh.[7]

4. Bē ān ī vāspuhrakānīktar[8] frashkart kartār[9] haft gūft ēstēt[10] yi-shān nām Rōshn-chashm, x^{v} ar-chashm, Frādat-x^{v} arrah, vālidat x^{v} arrah ut kāmakvaxshan[11], kāmak-sūt ut Sōshāns.

5. Chēγōn gūft ēstēt ku: 'andar panjhāh haft sāl ī ristāxēzhishnīh zamānak, Rōshn-chashm pat Arzah ut x^{v} ar-chashm pat Savah ut Frādat x^{v} arrah pat Fradatafsh < ut > vālidat-x^{v} arrah pat Vīdatafsh, kāmak-vaxshān[12] pat Vorubarisht, kāmak-sūt pat Voru-zharisht ut Sōshāns[13] pat x^{v} aniras ī bāmik apēchak.

6. Patvast-ax^{v} īh, bavandak ham-vēnishnīh[14] vispurrīkīhā dānishnīh[15] purr-x^{v} arrahīh ī ān haftān frashkart-kartārān ētōn aβd ku hach kēshvar bē ō kēshvar har ēvak ō Shash akanēn ētōn ham pursēnd chēγōn nun martōm ō ham vēnishnīh ham-gōβishnīh ut ham-kunishnīh pat uzvān ēvak ō dit sax^{v} an gōβēnd ham-pursagih kūnēt.

1. Mss J1, J2, H frashkart kartārīh; DF frashkart.
2. Corrected by me; text apaxshishnīkān, meaning 'pitiable', 'merciful'.
3. Mss J1, J2, DF apāyishn.
4. TD frazhāmenīt; Mss J1, J2, H, DF and BK frazhāmenītan.
5. J1, J2, H, DF omit kē hach and have ut vāy ī; BK kē kē Vāy ī.
6. Text aδyārōmand—one word instead of aδyār hēnd.
7. K35, BK, TD frashkart kartārīh.
8. DF vāspuhrakān.
9. J1, J2, DF frashkartārīh, abstract noun.
10. J1, J2, H, DF omit ēstēt.
11. Ms TD kāmak ī ashān; K35. BK kāmak vaxshishn; better kāmak nighāyishn. Av. nəmaŋh, nomah=Pahl. nimāch nighāyishn.
12. TD kāmak Vaxshān; rest kāmak vaxshishn. See note 11 above; better kāmak-nighāyishn.
13. Text Sōshāns; better Sōshāns; K35 tāk-shān Sōshāns; Mss J1, J2 tāk-shān yazdānīk.
14. Text WAMWSNyh; better ham-vēnishnīh, co-vision.
15. DF ideogram for bavishnīh.

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7. Im pāshōm kunishnān pat shash sāl andar shash kēsvar <ut>pat panjhāh sāl andar x^v anīras bāmīk amargīh vīnārēnd <ut>hamē zīvandakīh ut hamē-sūtīh rōβākēnēnd pat aδyārīh, zōr ut x^v arrah ī Visp-ākās Spēnāk Mēnōk dātār Ōhrmazd.

Translation

1. Thirty fifth question is that which you ask: 'Who are those who will be requisite for the performance of Frashkart[1]—Renovation of the Universe, who will be and how are they ?'

2. The reply is this that the enumeration of the details of those requisite for that excellent work is long; because Gayōmart[2], Jamshēt[3] and Zartōsht[4] the Spitamide, the Lord of the holy beings and many (deserving) of great reverence were the agents created in order to accomplish the Frashkart. They perform their great, miraculous and indispensable[5] directing as regards advancement towards the performance of Frashkart.

3. Even in the proximity of the Renovation, Kirsāsp of the Sāma family[6] who vanquished Dahāk[7] and Kay Husrav[8] who was made to pass across by Vayu,[9] the lord of long duration, and the helpers of Tūs and Giv and several other great workers are the friends of the performance of Renovation.

4. But the most extraordinary[10] performers of the Renovation are said (to be) seven whose names are Rōshn-chashm, x^v ar-chasm, Frēhdat-x^v arrah, Vālidat-x^v arrah, ut Kāmak-vaxshān Kāmak-sūt and Sōshāns.[11]

5. As is stated : 'During the fifty-seven years[12] of the period of the Raising of the dead, Rōshn-chashm (will be) in Arzah, X^v ar-chashm in Savah, Frēhdat-x^v arrah in Fradatafsh, Vālidat-x^v arrah in Vidatafsh, Kāmak-vaxshān in Vourubarisht, Kāmak-sūt in Vouru-zarisht and Sōshāns in X^v anīras, shining and pure.[13]

6. The connected life, complete co-vision,[14] the perfect knowledge and the full glory of those seven performers of the Renovation are so miraculous that they will so converse from region unto region, every one together with the six others—as now men utter words with the tongue to one another and hold conversation for interview, conference and cooperation.

7. These most excellent workers will prepare immortality within six years in the six regions and within fifty years in the illustrious X^v anīras, and they will promulgate everlasting life and everlasting weal with the help, power and glory of the Omniscient Beneficent Spirit, Creator Ohrmazd.[15]

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NOTES.

1. Av. *frasho. kərəti*: lit. making excellent, final Rehabilitation of the world. For details see Zaehner, *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 308-10. It corresponds to Christian Resurrection. Full account of this event is given in *Great Bundahishn* 220ff *Dātistān ī Dēnīk* 36 and *Vicītakīhā ī Zātsparam* 34ff. For the transcription and translation of the thirty-fourth chapter of *Vichītakīhā ī Zātsparam* on "apar frashkartkartārīh", see Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, pp. 343-54 and BSOAS X, pp. 377-98 and 606-31. On the interpretation of the word *frasha*, Indo-Iranian *pṛkṣá*—see Bailey, Transaction of the Philological Society, 1953, pp. 21-32.

2. *Gayōmart*: Av. *gaya-marətan*, lit. 'dying life. Primal man, the progenitor of the human race; the Iranian Adam, the father of all mankind. For further datails, see Gayōmart par Sven S. Hartman, Uppsala, 1953 and A. Christensen, Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire legendeire des Iraniens, I, II. *Cf. Zaehner, The Teachings of the Magi*, pp. 75-79 for the translation of ch. XIV of the Pahlavi text *Bundahishn* (T. D. Anklesaria, pp. 100-06: *Indian Bd.* ch. XV, Justi, pp. 19-21.) In *Denkart* ed. Madan 230, 8-9 gayōk-mart is explained by zindakīh gavākīh ī mīrak, i.e. "mortal life and growth". (Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, pp. 83-4).

3. *Jamshēt*: Av. yima xshaēta—, Npers. Jamshīd. Professor R. C. Zaehner remarks: "There is scarcely a figure in Zoroastrian literature that presents us with more problems than does Yima, the son of Vivahvant. The difficulty of his case is not lack of evidence but the conflicting nature of a whole mass of evidence. His Indo-Iranian antiquity is beyond dispute, for he appears as Yama, the son of Vivasvant, in the *Ṛgveda* where he is as much a god as a man. In the later Indian literature his importance increases, for he becomes the lord of the dead and hence Death itself. In the *Ṛgveda* Yama is the first man only in the sense that he is the first of the immortals to choose a mortal destiny: "To please the gods he chose death, to please his offspring he did not choose immortality" (Vide Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.59). For further details, see Zaehner, *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 131-43.

4. Zartōsht, Zartōxsht : Av. Zarathushtra-Proper name—name of the Prophet Zarathushtra, prophet of ancient Iran. For full details, see Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899 and the latest book, 'Zarathustra herausgegeben von Bernfried Schlerath, Darmstadt, 1970.

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5. *avicherishnīk*: "not to be passed over, not to be dispensed with, not exempt from, indispensable". For further particulars on this important word see Professor Gikyo Ito's article "Pahlavi avicherishnīk", in *D. J. Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1943, pp. 106-14.

6. Kirsāsp Sāmān: Av. Kərəsāsp, Skt. कृशाश्व kṛśāśva. He is the greatest hero mentioned in the Avesta. He belonged to the Sāma family and being the greatest among them was often distinguished as the Sāma. He has been remembered as having performed many wonderful deeds. Among his most notable exploits may be mentined:

a. the killing of his brother's murderer Hitāspa as mentioned in Rām-Vayu Yasht, 27-8;

b. the killing of the horned dragon as described in Yasna IX.10;

c. vanquishing the monster Gandarəwa after invoking the yazata of the waters Ardvisura Anāhita in Yasht V.35;

d. annihilation of a family of nine outlaws (pathan) on account of which his Fravashi—guiding spirit—is invoked in Yasht XIII, to protect people from highway robbers.

His dead body is said to be surrounded by 99, 999 Fravashis—Holy Spirits—because there is a prophecy that he will rise again to kill Azhi Dahāka—Zōhāk when he comes again to oppress the world. Throughout the ancient literature of Iran, both Avesta and Pahlavi, Kərəsāspa is mentioned with great reverence and high praise. See Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch* s.v. and *Vayu* by Stig Wikander, 1941. Cf. *Pahlavi Rivayat Dd.* ch. 48.

7. Dahāk: Av. Azhi Dahāka—proper name. The first component Azhi—, Skt. ahi—Greek öthis means a snake and Dahāka—biter, stinger from √ dah—Skt. दश, दंश to bite, to sting. The full name survives in Persian as azhdaha, a python, a great snake. Only the second component of the name is used in Shāh Nāmah as Zohak. See F., Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch* s.v. and *Vayu* by Stig Wikander, Lund, 1941. Cf. *Pahlavi Rivayat Dd.* ch. 48 on the subject.

8. Kay Husrav : Av. Kava Haosrava- proper name. See Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch* s. v. Cf. *Dēnkart* ed. Madon 598. 20ff : pat nimēzh ī hach ān vaxsh ēvarzēt ō rāzīk gyāk ku patish amarg dāshtār i tan tāk frashkart pat dātar kām., i.e., by order of that spirit he (Kay Husrav) was conveyed to a secret place where he will maintain his body deathless till the final Rehabilitation by the will of the Creator. In the Pahlavi text "Mah i Fravartēn Rōch i X^{v} ardat" we find the statement, Kai Husrav i Syāvaxshān pat shkōh

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ō garōtmān sūt, i.e., Kay Husrav, son of Syāvaxsh went to garōtmān—the highest heaven with pomp—majesty. See Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, p. 116 and my paper on the Pahlavi Text "Māh ī Fravartēn Rōch Xᵛ ardat," which deals with numerous events that have taken place on that day.

9. Vāy ī dērang-xᵛ atāy : a deity who in the Sassanian period played an important role in Zervanite mythology. Vāy, Av. vayu—is the object of an entire yasht and appears frequently in other parts of the Avesta. Yast XV known as Rām Yasht, is devoted entirely to Vayu. "The change of the name is, perhaps, a Mazdean attempt to minimize the importance of Vayu in the Avesta." His antiquity is not disputed since he appears in the *Ṛgveda* where one whole hymn is devoted to Vayu. Both in the Avesta and the Veda he is associated with Vāta, the wind : in the Veda he appears frequently with Indra and once with the Maruts, and is therefore regarded as a wind god. Cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* I, p. 139. The subject Vayu Yasht-Rām Yasht has been exhaustively treated by Professor Stig Wikander in his *Vayu* I, cf. Geo Widengren, *Hochgottglanbe im alten Iran*, 189ff; Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*; 300ff; Lommel, *Die Yashts des Awesta*, 143ff and Louis H. Gray, *The Foundations of Iranian Religions*, p. 169. Also see Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, ch. IV, pp. 80-90 and *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 148-49.

10. vāspuhrakānīktar : more special, more extraordinary,—comparative absolute; on this word see my paper on "Epistle of Manushchihr I, ch. 3—A Critical Study", published in Sir J. J. Z. Madressa Centenary Volume, Bombay, 1967, p. 154, fn. 4 and "Notes sur le Lexique Iranien et Armenien" par A. Perikhanian, pp. 16-23 in Revue Des Etudes Armeniennes, Tome V, 1968.

11. Names of the performers of Renovation of the Universe. Their corresponding Avestic names are : Raochas-chashman, Hvar -chashman, Frādat xᵛ arənah, Vindat-xᵛ arənah, Vouru-nəmaŋh, Vouru-Savaŋh and Saoshyant. Cf. Yast XIII, 128-29. For explanations of these proper names, see Bartholomae, *Altiranische Worterbuch* and Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch* and Kanga, *Avesta-English-Dictionary*, Bombay, 1900. s. v.

12. See Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's paper on *The fifty-seven years in the Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Resurrection*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain*, Jan. 1928, pp. 1-6.

13. These are the names of the Seven Regions of the earth —haptō—karshvar. These are (1) Xᵛ aniratha in the centre (2)

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Savahi to the east (3) Arəzahi to the west (4) Fradaδafshu—and (5) Vidaδafshu to the south (6) Vouru-barəshti and (7) Vouru-Jarəshti in the North. See I. J. S. Taraporewala's *Selections from Avesta* I, pp. 77-8 and Kanga, *Avesta Dictionary* s.v.

14. Text gives the reading Namwsnyh; better ham-vēnishnīh, co-vision. as suggested by the Editor. ham, same and vēnishnīh abst. n. from inf. dītan—to see.

15. Cf. Zamyat Yast—Yt. XIX. 11. See my paper "Philosophy of the Zamyat Yasht", 1939; also see Lommel, *Die Yashts Des Awesta*, Ubersetzt und Eingeleitet, 1927, pp. 168-75 and 177.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE VĀKYA-KĀṆḌA-ṬĪKĀ*

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1.1 Since the date of its publication (1887) in the Benares Sanskrit Series, the *ṭīkā* on the verses of the second book of Bhartṛhari's *Trikāṇḍī* or *Vākyapadīya* (Aklujkar 1969:547-555) has been ascribed to Puṇya-rāja. A few scholars (e.g. Kosambi 1945:65.9-10, 67.7-9: Bhattacharya 1954:4-5) have given the name of the author of this commentary as Helā-rāja, but that is obviously due to oversight and is not intended to be a deliberately reached conclusion regarding the authorship of the work.[1] Thus, on the whole, the ascription to Puṇya-rāja has gone unchallenged in the writings of the compilers of manuscript catalogues, of the editors of Bhartṛhari's works, of the scholars working on Bhartṛhari's views and of the historians of Sanskrit grammar. However, it seems likely to me that a serious mistake has been made in deciding the problem of authorship in this case and that the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* is more likely to be a work of Helā-rāja, the well-known commentator of the

* The present article is an extended version of the paper that I read before the South Asia section of the one hundred and eighty-first annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts (April 1971). Appropriately enough, it also marks an extention of the critical activity which Paṇḍita Charu Deva Shastri initiated more than forty years ago concerning the works of Bhartṛhari. I wish to acknowledge the assistance received from the Canada Council and to express my gratitude to Professor Wilhelm Rau and the obliging librarians at several manuscript libraries in India, without whose kindness the necessary manuscript material would not have become available to me.

1. According to Dvivedi (1961 : 8), Hari-vṛṣabha, Puṇya-rāja, and Helā-rāja are the three names of one and the same person, namely, Helā-rāja. P. P. S. Shastri (1930:4348) also remarks that Puṇya-rāja and Helā-rāja are identical. I do not think that these baseless views merit any discussion (cf. S. Iyer 1969:17). For a text-critical explanation of the name Hari-vṛṣabha, see Aklujkar 1972:182-183 fn. 2.

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third book of the *Trikāṇḍī*, than of Puṇya-rāja.[1] The evidence favouring this view is manifold and considerably strong when taken cumulatively.

2.1 I am aware of the existence of twenty-seven manuscripts of the *vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*.[2] From among them, eight are incomplete and do not contain any statements of ascription (these are Rau 1971:31-35, mss. E[2], E[17], E[18], E[19], E[22], E[25], E[26], and ms. new no. 781 in the Sanskrit College Library at Calcutta). One (Rau 1971:35, ms. E[21]) is complete as a commentary but does not contain a colophon stating the authorship. The colophons of two (Rau 1971:32, mss. E[4] and E[5]) are not known to me at present, as I have not so far been able to examine them in any form.[3] Thus, there remain sixteen manuscripts of whose colophons I have first hand knowledge. Out of them fourteen ascribe the commentary to Puṇya-rāja[4], while two (Rau 1971:32, 34; mss.

1. (a) Charu Deva Shastri (1930 : 636-644, 1934 : Skt. Intro. 18-26; cf. Ramakrishna Kavi 1930:235-241; Kunhan Raja 1936:285-298) has convincingly argued that the commentary on the first book of the *Vākyapadīya* published in the Benares Sanskrit Series is, in fact, simply an abridgement of Bhartṛ-hari's own *Vṛtti* and that Puṇya-rāja should not be credited with its authorship. Varma (1970:ḍa) cannot be correct, when he says, "*Puṇya-rāja kī [prathama kāṇḍa kī] ṭīkā kā prāmāṇika saṁskaraṇa paṁ. Raghunātha Śarmā ne khaṇḍita rūpa meṁ prastuta kiyā hai. Prācīna upalabdha rūpa kī prāmāṇikatā nitānta saṁdigdha hai.*"

   (b) Note that in the present article I do not wish even to suggest that the *ṭīkā* on the second book is an abridgement of the *Vṛtti* of the second book; cf. 4.1 below and S. Iyer 1969:42-44.

   (c) I hope that in future publications, at least about Bhartṛ-hari, scholars will refrain from using the words *ṭīkā* and *vṛtti* interchangeably. The indiscriminate use of these words by Abhyankar-Limaye (1965:17 fn. 11, 39 fn. 6, 44 fn. 3,47 fn. 2, 53 fn. 14, 56 fn. 12, 57 fn. 6) is to be regretted.
2. Rau (1971:31-35) enumerates 26 manuscripts. I have omitted his E [12], as it is obviously a recent transcript, and added to his list of manuscripts (new) nos. 177 and 781 available in the library of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta,
3. From Abhyankar-Limaye 1965: II and 57 fn. 6, I get the impression that the colophon of E[4] runs thus: *iti Bhartṛ-hari-kṛte Vākyapadīye dvitīyaṁ kāṇḍam. samāptā ca Vākya-pradīpa-kārikā* (see 4.3 below). *Śāli-vāhana-śake 1456 Jayābde Śarad-ṛtāv Āśvina-māse śukla-pakṣa ekādaśyāṁ. Godā-tīre dakṣiṇa-kūle Nṛ-siṁha-kṣetre Siddheśvara-deva-saṁnidhau Viśva-nāthasya Mukundena likhitam.* If this is actually the case then E[4], like E[21], is complete as a commentary, but does not contain any statement as to the author of the commentary.
4. These fourteen are E[1], E[3], E[6], E[8], E[9], E[10], E[11], E[13], E[15], E[16], E[20], E[23], E[24], and ms. new no. 177 in the Sanskrit College Library at Calcutta. In these, the author's name is generally (see fn. 9 below) mentioned as follows : *iti śrī-Puṇya-rāja-kṛtā Vākyapadīya-dvitīya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā samāptā.*

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E[7] and E[14]) ascribe it to Helā-rāja.[1] Now, it would not be proper in this particular case to conclude that Puṇya-rāja must be the author on the ground that the manuscripts attributing authorship to him are more than those speaking of Helā-rāja as the author. In the first place, the manuscripts whose colophons ascribe the commentary to Puṇya-rāja are relatively recent. None of them is as old as manuscript E[7], which ascribes the commentary to Helā-rāja.[2] This is evident from the dates recorded by the scribes and also from a comparison of readings.[3] Secondly, there is room to suppose that the colophons crediting Puṇya-rāja with the authorship of the commentary arose out of confusion. But a similar supposition cannot be justified in the case of the other set of colophons. The name of Puṇya-rāja appears in the last line of the summary verses appended at the end of the prose commentary (see verse 58 in 2.2 below). It is possible to say, therefore, that this mention of Puṇya-rāja led some scribe into believing that the whole commentary came from Puṇya-rāja's pen.[4] But what explanation can one give for the action of those copyists who have

1. The colophon of these two manuscripts reads : *iti śrī-Bhūti-rāja-tanaya-Helā-rāja-viracite Vākyapadīya-vyākhyāne Vākya-kāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ*. The essential similarity (*iti Bhūti-rāja-tanaya-Helā-rāja-···samāptaḥ*) of this colophon with the statements appearing at the end of each of the fourteen chapters of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* indicates its genuineness.

2. E[7] is dated *saṁvat tri-rasa-bhū* or A. D. 1609/1610 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:11-111; Rau 1971:32). The manuscript E[4] definitely antedates it by about seventy-five years. In all probability, E[21] also precedes it in time. But these latter manuscripts do not inform us about the author of the commentary. See fn. 4 above.

3. I shall discuss the geneology of the manuscripts of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* in a future study. In the meanwhile, note that I am not claiming that E[7] is the oldest available manuscript of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-tīkā*; it is claimed to be older than only those manuscripts which ascribe the *ṭīkā* to Puṇya-rāja.

4. It is also probable that the ascription to Puṇya-rāja is a result of several successive scribal errors. Suppose that the sentence originally appearing at the end of the summary verses was *iti śrī-Puṇya-rāja-kṛtā Vākyapadīya-dvitīya-kāṇḍa-kārikāḥ samāptāḥ*. We can then imagine it to have passed through the following stages and assumed its presently accepted form (fn. 5 above) : (a)-*kāṇḍa-rikāḥ samāptāḥ* (omission of the second *kā* through haplography) > (b)-*kāṇḍa-ṭikāḥ samāptāḥ* (mistaking *ri* for *ṭī*, which is not improbable in the Deva-nāgarī script)→(c) -*kāṇḍa-tikāḥ samāptāḥ* (realization that *i* in *ṭīkā* is the long one)→(d) -*kāṇḍa-ṭīkā samāptāḥ* (realization that it would be odd to use a plural form for one *ṭīkā*)→ (e) -*kāṇḍa-ṭīkā samāptā* (realization that the adjective must agree in number with the noun it qualifies). From among these, stage (b) is partially attested in manuscript E[6], where we read *ṭikā* instead of the expected *ṭīkā*. Evidence for stage (d) is furnished by the manuscripts E[1], E [3], E[9], and E [10].

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credited Helā-rāja with the authorship? Since the name Helā-rāja is not mentioned either in the prose commentary or the summary verses, they must have written the colophons ascribing the work to Helā-rāja only because such colophons existed in the manuscripts they copied. Thus, it is more likely that they alone have preserved the older and genuine tradition regarding the authorship.[1]

2. 2 For the second piece of evidence, let us turn to the concluding portion of the summary verses (significant variant readings are shown in parentheses) : *ity eva* (*evaṁ*) *Vākya-kāṇḍasya prameya-viṣayāḥ smṛtāḥ* (*sphuṭam*) / *saṁgatiḥ kīrtitā laghvī samāsena nirākulā* //56// *vidvaj-janānāṁ yaḥ khalu sarvatra gīyate jagati* / *tata upasṛtya viracitā rājānaka-Śūra-varma-nāmnā vai* (*nāmnaiva*) //57// *Śaśāṅka-śiṣyāc chrutvaitad Vākya-kāṇḍaṁ samāsataḥ*/ *Puṇya-rājena tasyoktā saṁgatiḥ kārikāśritā* //58// These mean: "These are said to be the topics to be known from the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*. A brief, but not unintelligibly compressed, statement of their mutual connections (or order) has been made with succinctness. Having approached (or come from) him who among the learned men is praised everywhere in the world (or who is praised everywhere in the world of learned men), one named rājānaka Śūra-varman has composed [this]. Having heard (learned) this *Vākya-kāṇḍa* briefly from the disciple of Śaśāṅka, Puṇya-rāja has given a statement of mutual connections in the form of verses (or relating to the verses of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*)".[2] Here I do not know how to reconcile

1. To say that the copyists had read Helā-rāja's commentary on the third book, had understood from it that he wrote a commentary on the second book too, and hence were led to change the colophon of the commentary on the second book would not be a straight-forward explanation. The copyist class of India is not known to have been that learned on a general scale or that much interested in the problems of authorship. Furthermore, since there is no evidence of Puṇya-rāja's authorship prior to the date of the oldest manuscript ascribing the commentary to Helā-rāja, such an explanation would involve assuming that very thesis which it seeks to prove. It would also force one to presuppose an impressive degree of deftness on the part of the copyist who allegedly deprived Puṇya-rāja of his authorship, for the colophons of E[7] and E[14] not only resemble those of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (see fn. 6 above), but also are followed by *śrī-gopī-jana-vallabho vijayatetarām*, a distinct prayer associated with the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*, (S. Iyer 1963:209.19). Note also that E[7] and E[14] begin with *oṁ gopī-jana-vallabho vijayatetarām. oṁ namaḥ śrī-bhagavat-Pāṇini-Kātyāyana-Patañjalibhyaḥ*, which again characteristically belongs to the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (S. Iyer 1963:1.3).

2. (a) In the BSS edition the, summary verses total 60. Thev are in fact 59. Verse 48 of the BSS edition consists of repetitions of 47cd and 49ab, and hence should be dropped. My references here presuppose this correction

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verse 57 with verse 58. The former is composed in some variety of the *āryā* metre[1] and seems to give the credit of composing a statement of the topics discussed in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa* to Rājānaka Śūravarman. Verse 58, on the other hand, is composed in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and declares Puṇya-rāja to be the composer of the statement summarizing the contents of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*.[2] In any case, it is evident that Puṇya-rāja does not claim, or is not given, credit for writing the commentary on the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*; his contribution is clearly limited to the composition of the summary verses (contrast S. Iyer 1969:41.2-4). Nor is Puṇya-rāja credited with having written a commentary on, or even having read for that matter, any other book of the *Trikāṇḍī*.[3] This hardly agrees with the indications in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* itself. It is clear from that *ṭīkā* that its author had written a commentary also on the first book, as it contains references to the first book (pp. 80. 12, 82. 14-15, 284. 12-13) and as it begins with (cf. S. Iyer 1965:x.11-14; 1969:41.13-23) *evaṁ śabdasya prayojana-sahitam sva-rūpādikaṁ leśato nirṇītam, tasya ca sādhāraṇyena vācakatvaṁ vyavasthāpitam*: "Thus the nature, etc. of a linguistic unit have been partly determined along with the purpose [of the science of grammar]. That that linguistic unit expresses meaning has also been generally (or

and follow the numbering of Abhyankar-Limaye 1965: 195-196.

(b) Ramakrishna Kavi (1930:237) renders *saṁgatiḥ kārikāśritā* with 'the structure of the verses (of the Vākya-kāṇḍa)' or 'linking of the *kārikās*.'

1. As available in the manuscripts and the printed editions, verse 57 is metrically defective. Prof. T. Venkatacharya of the University of Toronto suggests that we should read *vidaj-janānāṁ* in the place of *vidvaj-janānāṁ* to remove the metrical defect.

2. (a) Ramakrishna Kavi (1930:237) seems to have sensed the problem which verses 57 and 58 pose, for he remarks, "[The summary verses] are attributed to Śūra-varman or to Puṇya-rāja. The verse which contains the name of Śūra-varman appears to contain a clerical error; probably the author meant that Puṇya-rāja wrote his commentary for Śūra-varman."

(b) Raghavan Pillai (1971: xvii) apparently is of the opinion that rājānaka Śūra-varman is simply another designation of Puṇya-rāja. In that case I fail to see why so many words intervene between *rājānaka-Śūra-varma-nāmnā* and *Puṇya-rājena* and why *viracitā* and *uktā* are employed to form mutually independent sentences with the two expressions in the instrumental case (*rājānaka-Śūra-varma-nāmnā viracitā* and *Puṇya-rājena uktā*). Would not one rather expect the sentence to be *rājānaka-Śūra-varma-nāmnā Puṇya-rājena viracitā* (or *uktā*), if what Raghavan Pillai says were to be the case?

3. (a) It follows from this observation that Kunhan Raja (1936:292-293) cannot be correct when he maintains that Puṇya-rāja wrote commentaries on all the three books of the *Trikāṇḍī*.

(b) Raghavan (1963:745: 10-20) refers to Puṇya-rāja as the author of the commentary on the third book, but that is obviously due to oversight.

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commonly)[1] established." Helā-rāja's authorship of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*, on the other hand, can be easily reconciled with these indications; from his *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*, we know for certain that he had written a commentary called *Śabda-prabhā*, on the first book of the *Trikāṇḍī* (S. Iyer 1969:36-37,410-411). Thus, it would be natural for Helā-rāja, and definitely not for Puṇya-rāja of the summary verses, to presuppose a reader's awareness of the existence of his commentary on the first book.

2.3 In his commentary on the third book, Helā-rāja refers many times to the points discussed in the preceding books. Most of such references pertain or can be said to pertain, to Bhartṛhari's *kārikās* and *Vṛtti* (Aklujkar 1972:181-198) of the first two *kāṇḍas* or to Helā-rāja's so far undiscovered commentary on the first *kāṇḍa*.[2] Consequently, they cannot be used to determine Helā-rāja's relationship to the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. However, there is one reference which can be said to have been made by Helā-rāja with his own commentary on the *Vākya-kāṇḍa* in mind. While explaining verse 3.9.105 (p.93.18-20; cf. Helā. 3.7.125 p. 329.6-7), he remarks : *ābādhādivad yuktaṁ śabda-saṁskāra-nimittatvam asya. puruṣa-dharmeṣv api hi śāstram adhikṛtam iti vicāritaṁ Vākyapadīye.* "It is proper for this (property of the speaker called *āśaṁsā*) to become a cause in the derivation of a word as it is for anguish (or distress, *ābādha*). It has been [already] discussed in the *Vākyapadīya*[3] that the science [of grammar] is concerned also with the properties of persons [since, in the derivation of sentence-usable words, whether or not a particular suffix should be added to an inflectional base depends on the emotional state to be conveyed]." A statement corroborating this reference to what precedes is found only in the *ṭīkā* on verse 2.78 (pp. 109.17-111.8-11; cf. p. 146.16) : *śāstrasya tu śabdārtha-puruṣa-dharmeṣv adhikāraḥ ..... puruṣa-dharmā vaktṛtva-pratipattṛtvaprabhṛtayaḥ, tatra vaktṛdharmā ābādhāsūyā-saṁmati-kopa-kutsana-bhartsanādayaś ceti. pratipattṛ-dharmās tu kutsyamānatva-prabhṛtaya eva tatra śāstrasya pluta-dvir-vacanādi-vidhāyakatvenādhikāra iti.* "The science [of grammar] is concerned with word (or linguistic unit), meaning, and the properties of persons....The properties of persons are 'being a speaker,' 'being a hearer,' etc. Among them, the properties of the speaker are anguish, envy, respect, anger, censure,

1. i.e. with respect to both the word and the sentence, and without indulging in the problem of determining the fundamental or primary expressive unit.
2. This should be evident from the critical study of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* on which I am working at present and which I hope to publish in the future.
3. In Helā-rāja's usage, the term *Vākyapadīya* refers only to the first two books of the *Trikāṇḍī*; cf. Aklujkar 1969:549-550.

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scolding, etc. The properties of the hearer are, on the other hand. 'being censured', etc. The science [of grammar] is concerned with them as [a science] enjoining (the use of) prolongated vowels, reduplication, etc. "The similarity of diction (*śāstra*, *puruṣa-dharma*, *ābādha*, *adhikṛ*), in addition to that of content, between this statement and Helā-rāja's remark is self-evident. Furthermore, this statement is so far removed from the concerns of the *kārikās* that it seems unlikely that a statement similar to it could have once existed in Bhartṛhari's *Vṛtti*, although such a possibility cannot be ruled out with certainty, since the Vṛtti on 2. 77-151 is not available for verification in the only known manuscript. Thus, we find that a passage which is unique to a not-too-essential portion of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* answers the expectation arising out of Helā-rāja's rather incidental remark in the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*. This would be hard to account for, unless both works were authored by one and the same person.

2.4 Our present problem of authorship can be studied from one more angle. Suppose for a moment that Helā-rāja is the author of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* and the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*. Then, since the same mind has produced both works, we should find some similarity of associations in them, just as, say, in the case of Śaṅkara's philosophical commentaries or of Kālidāsa's literary works. A careful examination of the two *ṭīkās* reveals that this indeed is the case with the quotations in them as well as with their diction.

2.5 The *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* quotes sixteen verses from the third book : pp. 98.6.8 (3.1.75cd, 3.1.75ab) 98.11-12 (3.1.76), 140.1-2 (3.3.55), 145.21-22 (3.14.485), 146.9-10 (3.14.484), 162.5-7 (3.14. 156), 163.11-12 (3.7.156), 164.9.10 (3.7.159), 167.17-18 (3.1.1,3.1. 2ab), 176.17-18 (3.14.248), 208.18-21 (3.10.7-9), 213.4-5 (3.1.75cd), 240.1-2 (3.3.29). No discord is noticed between the explanations of these verses in the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* and the contexts in which they are quoted in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. In fact, there exists a certain degree of correspondence in terms of associations: (a) On BSS p. 162.5-7, verse 3. 14. 156 is cited in discussing the expression *pañcālā jana-padaḥ*. In the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (p. 78.11-13), this cited verse is explained in the context of *pañcālā jana-padaḥ*. (b) After the conclusion of the section on *karma-pravacanīyas* (BSS p. 167.17-18), the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* quotes verse 3.1.1. In the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* on verse 3.1.1 (pp. 3.18-7.14), the *karma-pravacanīya* section of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa* is summarized. (c) The Pāṇinian aphorism (4.4.2) *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam* forms the context in which verses 3.10.7-9 are cited on BSS p. 208.18-21. The same is taken as an illustration, when verses 3.10.7-9 are explained in

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the *Prakirṇaka-prakāśa*.

2.6 To look from the other direction, about fifteen[1] verses from the second book are quoted in Helā-rāja's commentary on the third book : 3.1.1. p. 5.1-4, 16-17, p. 7.11.12 (2.197, 199, 204, 202), 3.1.3 p. 10.14-15 (2. 70), 3.1.52 p. 61.15 (2.382a), 3.1.58-59 p. 66.21-22 (2.247), 3.1.74 p. 78.11-12 (2.I5), 3.1.87 p. 84.22 (2.14), 3.3.31 p. 145.6 (2.118), 3.7.24 p. 255.5-6 (2.203), 3.7.58 p. 275.2 (2.250), 3.7.158 p. 359.5-6 (2.204), 3.9.97 p. 90.7-8 (2.15), 3.11.15 p: 108.24 (2.57a), 3.14.75 p. 40.4-5 (2.15), 3.14.76 p. 41.4-5 (2.233), 3.14.94 p. 49.9 (2.250), 3.14.205 p. 99.1 (2.425), 3.14.249 p. 115.13 (2.14). Here again no irreconcilable elements are noticed between the contexts in which the verses are cited in the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* and the explanations of the cited verses which are given in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. Quite to the contrary, the following point of similarity is noticed: The *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* on 2.233 (BSS p. 179.56) remarks *etad uktaṁ bhavaty avidyaiva vidyopāya iti*. Helā-rāja's *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* on 3.14.76, where 2.233 is quoted, reads *avidyaiva hi vidyopāyaḥ*.

2.7 Let us now move on to associations indicated by quotations from works other than those of Bhartṛhari. In this respect one would not arrive at a justifiable conclusion by studying the passages from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. Since the material we are dealing with belongs to the Pāṇinian school of Sanskrit grammar, quotations from the *muni-traya* are only to be expected. Now, if with the exclusion of such quotations in mind we study the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* and the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*, we find that both works agree in quoting from the following authors : Kumārila : BSS pp. 93.2I-23 (*ŚV*, *Sphoṭa-vāda*, 69), 117.13) *ŚV*, *Apoha-vāda*, 33); Helā. 3.1.50 p. 60. 5-6 (*TV* 2.1.4. p. 411), 3.7.15 p. 243.14 (*ŚV*, *Śūnya-vāda*, 254), 3.11.30 p. 120.14 (*ŚV*, *Vākyādhikaraṇa*, 160). Jayāditya-Vāmana: BSS pp. 164. 1-2 (*kāśikā* on Pāṇini 2.3.52), 210.4-5 (*Kāśikā* 1.2.32); Helā. 3.1.34 p. 41. 21 and 3.8.1 p. 18.29 (*Kāśikā* 2.3.46). Dharma-kīrti: BSS p. 182.9-10 (*PV* 4.226 p. 439); Helā. 3.1.40 p. 47.15 (*PV* 2.356cd p. 205), 3.1.93-94 p. 94.15-16 (*PV* 3.162cd-163ab p. 307), 3.1.100 p. 100. 3-4 (*PV* 3.92 p. 288), 3.2.9. p. 113.12-13 (*PV* 2.435 p. 226, fn. 1), 3.3.1 p. 123.2-3 (*PV* 1.4 pp. 4-5), 3.3.42 p. 153.10-11 (*PV* 4.226 p. 439), 3.7.24 p. 252. 10.-1I (*PV* 1.26 p. 17). Maṇḍana-miśra: BSS p. 145.23-24 (*Sphoṭa-siddhi* 9); Helā. 3.14. 484 p. 213.21-22 (*Sphoṭa-siddhi* 9). In this

1. I say "about" because 2.382a and 2.57a in the list given here may not have been intended to be quotations by Helā-rāja; it is quite probable that he may have used them simply as familiar phrases.

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inclination toward quoting only certain texts, one more peculiarity is noticed. Two quotations are common to both works (BSS p. 182.9-10, Helā. 3.3.42 p. 153.10-11 : *PV* 4.226 p. 439; BSS p. 145.23-24, Helā. 3.14.484 p. 213.21-22: *Sphoṭa-siddhi* 9), and one of those quotations (*Sphoṭa-siddhi* 9) is strongly associated with the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Paspaśāhnika* p. I.12.18-20; and on Pāṇini 2.2.6 p. I.411.19-20) passage *tailaṁ bhuktam, ghṛtaṁ bhuktam* in both of them; it occurs in exactly the same context, thus indicating the possible working of one mind.

2.8 The evidence furnished by the similarities of association is corroborated by some common stylistic features: (a) Use of certain not too common compound expressions (the components of most of these expressions can be found in many other works; but the combinations in which they appear in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* and the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* do not seem to be common): *adūra-viprakarṣa* 'without being removed too far, keeping together as much as possible'[1] BSS pp. 199.17, 266.9; Helā. 3.10.8 p. 101.21-22, 3.14.49 p. 28.1, 3.14.53 p. 30.11, 3.14.213 p. 102.2; *ayaḥ-śalākā-kalpa* '[mutually unconnected or unmerged] like sticks of iron BSS pp. 129.21,[2] 255.6, 265. 20, 267.12; Helā. 3.4.. 1-2 p. 182. 15, 3.7. 156 p. 355. 13; *kāla-parivāsa* 'covering or envelop in the form of time' BSS p. 285.10; Helā. 3.7.2 p. 232.11, 3.7.56 p. 273.23, 3.9.24 p. 58.8, 3.9.26 p. 58.24, 3.14.372 p. 163.22; *dṛśya-vikalpa*[3] 'perceived object and the intellectal construct' BSS pp. 137.22, 269.5-6; Helā. 3.1.6 p. 17.18, 3.1.19 p. 32.14, 3.3.33 p. 147.1, 3.3.42 p. 153.16, 3.7.3 p. 234.5, 3.7.6 p. 237.12, 3.8.24 p. 31.21, 3.9.40 p. 63.22-23, 3.14.273 p. 125.11, 3.14.473 p. 210.5-6, 3.14.569 p. 248.1-2; *paramarṣi* 'great sage advocating existence (*bhāva*), teacher of *Sāṁkhya*,[4] BSS pp. 139.22, 204.22, 287.8; Helā.

1. This expression is used at least once by Kṣīra-svāmin. See his commentary on Amara-siṁha's *Amara-koṣa* 2·6.122-123.

2. From 2.8c below it is clear that here the printed text should be corrected to read *kila. ayaḥ-śalākā-kalpānāṁ...*

3. A similar *dvandva* compound, *dṛśya-vikalpya*, is found in Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāya-mañjarī*, part I, p. 23.

4. (a) In Īśvara-kṛṣṇa's *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* (verse 69), the term *paramarṣi* is used to refer to Kapila.
(b) A derivative adjective, *pāramarṣa*, is found in the writings of Helā-rāja (3.9.59 p. 71.4), Vācaspati-miśra (*Nyāya-kaṇikā* on Maṇḍana-miśra's *Vidhi-viveka* p. 461), Mallişeṇa (*Syād-vāda-mañjarī* on Hema-candra's *Anya-yoga-vyavacchedikā* or *Vyavaccheda-dvātriṁśikā*, verses 11-12), and Kṛṣṇa-līlā-śuka-muni (*Puruṣakāra* on Deva's *Daiva*, p. 15). It does not always mean 'stated by the teachers of Sāṁkhya', as one would expect it to mean.

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3.3.64 p. 169.13.; *pāṁsūdakavat* 'like dust and water'[1] BSṢ pp. 108.22, 171.22; Helā. 3.14.53 p. 30.14, 3.14.59 p. 33.2, 3.14.95 p.51.11; and *sarva-pārṣada* 'serving as basis of, accommodating, all branches of knowledge'[2] BSS pp. 186 24, 253.21; Helā. 3.3.1 p. 122.15. (b) Frequent use of the word *ācchurita* 'coloured, tinged:' BSS pp. 173.2-3, 260.12, 261.8; Helā. 3.1.7-8 p. 20.7, 3.14.15 p. 8. 24, 3.14.25 p. 13.1-3, 3.14.204 p. 98.1, 3.14.624 p. 272.26. (c) Choice of the term *adhyāsa* to express the relation of identification between word and meaning (BSS. pp. 67.1-10, 85.7-14, 141.5, 189. 11-13.; Helā. 3.1.6 p. 18.17, 3.1.11 p. 23.5-7, 3.3.1 p. 123.5, 3.3.2p. 126. 7-17, 127.2-3, 3.3.29 p. 143.3-4, 3.3.32 p. 145.15-17) in the place of Bhartṛhari's (*Tripādī* pp. 26. 4-5, 249.10-15; *Vṛtti* 1.23 p. 59.1-4, 1.67 p. 126.3, 1.24-26 p. 71.4; 2.128) *tādrūpyāpādana, so 'yam ity abhisaṁbandha, pratyastarūpatā, vipariṇāma, asyedambhāva, svarūpādhyāropa, adhyavasāya* and *abhijalpa*, and Vṛṣabha's (p. 59.10-22) *abhinna-rūpatā, abhedalakṣana-sambandha*, and *sārūpya*.[3] (d) Preference for the terms *jāti-sphoṭa* and *vyakti-sphoṭa* respectively for *sphoṭa* viewed as a universal and *sphoṭa* viewed as a particular (BSS pp. 64.4.15, 76.19-20, 81.11-13 Helā. 3.1.6 p. 18.15-16, 3.1.7-8 p. 20. 5-6). in the place of Bhartṛhari's and Vṛṣabha's *śabdākṛti* (or *śabda-jāti*) and *śabda-vyakti*. (*Vṛtti* 1.23 p. 52.2-7, p. 57.1-4, 1.93 p. 159.6) Employment of the indeclinable *kila* at the end of a sentence to suggest slight disapproval or less than hearty acceptance of a view:[4] BSS. pp. 97.13-14, 129.21 (see fn. 20 above), 176.19, 183.9-10, 194.18-19; Helā. 3.1.45 p. 50.19-20, 3.1.68p. 73.4-5, 3.7.70 p. 287.4-5, 3.7.85 p. 300.14-15, 3.11.22 p. 115.14, 3.13.10 p. 141.17, 3.14.32 p. 18.11-12, 3. 14. 188-189, p. 93. 17, 3.14.360 p. 159. 21-22, 3.14.367 p. 161.17. (f) Use of *yadi param* in the sense 'if at the most': BSS pp. 258.15-22, 259.8; Helā. 3.3.39 p. 151.8. (g)Paraphrase of *odanaṁ pacati* in exactly the same word as *viklidyatas taṇḍulān vikledayati*: BSS p. 244.21-22; Helā. 3.8.1 p. 20.18.

1. According to Raghavan (1963 : 21), this expression is used by Bhoja in the eighth chapter of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*.
2. (a) As Raghavan (1963:722) mentions, Bhoja also employs the compound *sarvapārṣada* in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*.
   (b) For the relation of *sarva-pārṣada* to Patañjali's *sarva-veda-pāriṣada*, see S. Iyer 1951:86, 1969:74-75.
3. It need not be supposed that Bhartṛ-hari did not know the term *adhyāsa*. Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* 3.17 and Vyāsa's (?) *bhāṣya* on it employ the term As I shall argue in a forthcoming article, both these works are older than Bhartṛ-hari's.
4. (a) Such use of *kila* is noticed also in the writings of Bhartṛ-hari (3.7.70), Jayanta-bhaṭṭa (*Nyāya-mañjarī*, part 1, p. 7). and Vasu-bandhu (see the references to Yaśo-mitra in (b) below).

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2.9 Finally, attention must also be drawn to certain features of theoretical discussion that are shared by the commentary ascribed to Puṇya-rāja and by Helārāja's *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*. It should be noted that these features are not necessitated by the contexts in which they appear and hence can be satisfactorily explained only as stemming from the author's personality and associations with theoretical concepts. Among them are : (a) Characterization of Bhartṛ-hari's effort as *prauḍha-vāda* or *praudhi-vāda*, when, in the view of the commentator, he is over-generous in offering options to his philosophical adversaries : BSS pp. 116.22, 250.19; Helā. 3.1.11 p. 23.7, 3.3.18 p. 135.17, 3.3.28 p. 142.7. (b) Acceptance of the relation of identification (*adhyāsa*) as more basic than that of capability (*yogyatā*) or that of cause and effect (*kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva*) : BSS pp: 67.1-10, 85.7-14, 141.4-6, 189.11-12; Helā. 3.1.11. p. 23.5-7, 3.3.1 p. 123.5, 3.3.2 p. 126.7-17, 3.3.29 p. 143. 3-4. (c) comment to the effect that the relation of cause and effect between word and meaning is stated in deference to the view of the *Vijñāna-vādins* :[1] BSS p. 67.4-5; Helā. 3.3.1 pp. 122.11-123.7. (d) Clarification of the distinction between *saṁghāta* (or *samudāya*) and *sphoṭa*: BSS p. 173.1-3; Helā. 3.8.7-8 p. 23.14-16.

3.1 I believe that the evidence I have presented above makes Helā-rāja's authorship of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* more than a likely proposition. Even when not taken cumulatively, it is sufficient at least to caution a reader against an uncritical acceptance of the descriptions "wrongly assigns" and "fälschlich" attached respectively by Abhyankar-Limaye (1965:II; cf. p. 231. 30-32) and Rau (1971:33) to the colophons of manuscripts E[7] and E[14]. Its force would diminish only (a) if we discovered ascription to Puṇya-rāja in manuscripts or works older than 1609/ 1610 A. D., the date of E[7], (b) if we came across quotations from or statements on the contents of Helā-rāja's commentary on the second book and did not find passages answering our

(b) *kila-śabdaḥ para-mata-dyotanārthaḥ* (Yaśo-mitra, *Sphuṭārthābhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā, Kośa-sthāna* I, p. 12; cf. pp. 24,31,66,74,93,100; *Kośa-sthāna* II, pp. 2,42. 47; *Kośa-sthāna* III, pp. 6 ,75). *kila iti śrayaḥ pramāṇānupapannatvenā-rucim prakāśayanti* (Vidyānanda on Samanta-bhadra's *Yukty-anuśāsana* verse 39, pp. 88-89). *kilety āgamāruci-nyakkaraṇeṣu. 'jaghāna Kaṁsaṁ kila.' '[evaṁ kila] kecid vadanti.' 'ayaṁ kila yotsyate'.* (Daṇḍa-nātha Nārāyaṇa. *Hṛdaya-hāriṇī* on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, part I, p. 35.

1. The acceptance by the Buddhists of *kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva* between word and meaning is evident from *Abhidharma-dīpa with Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti*, p. 274, and Sucarita-miśra's *Kāśikā* on Kumārila's *ŚV*, part III. p. 223. Besides *PV* 1.4, which is cited by Helā-rāja in the passage referred to here, the oft-quoted verse *vikalpa-yonayaḥ śabdā vikalpāḥ śabdayonayaḥ* from Diṅ-nāga also expounds the same view.

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expectations in the present *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*, or (c) if we found in the present *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* quotations from or references to works or authors later than the tenth century A. D., the most likely date for Helā-rāja (Charu Deva Shastri 1930:652-653; S. Iyer 1963:xi 1969:39-40; Swaminathan 1967:23-35). As far as I am aware, such counter-evidence does not exist.

3.2 Nāgeśa (circa 1670-1750 A. D.) is the earliest author known so far who mentions Puṇya-rāja, mostly in the form Puñja-rāja (see 5.2 below), as the author of the commentary on the second book (cf. Madhava Krishna Sarma (1942:412): See *Laghu-n añjūṣā* with the commentaries *Kuñcikā* and *Kalā* pp. 63, 109, 110, 148, 221, 229, 337, 344 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:223; cf BSS p. 137), 400-401, 403-404, 409, 413, 417-419, 421, 444, 451, 589, 609 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:226; cf. BSS p. 157), 612, 616, 654, 684 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:234; cf. BSS p. 232), 817 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:220; cf. BSS p. 115), 1155, 1188 Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:217; cf. BSS pp. 69-70), 1367 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965: 238; cf. BSS p. 274), 1368, 1437, 1494, 1568; and *Bṛhac-chabdendu-śekhara p.* 797. However, Nāgeśa's date is later by at least sixty years than that of the earliest manuscript ascribing the commentary to Helā-rāja. Moreover, along with the commentators of his *Laghu-mañjūṣā* (e.g. *Kalā* p. 113.6-7), he occasionally refers to the commentary also as Helā-rāja's work (see 3.3 below), thus indicating his manuscript sources were not unanimous on the matter of authorship.

3.3 To come to references by later authors to Helā-rāja's commentary on the second *kāṇḍa*, I can at present think of only the following: (a) Kauṇḍa-bhaṭṭa, *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* pp. 113-114: *ek-tiṅ vākyam iti vadatāṁ Vārttikakārāṇāṁ mate paraṁ na [pacati bhavati Deva-datta ity-ādau nighātaḥ]. vastutas tu 'ekatiṅviśeṣyakaṁ vākyam' iti tad-abhiprāyasya Helārāj-īyādau.....pratipāditatvāt tan mate 'pi bhavaty evety avadheyam.* (b) *Nāgeśa, Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara* p. 31 : *tad uktaṁ Hariṇā 'pramāṇam eva hrasvādāv anupāttaṁ pratīyate'* (*Vākyapadīya* 2.307cd) *iti. anupāttam api [ardha-]mātrā-rūpaṁ pramāṇam evopalakṣyata ity artha iti Helā-rājaḥ.* (c) Nāgeśa,[1] *[Laghu-]śabda-ratna* p. 29 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:231): *Harir apy āha 'pramāṇam eva hrasvādāv anupāttaṁ pratīyate'* (*Vākyapadīya* 2.307cd).

1. (a) I assume here that Nāgeśa is the real author of the *[Laghu-]śabda-ratna*, not Hari Dīkṣita.
(b) My notes show that Nāgeśa refers to Helā-rāja as the author of the commentary on the second book also on *Laghu-mañjūṣā*, pp. 1133 and 1161. However, due to the unavailability of the edition from which I noted these pages, I am at present unable to verify the references.

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iti anupāttam apy ardha-mātra-rūpaṁ pramāṇam evopalakṣyata ity arthas [ity artham?] tasya Helā-rāja āha. evaṁ ca loke 'nya-śākhāsu ca dīrghādiṣv apy ardha-mātraivodātteti bhāvaḥ: From among these, (a) summarizes the remark *Vārttikakārasyāpy eka-tiṅ ity-atraika-tiṅtvaṁ pradhāna-tiṅ-antāpekṣayā pratipādyamānaṁ Sūtrakāra-matānuguṇyaṁ bhajata evety anayor nāsti mata-bhedaḥ*, appearing on BSS p. 270.22-24.[1] Corresponding to (b) and (c) is the passage on BSS pp. 209. 16-210. 1: *atra cārdha-hrasva-grahaṇam ardha-mātrā-lakṣaṇasya pramāṇasyopalakṣaṇam iti tad eva tasmāt pratīyate...dīrgha-plutayor apy ādibhūtārdha-mātrodāttety ucyate*. To be sure, Kauṇḍa-bhaṭṭa and Nāgeśa do not reproduce the exact words from Helā-rāja's commentary on the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*, but whatever they report as the gist of his remarks therein is found in the present *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. We have, therefore, no justification to suppose that they had access to two distinct commentaries, one by Puṇya-rāja and the other by Helā-rāja, and that the commentary by Helā-rāja to which they had access was different from the available *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. It seems more straight-forward to assume that at least Nāgeśa was not uniformly informed on the matter of authorship by the manuscripts at his disposal.

3.4 One possible reference by Helā-rāja himself to his commentary on the second book has been discussed in 2.3 above. In that case a corresponding passage could be located in the *ṭīkā* published in the Benares Sanskrit Series. However, there are two more possible references by Helā-rāja in the case of which, as far as I can determine at present, passages expressing the same points are not found in the BSS *ṭīkā*: (a) 3.7.84 p. 300.1: *tantreṇa hi śakti-dvayam apy abhidadhāti pratyaya iti Vākyapadīye nirṇītam.*[2] (b) 3.8.12 p. 26.15-17: *kriyopapadāśrayas tu pratyayaḥ prakṛty-arthāśrayaḥ (iti) bhoktuṁ pāka iti bhavatīty anantara-kāṇḍe nirṇītam. ihāpy agre nirṇeṣyate.*[3] Note that here Helā-rāja does not employ any expres-

1. Hari-vallabha Sāstrī's *Darpaṇa* commentary on *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* p. 111 says that the remark of Helā-rāja referred to by Kauṇḍa-bhaṭṭa is found in Helā-rāja's commentary on 2.444 (*bahuṣv api...*). Actually, it is found in the commentary on 2.446 (*tiṅ-antāntara—...*).
2. (a) The point is this : In a sentence like *iṣyate grāmo gantum*, the suffix in *iṣyate* is capable of indicating the *abhihitatva* of the object *grāma* with reference to both the actions—that of desiring and that of going. It is said to accomplish this two-way indication through *tantra*.
   (b) *Tantra* is touched upon in 2.77 (BSS pp. 104.17-105.5) and 2.475-477 (BSS pp. 281-283). The possibly relevant discussion of *pratyeyya* and *pratyāyaka* is found in 2.98-111 (BSS pp. 124-129).
3. (a) The places where one expects a discussion or mention of the point specified by Helā-rāja are as follows: 2.195 (BSS p. 161.18-20), 2.307 (BSS p. 209. 4), 2.330ab (BSS p. 224. 13-16), 2.430-431 (BSS p. 264. 20-23).

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sions like *asmābhiḥ* or *svavyākhyāyām*. The guess that (a) and (b) can be references to his commentary on the second book is entirely based on the observation that statements closely corresponding to what he says are not found either in the *kārikās* or the Vṛtti of the second book. This negative observation cannot assume any definitive force in the present state of our sources, as the text of the *Vṛtti* of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa is full* of the gaps and hence does not preclude the possibility that it once contained the theses referred to by Helā-rāja. Besides, the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* is yet to be critically edited; we do not as yet know whether any of its manuscripts indicate a loss of portions in the course of time.

3.5 As to the objections to Helā-rāja's authorship which may arise out of a study of the quotations in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*, I would like to state that there is not a single quotation in that work which can be assigned with certitude to a period later than the tenth century A. D. I hope to substantiate this point in a future textual study. In the meanwhile, it would not be improper to discuss one quotation which is especially likely to give rise to a doubt. According to Madhava Krishna Sarma (1942:411-412), the verse *satāṁ ca na niṣedho 'sti, so 'satsu ca na vidyate| jagaty anena nyāyena nañ-arthaḥ pralayaṁ gataḥ||* quoted in the *ṭīkā* on 2.241 (BSS p. 182) probably comes from one of the works of Śrī-harṣa who lived sometime during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D. However, new material has become available since Sarma wrote his article. Now we know definitely that the verse in question is at least six centuries older and that it actually belongs to the *Pramāṇa-vārttika* (4.226) of Dharma-kīrti. As 2.7 above shows, it is found also in the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (3.3.42 p. 153), Helā-rāja's authorship of which is incontestable.

4.1 Having thus argued in favour of ascribing the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* to Helā-rāja, I would like to proceed on the assumption that it in fact is a work of Helā-rāja and would like to consider some of the implications of so doing. Firstly what sort of impact would this discovery have on our knowledge of the commentaries of the *Trikāṇḍī*? As is amply evident, the first two books of the *Trikāṇḍī* constitute a relatively independent work, called *Vākyapadīya*, in Helā-rāja's view (Aklujkar 1969:549-550). One can, therefore, assume that he must have written similar commentaries on them. In other words, we should be able to guess at least a few features of Helā-rāja's yet undiscovered *Śabda-prabhā* commen-

(b) The remark *ihāpy agre nirṇeṣyate* refers to the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* on 3.8.58 p. 47. 4-7 and 3.14.444 p. 196.19-26.

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tary on the first book by studying his commentary on the second book. These features seem to me to be the following: (a) The *Śabda-prabhā* could not have been like Vṛṣabha's commentary in that it must have principally explained only the *kārikās*, whereas Vṛṣabha's commentary explains both the *kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*. (b) Although primarily concerned with explaining only those verses which are intended by Bhartṛ-hari to form the *kārikā*-text of the *Brahma-kāṇḍa*, the *Śabdaprabhā*, in all probability, briefly commented also on those verses which are quoted by Bhartṛ-hari in his *Vṛtti* from such works as the *Saṁgraha* (e. g. pp. 102, 142, 153, 185, 194-195, 202-203, 209, 217-220); cf. BSS pp. 193, 239. (c) Besides the desire to explain the *kārikā* text, the motivation in writing the *Śabda-prabhā* must have been to supplement the *Vṛtti* wherever possible. Such a supplementation must have been achieved in the following respects: (i) Specification of Bhartṛ-hari's own view when a multitude of views is presented in his work; cf. e. g. BSS pp. 67.9-11, 71.7, 164.11-15; note *siddhāntārtha-satattvataḥ* in the second introductory verse of the *Prakīrṇaka-Prakāśa*. (ii) Setting Bhartṛ-hari's views in relation to the views of others; cf. e. g. BSS pp. 66.5-15, 71.2-9. (iii) Justification of Bhartṛ-hari's views wherever additional arguments favouring them could be offered; cf. e. g. BSS p. 76.8-12; note the expression *niṛṇīta*, *niṛṇaya*, etc. in *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* 3.1 37 pp. 44.23-45. 3, 3.1.46 p. 54.8-9, 3.2 14 pp. 116.7-117.14, 3.9.62 pp. 72.26-73. 1, 3.9.70 p. 76.19-22. (iv) Elaboration of points that were not fully elaborated in the *Vṛtti*; cf. *leśataḥ* in BSS p. 104. 4-6. (v) Clarification of the mutual connections of the *kārikās* and of the order followed in the discussion of various topics; cf. BSS pp, 64.1-17, 75.6-8, 76.16, 77.6-7, 81.14-17, 85.17-18, 86.22-87.2, 89.15-16, 90.18-91.1, 93.24-94.3, 130.23-131.4, 143.19-21, 152.1-4, 156.19-157.3, 162.18-19, 167.15.168.5, 173.4-5, 177.5-7, 186.8-16, 205.9-10, 212.9-19, 221.11-13, 234.9-15, 242.19-20, 269.21-22, 271.2-4, 271.22-23, 275.10-12, 216.10-17.

4.2 It seems that Helā-rāja completed his *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* long after he had completed the commentaries on the first two books. This is what one would expect in view of the impressive size of the *Prakīrṇaka* and in view of the difficulty involved in explaining it due to the absence of a *Vṛtti* by Bhartṛ-hari. The guess is supported also by the absence of references to the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* (references to the *Prakīrṇaka* itself are found on BSS pp. 67, 141, 264-265), by the fact that the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* and the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* are not

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found together in one manuscript[1] and by the maturity and self-confidence noticeable in the style of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*.[2] However, these observations cannot be said to assume a conclusive force. Helā-rāja obviously had access to at least a couple of older commentaries on the *Prakīrṇaka* (see 3.1.50 p. 60, 3.1.57 p. 66, 3.1.65 p. 70, 3.1.68 p. 73, 3.1.71. p. 75, 3.1.87 p. 86, 3.1.105 pp. 103-104, 3.3.22 p. 138, 3.3.39 p. 151, 3.6.13 p. 221, 3.7.26 p. 256, 3.7.32 p. 260, 3.7.97 p. 310, 3.7.164 p. 368, 3.9.62 p. 72, 3.11.31 p. 121, 3.14.124 p. 63, 3.14.330 p. 148, 3.14.415 p. 181; also possibly 3.3.17 p. 135, 3.7.49 pp. 268-269; 3.8.15 pp. 27-28, 3.14.410 p. 179). Hence the absence of a *Vṛtti* might not have been a great handicap to him. The separation of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* manuscripts from those of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* may also be a result of the tradition of thinking of the *Prakīrṇaka* as a relatively independent book; it need not necessarily imply that the composition of the two works was marked by a long interval. The maturity of style too cannot be attributed to the time factor alone; it may quite possibly be due to the influence of or indebtedness to, the works of previous commentators. Finally, the silence of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* regarding the points discussed in the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* could be a matter of pure coincidence.

4.3. We know the names of Helā-rāja's commentaries on the first and the third books of the *Trikāṇḍī*. They are respectively *Śabda-prabhā* and *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*. (or with the omission of *svārthe-ka-*, *Prakīrṇa-prakāśa*). A question, therefore, arises as to the name of his commentary on the second book. S. Iyer (1969:37) has drawn attention to the possibility that *Śabda-prabhā* might have been intended as the title of Helā-rāja's commentary not only on the first *kāṇḍa*, but also on the second *kāṇḍa*. This, however, seems unlikely to me. If at all Helā-rāja chose one name for his commentaries on the first two *kāṇḍas*, I would expect

1. The only exception to this statement is likely to be furnished by manuscript E[2] or F[2]. In this manuscript preserved in the library of the Oriental Institute at Baroda, fragments of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* are found mixed with the fragments of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (Rau 1971:31, 35-36). However, the very lack of order among its leaves indicates that the two works have been put together out of necessity rather than out of an awareness that they belong together.

2. Compare, for example, the accounts of how a mirage is seen:..*grīṣme marīcayo bhaumenoṣmaṇā syandamānā* [*spandamānā* ?] *dūrasthasya jala-jñānam upajanayanti* (BSS p. 204); *dinakara-kara-nikarāḥ prasarpanto nabho-deśam ūrdhvādharabhāvena samākrāmantas taraṅgākāra-pratyayam upadadhati pipāsūnām* (Helā. 3.13.8-9 p. 140). In the former, the author seems to have leaned heavily on Vātsyāyana's *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, pp. 18 and 345.

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it to be *Vākyapadīya-prakāśa* or *Vākyapadīya-prabhā*. Then alone would it balance with *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*, the name for the commentary on the remaining *kāṇḍa*. Furthermore, it is quite clear from the opening statement of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* (*BSS* p. 63) as well as from the contents of the first two books that *śabda* is the principal concern of the first book and *vākya* of the second. The title *Śabda-prabhā* would, therefore, be hardly appropriate for the second book. In fact, any title not containing the word *Vākya* would not suit that book. Therefore, I am inclined to think that the title of Helā-rāja's *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* was *Vākya-pradīpa*. It alone would form an appropriate link with *Śabda-prabhā* and *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa*, and suggest a progression from *prabhā* 'flame' to *pradīpa* 'lamp' to *prakāśa* 'light'. It would also perhaps explain why the scribes have been occasionally misled to write *Vākya-pradīpa* in the place of *Vākyapadīya* in certain manuscripts (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965:57 fn. 6; Rau 1962:379-382, 384, 386; S. Iyer 1963: 119.20). Note also that in the second concluding verse of his *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* (after 3.14.624, p. 272) Helā-rāja likens his commentary to a *pradīpa*.

5.1 As should be clear from 2.2 above, the aim of this paper is not to refute the claim of Puṇya-rāja's association with the second book, or to deny him the authorship of the summary verses, or to establish his identity with Helā-rāja. Within its context, therefore, one can justifiably ask who this Puṇya-rāja is and where he stands in relation to Helā-rāja. Rajendralāla Mitra (1877:112) and Ramakrishna Kavi (1930:235 fn. 3) have suggested that Puṇya-rāja may be the same person as Puñja-rāja, the author of a commentary on the grammar *Sārasvata-prakriyā* and of two works on poetics entitled *Dhvani-pradīpa* and *Śiśu-prabodhālaṅkāra*.[1] This identification may be said to derive some support from Nāgeśa's use of the form Puñja-rāja (see 3.2 above), from the similarity between the two names (*ñj* can simply be a dialectal variation of *ṇy*), and from the fact that both Puṇya-rāja and Puñja-rāja are associated with works in the discipline of grammar. The date of Puñja-rāja would also not stand in the way of identification. That Sārasvata grammarian is definitely known to have lived between 1475 and 1520 A.D. (Gode 1941:120-124, 1953:68-72; cf. Haraprasāda Shāstrī 1931:134-136; Jambūvijayajī 1966:32), whereas the earliest manuscript in which Puṇya-rāja's summary verses are most probably (see 2.1 above) found, namely E[4],

1. The last work is edited and published by B. L. Shanbhogue in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vols. 12-14, 1962-1965, Baroda. It is also published as no. 7 in the M.S. University Oriental Series.

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belongs to 1534:1535 A. D. (Rau 1971:32). Therefore, until a manuscript containing the summary verses and written before 1475 A. D. is found, one cannot reject the thesis of possible identity at least on the basis of manuscript evidence. However, there are other serious difficulties in identifying Puṇya-rāja. In the first place, no manuscript of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*, as far as I am aware, gives Puñja-rāja as the form of the name of the author. Secondly, nowhere in the fairly extensive information about Puñja-rāja, the Sārasvata grammarian, (see Haraprasāda Shāstri 1931 and Gode 1941, 1953) do we find any mention of his association with either Śaśāṅka-śiṣya or Śūravarman as we find in the case of Puṇya-rāja (2.2 above). Nor does Puñja-rāja claim in the list of his works that he wrote a work concerning Bhartṛ-hari or the *Trikāṇḍī*. I am, therefore, at present disposed to conclude that Puṇya-rāja, the author of the summary verses, is older than Puñja-rāja. This is all the more likely to be the case, if. taking our cue from Charu Deva Shastri (1930: 653-654), we identify Śaśāṅka-śiṣya, from whom Puṇya-rāja 'heard' the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*, with Saha-deva, the earliest known commentator of Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*.[1] In fact, the hypothesis that Puṇya-rāja was a direct disciple of Saha-deva is strongly supported by the verses with which Saha-deva introduces and concludes his work: *ākarṇya bhavatas tasmād dayitasya vidhīyate/ vivṛtiḥ Saha-devena Vāmanīyasya samprati//...caturdaśānāmapi yaḥ prasiddho vidyā-sthitīnāṁ para-pāradṛśvā/Śaśāṅka-pūrvaṁ Dhara*[2] *ity udāraṁ yan-nāma loke nitarāṁ prasiddhaṁ//tadīya-śiṣyaḥ Saha-deva-nāmā kule prasūtaḥ* (or *kule 'bhijātaḥ*) *khalu Tomarāṇām/ vyākhyām imāṁ kāvya-vicāra-śāstre vyadhatta laghvīm iha Vāmanīye// Kāśmīra-deśād apasarpato me śabdānuśuddhiṁ tri-muniṁ niśamya/ avāpta-siddher varuṇātmajasya prayojako 'bhūd iha Padma-nābhaḥ //* A comparison of these verses with the concluding verses of Puṇya-rāja quoted in 2.2 above will reveal the following points of similarity: *ākarṇya tasmāt, niśamya* ←*Śaśāṅka-śiṣyāt śrutvā; Śaśāṅka-.....-śiṣyaḥ*←*Śaśāṅka-śiṣyāt; Saha-deva-nāmā* ←*Śūra-varma-nāmnā; laghvīm*← *laghvī; apasar-*

1. Raghvan Pillai (1971: xvii) draws our attention to the possibility that Śaśāṅka-śiṣya may mean 'a disciple of Candra-gomin, the grammarian.' But there is little, if any, likelihood that this could be the case. If we take Śaśāṅka-śiṣya to mean 'a disciple of Candra-gomin,' then Puṇya-rāja would be a disciple of the disciple of Candra-gomin. In that case he would be probably older than even Bhartṛ-hari, a part of whose work he is said to have summarized ! Moreover, Raghavan Pillai has not pointed out any references to Candra-gomin with the word Śaśāṅka.
2. According to Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka (*saṁvat* 2019:84-85), Kṣīra-svāmin (circa 1058-1108 A.D.) refers to Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅka-dhara on p. 7 of his *Kṣīra-taraṅgiṇī* on Pāṇini's *Dhātu-pāṭha*.

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pataḥ ←apasṛtya; yan-nāma loke nitarāṁ prasiddham ← vidvaj-janānāṁ yaḥ khalu sarvatra gīyate jagati. Such an impressive similarity of diction and pattern even in the writing of incidental verses would be hard to account for unless either author is supposed to be within the range of direct influence by the other.

5.2 A further question is whether Puṇya-rāja is older than or contemporaneous with Helā-rāja. In other words, is it probable that the summary verses were known and available to Helā-rāja and that it was he who incorporated them toward the end of his commentary ? Since the verses are found in all complete manuscripts (see **2.1** above) and are included before the statement of ascription in manuscripts E[7] and E[14] which ascribe the commentary to Helā-rāja, one is inclined to conclude that they probably formed a part of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* manuscripts from a very early time and that Helā-rāja could have possibly appended them to his *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. But the manuscript evidence does not indicate anything more than this; it does not imply that the verses are definitely older than Helā-rāja's work. In fact, on the basis of evidence gleaned from a different source, one can almost conclusively prove that they cannot be older than the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*. A comparison of them with the summary and comments at various points in the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā* (see **4. 1c(v)** above) reveals, as I shall demonstrate in a future study, that the author who composed them has made every effort to follow as closely as possible the prose summary and comments. Thus, Puṇya-rāja seems to have lived after Helā-rāja not far removed in time. To judge from the component-*rāja* in his name, he can also be said to have probably come from the same family as Helā-rāja. That component is characteristic of the names in Helā-rāja's family as we can see from Helā-rāja's own name and those of his father and brother, Bhūti-rāja and Indu-rāja.

5.3 Ramakrishna Kavi (1930:235 fn. 3) and S. Iyer (1963: xiii) have hinted at the possibility that Puṇya-rāja may be identical with Phulla-rāja, from whose work (*kṛti*) two gaps in the text of the *Prakīrṇaka-prakāśa* have been filled (S. Iyer 1963: 261.8-268. 13, 280. 17-283.1). Since it does not seem very likely that three persons having so similarly structured names as Helā-rāja, Puṇya-rāja, and Phulla-rāja could be associated with the same work as commentators of the one sort or the other and since either form from the pair "Puṇya-rāja" phullarāja can be a result of the miswriting of the other, the identification of Puṇya-rāja with Phulla-rāja is a tempting proposition. Furthermore, like the former, Phulla-rāja seems to be later than

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Helā-rāja and seems to have written the available commentarial pieces, not with the intention of commenting on the whole *Prakīrṇaka* or *Trikāṇḍī*, but with the specific intention of supplementing Helā-rāja's work (see Aklujkar, forthcoming). His interest in explaining the order of discussion (*saṁgati*) is also evident from pp. 265.2.13 and 282.1-5. However, these considerations being probabilistic in character, can hardly be called conclusive. Until the manuscripts furnish us with definite evidence that either the form Phulla-rāja or the form Puṇya-rāja could have resulted from a miswriting of the other, we cannot be certain that both the forms actually refer to one and the same person.

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PĀṆINI 6. 1. 209-210.

M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

1.....*A 6. 1. 209-10*

Pāṇini (P.) teaches in the rule : *juṣṭārpite ca chandasi* (*A* 6.1. 209) that in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi*), the past passive participial constructions *juṣṭa-* and *arpita-* optionally (*vibhāṣā* recurring from 208 into 209) retain the udātta accent (*A* 6.1.159) on the initial syllable (*ādiḥ* drawn from *A* 6.1.197 into 209). He also teaches in the next rule : *nityaṁ mantre* (*A* 6. 1. 210) that in a *Mantra*, the udātta falls on the initial syllable always (of the words *juṣṭa-* and *arpita-*). Thus by implication we understand that in the Secular Literature (*bhāṣā*), the udātta falls invariably on the last syllable of the words through the force of *A* 3.1.3.

1. 1 *Grammatical steps*

The grammatical steps for constructing *arpita-* and *juṣṭa-* are as follows :

ṝ gatau (*kryādi*)

ṝ+i (seṭ)	... ...	seṭ by *A* 7.2.10. *s.v. Kārikā*
ṝ+i+ṇ-i-c	... ...	ṇic by *A* 3.1.26
ṝ+i+i	... ...	ṇ/c zeroed by *A* 1.3.5, 9/1.3.3, 9
ṝ+p+i+i	... ...	*p* (uk)[1] augment by *A* 7.3.36
ar+p+i+i	... ...	guṇa by *A* 7.3.86
ar+p+i+i+k-*ta*	...	*kta* by *A* 3.2.102
ar+p+i+*ϕ*+k-*ta*	...	*i*(ṇi) zeroed by *A* 6.4.52
ar+p+i+*ϕ*-ta	...	*k* zeroed by *A* 1.3.8, 9
=*árpita-*/*arpitá-*	...	optionally barytonic by *A* 6.1.209
=*árpita-*	... ...	in the Mantra (barytone) by *A* 6.1.210

b) *juṣī prītisevanayoḥ*

juṣ+k-ta	... ...	*k-ta by A 3.2.102 or 188*
juṣ+k-ta	... ...	*absence of iṭ by A 7.2.14*

1. In P.'s descriptive procedure, *p* (uk) is an augment to be inserted. e.g. *ar-p-i-ta-*. The Indo-European comparative evidence is helpful to posit -p- as an old suffix appended to certain roots and it has been extended to the whole class in the causative constructions. See Burrow, *Sanskrit Language* 2nd edn; p. 357.

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juṣ+ϕ-ta ... ... *k zeroed by A 1.3.8, 9*
juṣ+ṭa ... ... *retroflexion by A 8.4.41*
= *júṣṭa-/juṣṭá-* ... optionally barytonic by *A* 6. 1. 209
= *júṣṭa-* ... ... barytone in a Mantra by *A* 6. 1. 210

2 .....*Vedic facts*

2.1. The barytonic *árpitaḥ* (ṚV 6. 58.2; MaiS 4.14.16; SVK 2.305; SVJ 3.25.1; TB 2.8.5.4), *árpitam* (ṚV 10.82.6; MS 17,30; KS 18.3.6; TS 4.6.2.3; MaiS 2.10·3; KāṭhaS 18.1; KKS 28.2; SVK 2.804; SVJ 4.2.10; AV 9.14.12; AVP 2.17.5; GB 2.2.5) *árpitā* (ṚV 1.142. 9; AVP 1.66.2; ŚāṅB 5.8; TB 2.8.8.4), *árpitāḥ* (KāṭhaS 37.9; AVP 4.3.1; TB 2.7.15.3; ŚāṅĀ 5.8; TĀ 1.7 1) *árpitāni* (MS 23.51; KS 25.9.7; AVP 1.91.4) and *árpite* (TS 4.7.13.2) are well attested in the Vedic texts. But the oxytonic word occurs only once in ṚV 1.164.48. Correspondingly the barytonic *juṣṭaḥ* (ṚV 1.44.2; SVK 2.1131; TS 3.1.10.1; MaiS 1.3.1; ŚāṅB 10.6; GB 2.2.17; JB 1.82; AV 7.77.9; KāṭhaS 2.15; TB 2.4.1.1), *júṣṭam* (occurring 71 times in the Saṁhitā-s, 43 times in the Brāhmaṇa texts and once in TĀ), *júṣṭā* (MS 4. 17; KS 4.6.1; TS 1.2.4.1; MaiS 12. 5; KaṭhaS 2.5) and *júṣṭāni* (ṚV 1. 73. 10; MaiS 4.14.15) are widely distributed in the Vedic texts. While the oxytone (*juṣṭá-*) occurs five times in the Saṁhitā texts, the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka-s attest only the barytonic word. In addition we may note that *juṣṭa-* appears fifty times in the unaccentuated Paippalāda-Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā and also in the unaccented portions of the Kāṭhaka and Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā-s.

2.2 Let us now cite a few instances to illustrate the uses of the barytonic and oxytonic words from the Saṁhitā texts :

Barytonic *árpita-* 'fixed or set' :

ṚV 10.82.6. cd : *ajásya nábhau ádhy ékam árpitam*
yásmin víśvāni bhúvanāni tastháuḥ||

In the Unborn's navel is fixed (or set) the One in whom all things (or creatures) abide.[2]

1. The first occurrence of the forms is noted here. For other references see Vishva Bandhu, *Vaidikapadānukramakośa* (Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas), Hoshiarpur. Also see Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, Second Issue. Delhi. 1964. pp. 381-2 for the Vedic repetitions.

2. According to Sāyaṇa and other Vedic hermeneutists, the One (*ekam*) is the Egg (or the Unborn, unmanifested Brahman) which rests in the navel region before creation; and in this Egg abides the entire living organism. Sāyaṇa finds support for this idea from the *Manusmṛti* (I. 8-9). Geldner regards the One as the original matter (Urding) which is to be distinguished from the Unborn (*aja-*) who is Viśvakarman. See his notes under RV 10.82.6 c in *Der Rig-Veda*, HOS 35 (1951), p. 265.

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Oxytonic *arpitá-* 'fastened' :

ṚV 1.164.48 cd : *tásmin (t) sākáṁ triśatā́ ná śaṅkávo-*
'rpitā́ḥ ṣaṣṭír ná calācalā́saḥ//
Therein (i.e. in the wheel of the year) are fastened altogether three-hundred and sixty, like pegs, which are not loosened. That is to say, 360 days are fastened to the lunar-solar year, like pegs attached to a wheel.

Barytonic *júṣṭa-* 'desirable, agreeable or lovable' :

ṚV 1.44.2 a : *júṣṭo hí dūtó ási havyavā́hanaḥ/*
Indeed, thou art (O Agni) a lovable (or desirable) messenger (and) the conductor (or charioteer) of the sacrifice.

Oxytonic *juṣṭá-* 'pleasant' :

AV 5.7.4 : *Sárasvatīm ánumatiṁ bhágaṁ yánto havāmahe/*
uácaṁ juṣṭā́ṁ mádhumatīm avādiṣaṁ devā́nāṁ devā́hūtiṣu//
We invoke Sarasvatī, Anumati and Bhaga (while) we are moving on; I have spoken pleasant and sweet (honeyed) speech during the divine invocations of the devas.

2.3 From the references and Vedic citations given above, it is quite clear that P. has minutely observed the oxytonic and barytonic accentuation of both *arpita-* and *juṣṭa-* attested in Vedic texts, and the convergence between *A* 6.1.209 and the Vedic facts is proved to the hilt. But it is difficult to test the accuracy of *A* 6.1.210 which restricts the barytonic *juṣṭa-* and *arpita-* only to a Mantra. Here lies the *crux criticorum.*

3.....*A 6.1.210—the problematic rule*

3.1 Bhaṭṭoji (SK 3698) considers the rule *A* 6.1.210 as redundant, and he says :

etat sūtraṁ śakyam akartum/

It emerges from the Vedic facts assembled above that *arpita-* and *juṣṭa-*appear with the oxytonic accentuation even in a Mantra, contrary to *A* 6.1.210 which restricts these words to barytonic accentuation. Hence Bhaṭṭoji thinks that *A* 6.1.210 need not be taught at all. Concomitantly some grammarians allow the recurrence of both *juṣṭa-* and *arpita-* from *A* 6. 1.209 into 210, as pointed out in the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā*[1] of Śrīnivāsa.

3.2 As warranted by *A* 6.1.209, both these words are optionally barytonic in Chandas; for we find the oxytonic *juṣṭáḥ* in ṚV

1. Ed. K.A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, Ann. Univ. Skt. Series 4 (1936), pp. 148-9.

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9.44.2, *juṣṭá* in AV 2.36.1, the barytonic *júṣṭaḥ* in ṚV 1.44.2, the oxytonic *arpitáḥ* once in ṚV 1.164.48 and the barytonic (*árpitaḥ*) in ṚV 6. 58. 2. In the Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka-texts, both words are exclusively barytonic. But when P. goes on to restrict the barytonic words to a Mantra in *A* 6.1.210, we get into trouble, since in a Mantra too, these words appear with the oxytonic accentuation. Consequently it is difficult to reconcile the *chandasi* of the rule 209 with the *Mantra* of 210. Whitney in his paper, "The Veda in Pāṇini",[1] lampooned P. for framing this rule, that is, *A* 6.1.210. Thus the wording of the rule, *nityaṁ mantre*, is open to criticism.

4.....*The Samādhāna*

4.1 We have now to find a solution to the problem posed in 3. 1-2 (*supra*). It would be an easy way out to suggest that P., in all probability, might have drawn his materials from one of the Black Yajurveda texts in which the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portions appear side by side for formulating *A* 6.1.210. As has already been stated in 2.3, we are in a comfortable position to verify the accuracy of P.'s rule 209 in such Mantra texts as ṚV, SV and AV. Nevertheless in one of the Black YV texts, *juṣṭa-* might have consistently shown the barytonesis in a Mantra and oxytonesis elsewhere. We have already pointed out in 2.1 that in the unaccented portions of the Black YV texts (obviously excluding TS, TB and TĀ), *juṣṭa-* appears 46 times—26 times in KāṭhaS and 20 times in KKS—while in the unaccented portions of the Paippalāda recension of AV, it is attested four times. If one would assume that *juṣṭa-* is barytonised in a Mantra and oxytonised elsewhere in these 50 occurrences, then one could admit of the recurrence of *juṣṭa-* alone from A 6.1.209 into 210. But the real difficulty in accepting this assumption lies in the fact that we do not know for certain the exact accentuation of *juṣṭa-* in these unaccented texts, unless we take it for granted that these texts had preserved the barytone in a Mantra and the oxytone elsewhere.

4.2 In the absence of a precise explanation, we may regard the rule *A* 6.1.210 as falling within the category of *svara-vyatyaya-s* taught by P. in *A* 3.1.85 which, perforce, operates and causes the oxytonesis of *juṣṭa-* in a Mantra through the force of *A* 3.1.3. To put it differently, *A* 3.1.85 which teaches the permutation of various types taking place in the Sacred Literature, operates first, and sets aside the regular rule *A* 6.1.210; subsequently, it (85) allows the operation, perforce, of *A* 3.1.3 which oxytonises *juṣṭa-* in a Mantra.

1. *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana* 7 (1893), p. 248.

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4.3 Needless to say, *vyatyaya* is one of the potent tools of the Pāṇinian presentational procedure, and it should only be judiciously employed in the structural interpretation of Vedic texts. This procedure of P. might give us the impression that a structuralist of the Pāṇinian type would not adopt a fixed grammatical system for analysing the numerous Vedic words which, diachronically speaking are distributed in the two-dimensional time-space-context.[1] Patañjali voices a similar sentiment in his critique on *A* 6.3.14, which runs thus :

> Sarva-veda-pāriṣadaṁ hi idaṁ śāstram; tatra na ekaḥ panthāḥ śakya āsthātum/

As a matter of fact, the Science of Vyākaraṇam has incorporated in his system the result of diverse discussions carried out in Vedic Academies; consequently it is not at all possible for a descriptive grammarian like P. to advance a comprehensive formula for the encyclopaedic Vedic domain.

1. See S.M. Katre, *Two Lectures on Linguistics* (Agra, 1959), pp. 24-5.

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DID PĀṆINI ENVISAGE 'A' AS A CLOSE (SAṂVṚTA) VOWEL ?

KSHETRESACHANDRA CATTOPADHYAYA

चारु-चन्द्रं ललाटे यो बिभर्त्ति ज्ञानदायकः ।
नत्वा महेश्वरं देवं शास्त्रीयां प्रारभे कथाम् ॥१॥
'अ'-कारः संवृतो वर्णो वार्त्तिकादिमतेन वै ।
परन्तु न तथा प्राह पाणिनिर्मूलशास्त्रकृत् ॥२॥
सूत्रद्वयं विरच्यादौ "वृद्धिरादैच्" "अदेङ्गुणः" ।
मङ्गलार्थकशब्देन शास्त्रारम्भम् इयेष सः ॥३॥
"मङ्गलादीनि शास्त्राणि" वाक्यमेतत् पतञ्जलेः ।
तमेव पोषयत्यर्थं क्रमदोषं जहाति च ॥४॥
स्वशास्त्रं मङ्गलान्तं च चकार पाणिनिर्बुधः ।
रचयन्नन्तिमं सूत्रं "नोदात्तस्वरितोदयम्" ॥५॥
त्रिपाद्यां चापरं सूत्रं पठ्यते यत् ततः परम् ।
प्रक्षिप्तं खलु मन्तव्यं मङ्गलान्तत्वघातकम् ॥६॥
'अ'-कारो विवृतो ह्येतच् शालातुरीयसम्मतम् ।
न तद् बुद्धं तु कर्तृभ्यां सम्यग् वार्त्तिक-भाष्ययोः ॥७॥
वेदभाषा-विमर्शेन भाषाशास्त्रमुखेन च ।
युक्त्या समर्थितः पक्षः क्षेत्रेशचन्द्रशर्मणा ॥८॥

The first letter of the Sanskrit alphabet 'अ' is accepted as a close (संवृत) vowel. In all parts of India, except Bengal, pandits pronounce it as 'u' in 'but' 'run' etc. in English—'ʌ' according to the International Phonetic Script. In Bengal even Pandits pronounce it as 'a' in English 'awe'—'ɔ' in Phonetic Script. Careless speakers in Panjab pronounce it as 'a' in English 'bat' 'hat' etc.—'Æ' in Phonetic symbol. But these exceptions prove the rule, which is, 'अ' is a close vowel.

Sanskrit grammarians are agreed on the close character of this vowel. The earliest grammar that has been preserved to us is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. I shall show below what the authors of the *Vārttikas* and the *Mahābhāṣya* have said in the matter. Of the later commentaries, the *Kāśikā* says "ह्रस्वमवर्णं प्रयोगे संवृतम् । दीर्घप्लुतयोस्तु

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विवृतत्वम्".[1] The *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* says "अकारस्य शास्त्रे विवृतोपदेशः प्रतिज्ञातः। स प्रयोगे संवृतो भवति"[2]। The *Siddhāntakaumudī* says "ह्रस्वस्यावर्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम्। प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव।"[3]

It is supposed that Pāṇini has distinctly provided for this double character of 'अ', 'open' (विवृत) pronunciation assumed in grammatical phenomena of *sandhi*, *vṛddhi*, etc. and 'close' (संवृत) pronunciation in actual usage. The last *sūtra* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, "अ अ (८।४।६८)", coming in the *Tripādī*, means, according to its introductory *sūtra*, "पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (८।२।१)", what is 'a' in the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī*, is actually 'ʌ'.

Let us now see what the *Vārttikas* and the *Mahābhāṣya* have said in the matter. Kātyāyana commenting on the first *Māheśvara sūtra*, "अ इ उ ण्", said :

"* अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः ॥१॥"
"* तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः ॥२॥
"* दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥३॥[4]

The last *vārttika* assumes that 'अ' is actually संवृत.

Patañjali commenting on the first *vārttika* says :—

"विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते। कथं ज्ञायते ? यदयम् "अ अ (८।४।६८)" इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृतताप्रत्यापत्तिं शास्ति। नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्। अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्। किम् ? अतिखट्वः, अतिमाल इत्यन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति। संवृतः स्यादित्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः। नैतदस्ति। नैव लोके न च वेदेऽकारो विवृतोऽस्ति। कस्तर्हि ? संवृतः। योऽस्ति स भविष्यति।"

Commenting on the third *vārttika*, he says :—

"दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः। नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः। कौ तर्हि ? विवृतौ। यौ स्तस्तौ भविष्यतः।"[5]

On the last *sūtra*, "अ अ (८।४।६८)", the same ideas are expressed.

Bhāṣya, "किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? अकारोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नाये विवृत उपदिष्टस्तस्य संवृतताप्रत्यापत्तिः क्रियते। किं पुनः कारणं विवृत उपदिश्यते ?

आदेशार्थं सवर्णार्थमकारो विवृतः स्मृतः।
आकारस्य तथा ह्रस्वस्तदर्थं पाणिनेर अ॥"

1. Edition of Bala Sastri Ranade, Benares, 1898, p. 1.
2. Edition of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1918, p. 575.
3. Nirnay Sagar Press edition, Bombay, 1938, p. 2.
4. Kielhorn's edition, Vol. I, pp. 15-16; Edition of Charu Deva Shastri (Three Āhnikas), pp. 49-53.
5. Kielhorn, pp. 15-16, Shastri pp. 49-54.

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Vārttika "*अकारस्य प्रत्यापत्तौ दीर्घप्रतिषेधः ॥१॥
*आदेशस्य चानण्त्वान्न सवर्णग्रहणम् ॥२॥
*सिद्धं तु तत्परनिर्देशात् ॥३॥
*एकदेशनिर्देशाद्वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् ॥४॥"[1]

Thus according to the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as preserved to us and the comments on it by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, 'अ' is a close vowel. Let us see what the western writers on Sanskrit grammar have to say in the matter. W.D. Whitney remarks: "The short a is not pronounced in India with the full openness of ā, as its corresponding short, but usually as the neutral vowel (English so-called "short u" of *but, son, blood*, etc.). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiśākhyas (A. Pr. I. 36; V. Pr. I.72), which call the utterance *saṁvṛta, covered up, dimmed.* It is wont to be ignored by western scholars, except those who have studied in India."[2] Jacob Wackernagel says that the "present" pronunciation of the vowel is 'closed', 'dull'. He also accepts that it was so even in Pāṇini's time, as shown by Pāṇini VIII. 4.68.[3]

In view of the statements of these authorities it would appear to be a mad venture to call into question the views ascribed to Pāṇini. But many established views have been found on examination to be based on insufficient grounds. The aim of this paper is to examine the grounds on which it has been believed that Pāṇini envisaged 'अ' as a close (संवृत) vowel.

In this connexion, we have to notice how Pāṇini begins his grammar. Instead of "अदेङ्गुणः" "आदैच् वृद्धिः", he has written "वृद्धिरादैच् (I.1.1)" and "अदेङ्गुणः (I.1.2)." There are two quite apparent discrepancies here :

(1) In view of the third *sūtra*, "इको गुणवृद्धी" *guṇa* should have been defined *first* and

(2) The *saṁjñā*, वृद्धि, should have come after the *saṁjñin*, आदैच्, as in the second *sūtra* and everywhere else.

The great master, Pāṇini, could not have made these changes without a purpose. The technical word वृद्धि meant in common par-

1. Kielhorn, Vol. III, pp. 465-7.
2. *Sanskrit Grammar*, Second Edition, 1888, Reprint, Leipzig, 1913, p. 10. The *Vājasaneya Prātiśākhya* (I. 72) does not use the word संवृत for 'अ', as I shall show below; it is the commentator Uvaṭa who does it (संवृतास्यप्रयत्नः अकारः, विवृतास्यप्रयत्ना इतरे स्वराः).
3. *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. I, Göttengen, 1896, p. 3.

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lance 'increase', 'prosperity'. Pāṇini clearly wanted to begin his *śāstra* with a *maṅgalārthaka* word to ensure the spread of his bold venture in grammatical analysis. Patañjali has understood this significance. He has said :

"कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति । एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा । अदेङ्गुण इति यथा ।"[1]

If Pāṇini could make his *śāstra maṅgalādi*, there is no reason why he should not have also made it *maṅgalānta*. In fact Patañjali has himself said, when commenting on Pāṇini I.3.1, "भूवादयो धातवः", "मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युरिति ।"[2]

The penultimate *sūtra* of Pāṇini, according to the text known to the authors of the *Vārttika* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, is "नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् (८।४।६७)." It is to be noted that Pāṇini has used here *and here alone*[3] the word उदय in place of the term पर or उत्तर for what comes subsequently. The word उदय has been used in this sense in the *Prātiśākhyas*.[4] उदय also means 'rise', 'prosperity', the same as वृद्धि. It is thus a *maṅgalārthaka* word.

It is with this *sūtra* containing the *maṅgalārthaka* word उदय that Pāṇini must have concluded his work. The *sūtra* "अ अ (८।४।६८)", therefore, was added by persons who were surprised that Pāṇini

1. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 40, Sastri, pp. 122-3.
2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 253.
3. See Otto Bohtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1887, Zweite Abteilung, p. 211.
4. *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*, "समानाक्षरे सस्थाने दीर्घमेकमुभे स्वरम् । इकारोदय एकारमोकारः सोदयस्तथा ॥२।६॥" and elsewhere, *Vājasaneyaprātiśākhya*, "नोदात्तस्वरितोदयम् (४।१४३)," *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, "उदयस्वरादिसस्थानो हकार एकेषाम् (२।४७)", *Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya* edited by Suryakanta Shastri, Lahore, 1939, "गतिपूर्वो यदा धातुः क्वचित्स्यात्तद्धितोदयः । समस्यते गतिस्तत्रागमिष्ठा इति निदर्शनम् ॥१।११॥", p. 11. The last-named text is different from the text edited by W. D. Whitney under the title *Atharvaveda Prātiçākhya* or *Śaunakīyā Caturadhyāyī*. The real title of Whitney's text appears to be *Kautsavyākaraṇa*, as given in an Ujjayini manuscript brought to my notice by S. L. Katre.

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had assumed in his grammar that 'अ' was of the same character as 'आ' and 'आ३' whereas they pronounced it as a संवृत vowel. Pāṇini was a native of Śālātura, near Attock in north-western India. His pronunciation must have been different from that current in eastern and southern India. Kātyāyana and Patañjali could not have had the same habit of pronunciation which Pāṇini had in the extreme north-west. They, therefore, had no difficulty in accepting as genuine *Sūtra* "अ अ (VIII.4.68)." Kātyāyana has been called by Patañjali a "southerner."[1] He himself appears to have belonged to Magadha.[2] Dialectal differences are natural in different geographical areas. Pāṇini has himself referred to the views of Northerners (उदीचाम्)[3] and Easterners (प्राचाम्)[4], besides specific writers like Śākalya, Gārgya, Śākaṭāyana, etc. These differences are on points of grammar and accent. A difference in pronunciation in different areas is as likely as in matters of accidence and syntax.

In fact difference in pronunciation in different areas is a well known phenomenon. 'ऋ', which is a vowel, is generally pronounced as a consonant with a vowel at its end, *ri* in North India and *ru* in the south.[5] 'ष' is generally pronounced as 'ख' in Eastern India. This was also its pronunciation in the *Mādhyandina Saṁhitā*. In the first verse of the *Japaji* of Guru Nānak we have पुरुख (for पुरुष). Where it is not 'ख', 'ष' is generally pronounced as श. Similarly श becomes स in Eastern India, except in Bengal. Instances may be multiplied in the matter of other letters, 'च', 'ज', ल etc. Hence it is quite possible that in Pāṇini's time 'अ' was an open vowel in north-western India.

Patañjali's statement "नैव लोके न च वेदेऽकारो विवृतोऽस्ति", quoted above in connexion with the first *Pratyāhāra sūtra*, is an uninformed

1. "प्रियतद्धिता हि दाक्षिणात्याः", *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p.8, Shastri, p. 28. This is corroborated by Kātyāyana's addition" *कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोलाद्यर्थम्" to Pāṇini's simple "कम्बोजाल्लुक् (४।१।१७५)", Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 270.
2. Compare his illustration "इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः" under P. "वर्तमाने लट् (३।२।१२३)", Kielhorn, II, p. 123, and several references to Pāṭaliputra.
3. In III.4.19, IV.1.130, 153, 157, IV.2.109, VI.3.32 and VII.3.46.
4. In I.1.75, II.4.60, III.4 18, IV.1.160, IV.2.123, 129, V.3.80, 94, VI.2.74, VI.3.10, VII.3.14, 24, VIII.2.86, VIII.3.75.
5. Its actual pronunciation was probably 'ərə', as given in *Rk-prātiśākhya* (XIII. 14). This is also the Avestan pronunciation.

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boast. There is ample evidence about its विवृत character in the Vedas.

(1) 'अ' and 'आ' freely inter-change in the Vedas, e.g. we have in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* one single word in three different forms, विश्वहा (3 instances), विश्वहाऽ (14 instances) and विश्वाहाऽ (15 instances). This could not have been possible if 'अ' and 'आ' were vowels of different nature, one 'close' and the other 'open'.

(2) We have a long list of metrical lengthenings in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* given in the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* under the title *sāma-vaśa-sandhi* in three *Paṭalas* (VII to IX). The short vowels which change into the corresponding long ones in the *saṁhitā* text include 'अ'.

The very first instance given in the *Prātiśākhya* is "योनिम् अरैक्" in place of "योनिम् अरैक्" in *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* I.124.8 (Padapāṭha "योनिम्। अरैक्"). Other *Prātiśākhyas* also give similar lists for their own *śākhās*.

(3) The vowels 'ए', 'ओ', 'ऐ' and 'औ' have been called *sandhya-kṣaras*., i.e. diphthongs, in the *Prātiśākhyas*.[1] 'ऐ' and 'औ' are even now pronounced as diphthongs. But 'ए' and 'ओ' have now become simple vowels. The old Vedic pronunciation of 'ए' and 'ओ' must have been 'अइ' and 'अउ' respectively on account of the name *sandhyakṣara* used for them in the *Prātiśākhyas*. In the sister language of the *Avesta*, there are six diphthongs, 'aē' (corresponding to Sanskrit 'ए'), 'oi' (=Sanskrit 'ए'), 'ao' (=Sanskrit 'ओ'), 'ɔu' (=Sanskrit 'ओ'), 'āi' (=Sanskrit 'ऐ') and 'āu' (=Sanskrit 'औ')[2]. In the Vedic language the टि vowel of a word becomes प्लुत in calling from a distance, question and a number of other senses. Pāṇini provides for this in his *sūtras* VIII. 2.82-108. P. "एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ (८।२।१०७)", distinctly recognising the diphthongal character of 'ए', 'ओ' 'ऐ' and 'औ' provides for their *pluti* in the forms 'अ३इ' अ३उ' 'आ३इ' and 'आ३उ' respectively. The *Mahābhāṣya* includes among the illustrations "अग्निभूता३इ" (vocative of अग्निभूति'). "पटा३उ' (vocative of पटु). The *vārttika* "*आमन्त्रिते छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥३*॥[2] on this *sūtra* provides for the operation of this rule in the ordinary vocative in the Vedas.[3] We have in the *Mādhyandina Saṁhitā*, VIII.10, "अग्ना३इ पत्नीवन्त्सजूर्देवेन

1. Kātyāyana also uses this terminology in two of his *Vārttikas* under the *Pratyāhāra Sūtras* "ए ओङ् ॥३॥" and "ऐ औच् ॥४॥", "*सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत्तपरोच्चारणम् ॥१॥", (Kielhorn I. 22, Shastri, 73) and "*सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतत्वात् ॥१०॥" (Kielhorn I. 25, Shastri 83).
2. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, pp. 15-18.
3. Kielhorn's edition, Vol. III. pp. 421-422.

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त्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब स्वाहा". Other instances of "अग्ना३इ" in Vedic literature are *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* I.4.27.1, VI.5.8.4, *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā*, I.3. 29, IV. 7.4, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* IV.11, XXVIII.8, XXX.1, *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*, XLIV. 8. For a word ending in 'u' we have in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* "अवेरपोऽध्वर्या३उ इति होता अध्वर्युं पृच्छति (VIII. 2)." The mutation of 'ए' (='अइ') into 'आ३इ' or of 'ओ' (='अउ') into 'आ३उ' was possible because the first element 'अ' in these diphthongs was of the same nature as 'आ३', i.e, विवृत.

(4) In the *Sāmaveda* 'अ' in the *Ārcika* text freely becomes 'आ' or 'आ३' in the *sāman*. I may give only one instance from the first book of the text. The first verse, "अग्न आयाहि वीतये गृणानो हव्यदातये। नि होता सत्सि बर्हिषि ॥" becomes in one of its *sāman* forms 'बर्हिष्य' (of Kāśyapa).

"अग्न आयाहि वीऽ॥ तया३। गृणानो हव्यदाता ऽ२३ या ३॥ नि होता सत्सि बर्हाऽ२३३षी। बर्हाऽ २ इषाऽ२३४ औ हो वा॥ बर्हीऽ३ षीऽ२३४५॥"[1] It is to be noted that 'अ' in 'त' of 'हव्यदातये has become 'आ', which is a विवृत vowel.

Similarly in the विराड्वाम्यदेव्य *sāman* "अग्निम्" becomes "आऽग्निम्", "अरण्योः" becomes "आ। रण्योः" ("आरण्योः"[2] in बृहदाग्नेय *sāman*).[2] 'अ' therefore, must have been of the same nature as 'आ' for the ṛṣis of these *sāmans*.

Before leaving the topic of Vedic usage, I may point out what the Vedic *Prātiśākhyas* have to say in the matter.

The *Ṛk-prātiśākhya*[3] uses the terms विवृत and संवृत about consonants only and not about vowels. The first verse of its thirteenth *Paṭala* says :

"वायुः प्राणः कोष्ठ्यमनुप्रदानं
कण्ठस्य खे विवृते संवृते वा।
आपद्यते श्वासतां नादतां वा
वक्त्रीहायाम् उभयं चान्तरोभौ ॥

Uvaṭa's comments are "वक्त्रीहायां स वायुः कण्ठविले विवृते श्वासत्वमापद्यते संवृते नादत्वम्...। कण्ठविले समे सति उभय श्वासंनादम् आपद्यते।".

1. *Veya Gāna*, Part I, Svādhyāya Maṇḍala, 1942, p. 2. The special markings for स्वर have been omitted to avoid difficulty in printing.
2. The *Ārcika* text is "अग्निं नरो दीधितिभिररण्योः" etc., II.6.1.10.1. For the *sāman* see *Sāmaveda Saṁhitā*, edited by Sāmasrami, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. V, pp. 658 and 659.
3. Edited by M. D. Shastri, Allahabad, p. 379.

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This means that *surd* consonants are pronounced when the glottal passage is open and *sonant* when it is closed.

In the first half of the fifth verse of this *Paṭala*,

"आहुर्घोषं घोषवतामकारम्
एकेऽनुस्वारमनुनासिकानाम् ।"

'अ' following a sonant consonant partakes of the sonant character of the consonant, according to some authorities, as it becomes nasal according to them when followed by nasal consonants. Here only the *sonant* character is mentioned as such and not its *close* pronunciation.

The *Vājasaneya Prātiśākhya* makes no mention of close or open pronunciation of vowels or consonants. Whitney's references to the close character of 'अ' according to *sūtra* I.72 is wrong. We should look at the context of this *sūtra* to understand its meaning. We should consider eight *sūtras* in this connexion :

"ऋऌ कौ जिह्वामूले" (I.65)
"इचशेयास्तालौ" (I.66)
"षटौ मूर्धनि" (I.67)
"रो दन्तमूले" (I.68)
"लृलसिता दन्ते" (I.69)
"उवोपोपध्मा ओष्ठे" (I.70)
"अहविसर्जनीयाः कण्ठे" (I.71) *and then*
"सवर्णवच्च" (I.72).

Sūtras I.65 to 71 all speak about the *sthāna* of vowels and consonants. "सवर्णवच्च" must mean in this context, that *savarṇa* vowels, such as 'अ' 'आ' 'आ३' 'इ' 'ई' 'ई३' 'उ ऊ ऊ३', have the same sthāna of utterance. Uvaṭa's reference to the संवृत character of 'अ' and the विवृत character of other vowels is against the text and has been imported from the *Vārttika* and the *Mahābhāsya*.

Even the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* which is a late text, knows of no division of vowels or consonants into संवृत and विवृत. The *sūtras* "अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः" (II. 26), "इकारोऽध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः" (II.28), "उकारस्तूत्तरस्य" (II.29) say that the diphthongs 'ऐ' and 'औ' are to be pronounced as 'अइ' and 'अउ' respectively. "संवृतकरणतरमेकेषाम् (II. 27)", which is to be translated as, "The 'अ' sound in 'ऐ' and 'औ' is more संवृत than 'अ' standing by itself, according to some authorities," is manifestly an interpolation because (1) it disturbs the order and (2) nowhere else in the *Prātiśākhya* has the word संवृत been used. Unless संवृत is known, संवृततर cannot be understood by the reader. Whitney's comments on this *sūtra* (II.27) deserve reproduction here:

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"We have another indication that, as intimated above (under ii. 12), our Prātiśākhya does not recognise the close or neutral pronunciation of the short *a*; for if it did so, there would obviously be no reason for referring to the opinion held by certain authorities respecting its assumption of that utterance in diphthongal combination."[1]

The possibility of its being an interpolation did not occur to him. He has also missed the comparative '—तर' suffix.

The *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya*, published by him, however, clearly characterises 'अ' as a संवृत vowel, "संवृतोऽकारः (I.36)".

The *Pāṇinīya śikṣā* is recognised as the *Vedāṅga* text on that subject. It follows with slight modifications the *Prātiśākhyas* in the use of the words संवृत and विवृत. Thus we have

"अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठ्या स्यादेकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।
ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१९॥
संवृतं मात्रिकं ज्ञेयं विवृतं तु द्विमात्रिकम् ।
घोषा वा संवृताः सर्वे अघोषा विवृताः स्मृताः ॥२०॥
स्वराणामूष्मणां चैव विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।
तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च ॥२१॥"[2]

It should be noted that verse 21 characterises all vowels as विवृत.

I may here quote another text outside the Pāṇinian school, which has come under the influence of the *Prātiśākhyas*. It is the *Varṇasūtra* of the *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*. The relevant *sūtras* are :

"प्रयत्नो द्विविध आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥१९॥"
"तत्राभ्यन्तरः ॥२०॥"
"संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वमीषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥२१॥"
"विवृतत्वं स्वराणामूष्मणां च ॥२२॥"
... ...
"तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थहकाराः
संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥३२॥"[3]

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1. The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* ed. in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. IX, 1871, p. 65. The twelfth *sūtra* of the same *Praśna*, "अवर्णे नात्युपसंहृतमोष्ठहनू नातिव्यस्तम्" speaks about the pronunciation of अ-वर्ण, i.e. 'अ', 'आ' and 'आ३' without any discrimination.
2. *Śikṣāsaṅgraha*, Banaras, 1893, pp. 379-380. *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*, ed. Manmohan Ghosh, Calcutta, 1938, pp. 31 and 41. Mr. Ghosh does not include verse 21 in his Reconstructed Text, pp. 1-3.
3. *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*, ed. by Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, Part II, Deccan College, Poona, 1961, pp. 394-395.

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It should be noted that all vowels have been called विवृत in sūtra 22.

A careful scrutiny of Pāṇini's grammar has shown that his knowledge of Vedic texts was both extensive and accurate.[1]

I have pointed out above that the great scholar of Sanskrit grammar, Jacob Wackernagel, has called the close pronunciation of 'अ' as the "present day" practice. This suggests that its older pronunciation was different, that of an open vowel. In the Avestan language 'ə' and 'ə̄' were the only close vowels. All other vowels appear to have been open. The interchange of 'a' and 'ā' in the *Avesta*[2] proves that the former was of the same nature as the latter.[3] Primitive Indo-European is supposed to have possessed these simple vowels, a ā, i ī, u ū, e ē, o ō and ə, besides a number of diphthongs.[4] Excepting 'schwa' ('ə') all the other vowels were open. 'Schwa' has not been accepted by all scholars.[5]

A proper scrutiny of Pāṇini's grammar and history of the Sanskrit language through the stages of Indo-European and Indo-Iranian show that 'अ' and 'आ' were *savarṇas* in actual usage and not in *prakriyā* only. It is for this reason that they come under the operation of "अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः" (P. VI.1.101) like 'इ' 'ई' 'उ' 'ऊ' and 'ऋ' 'ॠ'.

Now, arises the question, how then *after* Pāṇini or *in areas other than his*, 'अ' came to acquire the character of a close (संवृत) vowel? For a student of linguistics, the explanation that would readily come to his mind is that this change is due to the influence of a 'substratum language[6]. The 'ae' sound in English 'hat', 'bat' etc.

1. Paul Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad, 1935.
2. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, § 18, Note 1 (p.5), Hano Reichelt, *Awestesches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1909, § 34, 3 (pp. 32-33).
3. The Parsis of India, however, pronounce the 'a' of the Avestan texts as 'अ' in Sanskrit, i.e., संवृत, evidently under Indian influence.
4. Karl Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, Reprint, 1922, p. 52, Joseph Schrijnen, *Einführung in das Studium der indo-germanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 242.
5. Antoine Meillet gives the basic vowels as *a ā*, *e ē* and *o ō* only. See his *Introduction a l'étude comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes*, 5th edition, Paris, 1922. He does not include '*Schwa*' (ə) in his list. T. Burrow has tried to prove in a paper in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1949, pp. 22-61 that 'schwa' is an unnecessary assumption. See his *Sanskrit Language*, Faber and Faber, London, 1955, p. 104.
6. See Otto Jesperson, *Language*, London 1923, pp. 191-211 for a full but rather hyper-critical presentation of the 'substratum theory'.

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has been traced to Keltic influence. There was definitely a long-settled Keltic population in England when Teutonic people conquered the land. Even now Welsh and Gaelic in the mainland and Irish across the sea are Keltic languages.

The cerebral series in Sanskrit has been usually ascribed to Dravidian influence. Jesperson has not subscribed to this view.[1] Dentals can and do change into cerebrals under the influence of 'r' or 'ṛ' as in our Prakrits. Jesperson cites, among other words, Norwegian '*bard*' which is pronounced as 'बर्ड'. I had this verified from the lips of the Norwegian anthropologist Father P. Bodding. I have on the authority of late colleague of mine Dr. Abdus Sattar Siddiqi in the Allahabad University, who had been in Germany for seven years, that *wurscht* is pronounced in the German sentence "Dass ist mir ein Wurscht" as 'भुष्ट्'.

We cannot, however, explain all the cerebral sounds in Sanskrit words through the influence of 'र' or 'ऋ'. The marked preponderance of cerebral sounds in Dravidian languages must have produced some influence on Sanskrit. An old form of Dravidian must have been a well established language in Panjab and Uttar Pradesh when the Aryans appeared on the scene. The Dravidians were pushed to the South, but large contingents must have remained in the North. It is these people who influenced the Aryans in various ways, including language.

In Dravidian languages now current in South India, there is a vowel corresponding to 'अ'. It is pronounced as a close vowel. Bishop R. Caldwell says in his great work on the Dravidian languages "Vowels—(1) ä and ā. The sound of these vowels in the Dravidian languages corresponds to their sounds in Sanskrit, as pronounced everywhere in India except in Bengal, where ä is pronounced as ŏ."[2] Shri Siddhalingayya of the Banaras Hindu University from whom I had a few lessons in Tamil in 1962, definitely pronounced the first vowel as a close vowel—'ʌ' in Phonetic script. A.H. Arden writes about the corresponding vowel in Telugu that it has the sound of English ä in the word *era, local, India* and u in *but* and cut."[3] In view of these facts, it appears very likely that in Pāṇini's bhāṣā 'अ' differed from 'आ' only in *mātrā* and was fully its *savarṇa* and that 'अ' became a संवृत vowel *later* or in the eastern

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197
2. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, Third Edition, University of Madras, 1961, pp. 132-133.
3. *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, Madras, 1955, p. 18.

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and southern parts of the country under the influence of Primitive Dravidian unaffected by Sanskrit scholasticism.

The earliest extant Tamil grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam* in *sūtra* form on the model of Sanskrit grammatical works[1] is such a scholastic text. Its first part, *Eluttatikāram* is about the Phonology of Tamil.[2] The influence of the *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Pāṇinīya śikṣā* on its treatment of the production of Tamil sounds is very clear.[3] It is not, therefore, surprising that Tamil 'a' and 'ā' are represented in *sūtra* 85 of the *Eluttatikāram* as produced by opening of the mouth".[4] All vowels are produced by opening of the mouth. This is true of both संवृत and विवृत vowels. This work unfortunately does not take us near Primitive Dravidian.

पण्डितश्चारुदेवाख्यः शास्त्री भाषाविदुत्तमः ।
प्रीयतामनया कृत्या काश्यपान्वयजन्मनः ॥

1. *Tolkāppiyam*, Vol. I, edited with a short commentary in English by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Madras Oriental Series No. 3, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1930.
2. It has two other parts, *Shollatikāram* (Tamil Vocabulary) and *Poruḷ-Atikāram* (Tamil Poetics).
3. See *Sūtras* 83-102. pp 12-15. *Sūtra* 102 appears to refer to the *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Śikṣā*, all *Vedāṅga* texts and not to the Vedas, as supposed by the Editor (Preface, p. vi).
4. Page 13.

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VĀKYA ACCORDING TO THE *MUNITRAYA* OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

G. V. DEVASTHALI

Vākya in ancient India has been defined variously in different branches of knowledge from diverse points of view. It is, therefore, quite natural that emphasis should have been laid in them on different aspects according to the particular need felt in that particular branch. Thus, for example, the *mīmāṁsaka* emphasized the points of syntactical unity and expectancy (*arthaikatva* and *ākāṅkṣā*)[1] while the grammarian apparently laid stress on the formal aspect.[2] A lexicographer like Amara, in his turn, satisfied himself by giving a general description,[3] while the naiyāyika (and the

1. Jaimini defines *vākya* in the *sūtra* :

arthaikatvād ekaṁ vākyaṁ sākāṅkṣaṁ ced vibhāge syāt (*MS* 2.1.46). The third element, namely *saṁnidhi* (vicinity) has not been included in this definition because Jaimini was dealing with the *Brāhmaṇa vākyas*, which were recited in close succession and the element of *saṁnidhi* was already evident in them. Such, however, was not the case with the other two elements; and hence they had to be clearly enunciated. This is clear from the opening remark of Śabarasvāmin on this *sūtra* : *atha praśliṣṭapaṭhiteṣu yajuḥṣu katham avagamyeta iyad ekaṁ yajur iti.*

2. This will be clear in the course of discussion below.

3. *Amarakośa* has the following line about *vākya* :

suptiṅantacayo vākyaṁ kriyā vā kārakānvitā. Nāgeśa (comm. on *ekatiṅ*) takes the word *vā* here in the sense of *ced* and interprets the word *suptiṅantacayaḥ* as meaning *subantacaya, tiṅantacaya* and *suptiṅantacaya* Thus according to him the line from the *Amarakośa* means : *kārakānvitakriyāvācakaṁ subantacayatiṅantacayasuptiṅantacayānyatamaṁ vākyam ity uktam.* He further remarks that *kāraka* (mentioned in the line here) may be expressed by a *tiṅanta* (finite verb) or by any word other than a *tiṅanta.* (*kārakaṁ ca tiṅantavācyaṁ tadatiriktapadavācyaṁ vetyanyat*). This explanation, though accepted by some commentators, appears to me rather forced. *Amarakośa* is not a grammatical treatise and hence need not be understood as giving a scientific grammatical definition of *vākya,* Amara is rather giving the general idea of a *vākya;* and this he has done in two ways. First, he in general describes *vākya* as a group (*caya*) of inflected substantives *(subanta)* or of verbs (*tiṅanta*). Then he describes *vākya* from another point of view as an act (*kriyā*) syntactically connected with a *kāraka.* The former touches the formal aspect of *vākya* while the latter has reference to the semantic aspect of it. This very well explains the presence of *vā* in this definition in its usual sense. Furthermore, by *kāraka* we normally mean or understand subject, object, agent etc.

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vaiśeṣika) attached importance to the *pramāṇatva* aspect thereof[1]. This difference in the stress evident in these definitions, however, need not be understood as implying that the other aspects of *vākya* were either unknown to these authorities or that they were not admitted by them. It is well known that authors in ancient India were well up and deeply read not only in the particular branch of knowledge they were writing in, but almost every allied branch and several other branches also. It will, therefore, be not quite incorrect to hold that those who have given us a definition of *vākya* were quite aware of the various aspects of, and the various points of view possible about, a *vākya*; and further that they defined it only according to the need of the branch of knowledge in which they were working for the time being. With these preliminary remarks we shall now turn to what the three *munis* of Sanskrit grammar have to say about *vākya* and see how far they agree with or differ from one another.

The earliest of the *munitraya*, Pāṇini, has nothing to say explicitly about the nature of a *vākya*, though he has used the word *vākya* (8. 2. 82), and also *vākyādi* (8. 1. 8), and *vākyādhyāhāra* (6.1. 135). This would mean that he has for his purpose accepted the ordinary view of a *vākya* that might have been current in his day; and it may be interesting to try to find out the idea which P. could possibly have held about *vākya* and further see if it was in any way different from the views held by the other two *munis*.

With this aim we now turn to *kātyāyana* and try to study the definitions of *vākya* given by him. These are two : (1) *ākhyātaṁ sāvyayakārakaviśeṣaṇaṁ vākyam/ sakriyāviśeṣaṇaṁ ca/*; and (2) *ekatiṅ* (*vākyam*).

According to the former, a *vākya* is an *ākhyāta* (a verb) accom-

(which are the senses conveyed by what are known as *nāmikyaḥ vibhaktayaḥ*). It is, therefore, rather unnatural and strained to say that a *kāraka* may be *tiṅvācya* or *tadatiriktapadavācya*. Where the *kāraka* would appear to be *tiṅvācya* (as in the hypothetical case *pacati bhavati*), the *tiṅ* (*pacati*) must be understood as having ceased to be a *tiṅ* and assumed the nature of a *suṗ* (i.e. *subanta*, with *sublopa*).

1. Hence we see the *naiyāyikas* as also the *vaiśeṣikas* emphasizing the three elements, namely *ākāṅkṣā*, *yogyatā* and *saṁnidhi* as essential in a *vākya*. Read: *vākyaṁ tv ākāṅkṣāyogyatāsaṁnidhimatāṁ padānāṁ samūhaḥ* (*Tarkabhāṣā* of *Keśavamiśra*) *Annaṁbhaṭṭa* also has virtually the same to say about *vākya* in his *Tarkasaṁgraha*. The rhetoricians also appear to have held a similar view, as would appear from the following definition of *vākya* given by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* : *vākyaṁ syād yogyatākāṅkṣāsattiyuktaḥ padoccayaḥ*.

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panied by an indeclinable, an inflected word denoting agent etc., and an adjunct of such inflected word. In addition to these it may also have a modifying word for the action. Now if we examine this definition more closely, we may see that the factors *avyaya*, *kāraka*, *kāraka-viśeṣaṇa*, and *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*, are all of them, in one way or another, connected with the *ākhyāta* as its modifying adjunct. They all can, therefore, more concisely be described as *viśeṣaṇa* of the *ākhyāta*, so much so that a *vākya* can be more concisely and equally correctly defined as *ākhyātaṁ saviśeṣaṇam*. And in fact one unknown *vārttikakāra* has actually defined *vākya* in the words *saviśeṣaṇam ityeva*, as we learn from *Patañjali*.[1]

In both these definitions, it may be observed, *ākhyāta* forms the main part of *vākya*; while *avyaya* etc., or *viśeṣaṇa* in the widest sense of the term, are only subordinate to it This indirectly indicates that a sentence must have an *ākhyāta* (or a word expressing action)[2], while the other parts it may or may not have. Thus we see that these definitions contain some points which are not absolutely necessary or essential. This would seem to make them not strictly scientific. For, as is well known, a definition in the strict sense of the term should contain only the essential or distinguishing factors—the differentia—of the thing to be defined. No unessential matter should find place in a definition if it is to be scientific.[3]

This is perhaps what led Kātyāyana to give another definition more compact and accurate than the one given above. This other definition is *ekatiṅ vākyam*. Here it is quite clear that the expression *ekatiṅ* is meant to define *vākya*, which, therefore, is the main point (*pradhāna*) of it. Now since this idea, namely *vākya*, is *anyapadārtha* (different from the senses conveyed by the words *eka* and *tiṅ* taken singly), it follows that *ekatiṅ* is an *anyapadārthapradhāna* compound (i.e. a *bahuvrīhi*).[4] There can, therefore, be no ambiguity as regards the verbal explanation or exposition of the word *ekatiṅ*. According to this definition, then, *vākya* is (that) which has one finite verb (*tiṅ*). This definition can be said to lay its finger on the essential of

1. Read : *apara āha| ākhyātaṁ saviśeṣaṇam ity eva| sarvāṇi hy etāni viśeṣaṇāni.*
2. In this connection the following remark of Kaiyaṭa is worth noting : *ākhyātena ca kriyāprādhānyaṁ lakṣyate, tenātiṅanteṣvapi 'devadatten śayitavyaṁ' ityādiṣu vākyatvaṁ sidhyati.*
3. Hence after defining and illustrating the three possible defects (*doṣas*) of a definition (*lakṣaṇa*), Annambhaṭṭa remarks *etaddāṣaṇatrayarahito dharmo lakṣaṇam| sa evāsādhāraṇadharma ity ucyate|TSD.*
4. Pāṇini has defined *Bahuvrīhi* as *anekam anyapadārthe* (2.1.24) and Bhaṭṭoji also writes : *prāyeṇānyapadārthapradhāno bahuvrīhiḥ.*

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a *vākya*, leaving aside all other matter or parts which are not essential and thus may or may not be present in a *vākya*. The essential of *vākya* is *tiṅ*[1] and further its *ekatva*. Thus, according to this definition, *vākya* is what has one verb (with or without the accompanying factors such as *avyaya*, *kāraka*, etc. mentioned in the earlier definitions). It may thus be observed that of the two definitions of *vākya* given by Kā. one is rather loose and more of a descriptive nature, while the other is a definition in the strict scientific sense of the term.[2]

One more point to be observed in connection with this latter definition is the interpretation of the word *eka* therein. Ordinarily eka means one (the number one) and this sense is quite pertinent to the definition of *vākya*; for *vākya* has and can have only one verb as even Pat. has declared it.[3] But in the Veda we do come across a passage *píbāpibéd indra śūra sómam* (*ṚV*.10. 22. 15; 2. 11. 11) where though formally the word *píbāpiba* appears to constitute two verbs, it as a matter of fact forms one verb only. This is clear not only from the *padapāṭha*, but also from accentuation.[4] In view of such a possibility the word *eka* in this definition has been explained to mean *samāna*,[5] so that such passages also can rightly be covered by the definition *ekatiṅ* and hence be designated *vākya*.

This explanation of the word *eka* by *samāna*, however, appears to be contradicted by a passage like *stuhi-stuhíd* etc. (*ṚV*. 8. 1. 30) where though the verb *stuhi* is repeated twice, i.e. though here we have *eka* (i.e. *samāna*) *tiṅ*, the passage is not considered to be one *vākya*. The two words *stuhí stuhí* are treated in the *padapāṭha* as

1. In the first definition also, the word *ākhyāta* is given a prominent position to indicate that according to the grammarians a *vākya* is *kriyāpradhāna* (and not *kartṛpradhāna* as the *naiyāyika* would have it). Cf. *śābdabodho dhātvarthamukhyaviśeṣyaka eva bhavatīti vaiyākaraṇā āhuḥ | naiyāyikās tu prathamāntārthaviśeṣyaka eva jyāyān ity āhuḥ|* (Jhalkikar, *Nyāyakośa*, under *śābdabodha*).
2. Here one may be reminded of the two definitions of *kāvya* : one given by Mammaṭa and the other by Viśvanātha. Mammaṭa's definition, *tad adoṣau* etc is more descriptive than scientific. That of Viśvanātha, namely *vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyam*, is more scientific. For criticism of both see P. V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Notes.
3. Patañjali asserts that there can be no sentence without an action (*nahi kriyāvinirmuktaṁ vākyam asti*). But he equally emphatically declares also that there cannot exist two finite verbs in one and the same *vākya* (*na ca samānavākye dve tiṅante staḥ*). *Mbh*. on 8.1.28.1.
4. The *padapāṭha* treats this as one (compound) word and renders it as *píbaS piba*. The fact that it has only one acute shows that it must be one *pada* according to *anudāttam padam ekavarjam* (*PA* 6.1.158).
5. Read : *ekaśabdaḥ samānavacano na tu saṁkhyāvācī* (Kaiyaṭa on *PA* 2.1.1.10).

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two separate *padas* and this is rightly done as is shown by the fact that both of them are accented. This in other words means that the passage containing these two words is not one *vākya* (i.e. *ekatiṅ* in the real sense of the term). This shows that *eka* in *ekatiṅ* must be understood to mean the number one and not *samāna*. The *tiṅ* *pibāpiba* is not enclitic because it stands at the beginning of a *pāda*. Of the two *stuhis*, the first *stuhi* is also not enclitic for the same reason. The second *stuhi*, however, is subject to the rule *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* (8.1.28) negatively, because it is not preceded by an *atiṅ*. It is possible to adduce a number of illustrations[1] to show that a finite verb (*tiṅ*) when it is preceded by a *tiṅanta*, is not enclitic, but is invariably accented.

It would thus appear that according to Kāt. a sentence can have one *tiṅ* and one only. It is worth noting that this view of Kāt. has been fully corroborated and confirmed by Pat. who, commenting on the *vārttika*, *atiṅvacanam anarthakam*, *samānavākyādhikāraṇāt*, on *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* (8.1.28), has in no ambiguous terms declared that there cannot exist two *tiṅs* in one and the same *vākya*.[2] That one *vākya* cannot have a second *tiṅ* is also indirectly indicated by Pat. when he remarks elsewhere that a *tiṅ* (i.e. a word expressive of *kriyā* as opposed to a *kṛt*) cannot be syntactically connected with another *tiṅ* (or *kriyā*).[3] The same again is shown by the fact that while commenting on 2. 1. 1. 11 he has given *odanam paca tava bhaviṣyati* as an instance of *asamāna vākya* (i.e. not one and the same *vākya*, but *nānā vākyas*). It is thus clear that two out of the three *munis* of Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* agree in holding that *vākya* is what has one *tiṅ* and one only; and there is no cogent ground to suppose that they have in any way differed from the third. Had they really done so, they would surely have left some indication to that effect. Both Kāt. and Pat. have often differed from P. and have made no secret of it. Pat. has also differed from Kāt. and quite openly again. But so far as the concept of *vākya* is concerned there is not the slightest indication[4] to show that Kāt. and Pat. differed from P. And yet it is

1. A few of these are given below.
2. See No. 3. on p. 209.
3. Read : *asti khalu viśeṣaḥ kṛdabhihitasya bhāvasya tiṅabhihitasya ca|kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavad bhavati|...kriyāvan na bhavati|kriyā kriyayā|samavāyaṁ na gacchati...pacati paṭhati iti|tadvac cāsya kṛdabhihitasya na bhavati|*This quotation from Patañjali shows that according to him a *tiṅabhihita bhāva* (action expressed by a finite verb) is like an action (*kriyā*) and hence it cannot have any (syntactical) connection with an action (*kriyā*) directly.
4. It may be argued that the remark of Pat., namely *idam adyāpūrvaṁ kriyate*

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held by *some* 'that there is a difference between the views of P. and Kāt. regarding the definition of a sentence; the former could think of more than one *tiṅ* in a sentence, whereas Kāt. took *ekatiṅ* as a sentence'. This assertion, it is further added, has been made on the basis of a close study of P's rule, *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* (8.1.28).[1] It is, therefore, necessary that we make a close study of this rule of P. and see what P. has actually to lay down therein.

It is well known that P's rules have to be interpreted in the light of the *adhikāra* or *adhikāras* governing them and at the same time according to the *paribhāṣās* laid down for that purpose. The *adhikāras* governing the rule under discussion are *padasya*, *padāt*, and *anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau* (8.1.16-18). This last *sūtra* lays down that the words spoken of in the subsequent *sūtras* shall be enclitic provided that they do not stand at the beginning of a *pāda*. This in other words means that they will be enclitic only if in a *pāda* they are preceded by some word or words.

Furthermore, it has to be noted that the rule under consideration is a *padavidhi* and hence has to be interpreted according to the *paribhāṣā*, *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2.1.1). Accordingly the rule means to lay down that a *tiṅ* will be all *anudātta* (enclitic) provided it is preceded by a *samartha atiṅ* (i.e. any word other than a *tiṅ* or a verb, syntactically connected with it). Now ordinarily there could be in all four possibilities, theoretically speaking : In a *pāda* the *tiṅ* may be preceded by (1) a *samartha atiṅ*, or (2) an *asamartha atiṅ*, or (3) a *samartha tiṅ* (4) an *asamartha tiṅ*. The rule of *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* in its positive aspects concerns only the first of the above-mentioned possibilities and lays down that the *tiṅ* satisfying that condition will be *enclitic*. In its negative aspect the rule can be said to refer to the second and the fourth possibilities, where the conditions are not satisfied : and hence the *tiṅ* in question will be not *enclitic*. As for the remaining theoretical possibility, it has to be observed that it is not a factual possibility, at all. It is only a creation of imagination and has no foundation in facts. For as we have seen above, for a *tiṅ* to be *samartha* with reference to another *tiṅ* it must be syntactically connected with it. But as Pat. has expressly point-

vākyasaṁjñā samānavākyādhikāraś ca, shows that Kāt. has here differed from Pāṇini. But it must be noted that in the two *vārttikas* (referred to by Pat. in this remark), Kāt. is merely expounding P's view and making it more explicit. This is shown by the further remark of Pat. *sarvametad vikalpate*.

1. See *Matilal, Foundations of Language* 2 (1966), p. 377f. foot-note 1. (in his article entitled, '*Indian theorists on the Nature of the Sentence*' (pp. 377-393).

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ed out, a *kriyā* can never have such a relation with another *kriyā*. Hence by the rule under question P. cannot be said to admit the possibility of two *tiṅs* in a *vākya*. P. has used the word *pāda* and not *vākya* in the context here and hence ordinarily the rule must refer to a *pāda* and not a *vākya*. But the idea of *Vākya* does come into this rule by the *samarthaparibhāṣā* though only indirectly. The idea of *vākya* will have to be accepted where we find the *sāmarthya*; but in the absence of *sāmarthya* there can be no *vākya* also. This shows that since a *tiṅ* can have no *sāmarthya* for another *tiṅ* there can be no *ekavākyatā* between one *tiṅ* and another. This in other words means that a *vākya* cannot have two *tiṅs*.

Rules in grammar, it may be readily admitted, have to be understood in the light of actual usage; for surely they are based on it. Now so far as accentuation is concerned, fortunately or unfortunately we have no means to ascertain the state of accentuation in common parlance in the days of P. For accentuation seems to have disappeared from common parlance at a very early date; and there is no trace of it in any non-Vedic literary piece of any date whatever. As a matter of fact it is found to be disappearing even from parts of Vedic literature, and appears to have been retained intact only in works like the *ṚV. Saṁhitā*. Such being the state of things we have no other means that would throw any light on the accentuation rules of P. We have, therefore, to try to understand and test these rules in the light of what illustrations we can find for them in the actually accented portions of Vedic literature. As regards the rule under discussion we have further to note that it (as also several other rules) has a reference to *pāda*, which shows that it has reference to some metrical work. We shall, therefore, be fully justified if we try to seek illustrations and counter-illustrations for this rule in *ṚV*.

Going through *ṚV*. we find that the rule *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* is quite copiously illustrated and in a variety of ways also. Thus *agníṁ ī́ḷe puróhitam* (*ṚV*. 1.1.1); *téṣām pāhi śrudhī́ hávam* (ṚV. 1.2. 1c) *evā́ pāhi pratnáthā mandátu tvā* (*ṚV*. 9. 17. 3a); *ágna ā́ yāhi vītaye* (*ṚV*. 6. 16. 10a) illustrate how a *tiṅ* is enclite (*sarvānudātta*), when it does not stand at the beginning of a *pāda* and is preceded by an *atiṅ* (which is a noun, a pronoun, an indeclinable, and a prefix respectively) which is *samartha* or syntactically connected with that *tiṅ*. On the other hand, this *sūtra* can be said to ward off *nighāta* (*sarvānudāttatva*) in all the cases where a *tiṅ* is not preceded by a *samartha atiṅ*. Thus this *sūtra* would appear to indicate *paryudāsa* (negation or

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warding off) of three possible cases, namely (1) a *tiṅ* preceded by an *asamartha atiṅ*, (2) a *tiṅ* preceded by an *asamartha tiṅ*, and (3) a *tiṅ* preceded by a *samartha tiṅ*. Now turning to *ṚV.* we find that the first is illustrated in passages like, *evā pāhi, pratnáthā mándatu tvā* (6. 17. 3a), or *śrudhi bráhma vāvṛdhásvotá gīrbhíḥ* (6.17.36) where the *tiṅs mándatu* and *vāvṛdhásva* are preceded by the *atiṅs pratnáthā* and *bráhma* respectively which are *asamartha* (i. e. not syntactically connected with them). We can find illustrations for the second also in passages like : *á devân vákṣi yákṣi ca* (6.16.2c), or *árca gāya ca vedháse* (6.16.22c) where the *tiṅs, yákṣi* and *gáya* are preceded by the *tiṅs vakṣi* and *árca* which are evidently *asamartha*. On the basis of these illustrative passages then we can be sure that in the *sūtra* under discussion P. intends to ward off cases in which a *tiṅ* (not standing at the beginning of a *pāda*) is preceded by an *asamartha atiṅ* or by an *asamartha tiṅ*.[1]

But when we come to the third item noted above (namely a *tiṅ* preceded by a *samartha tiṅ*), we find that there is no passage in the *Veda* (i.e. in available accented literature) to illustrate it. And this is but natural. For as we have already seen above a *tiṅ* preceded by a *samartha tiṅ* is an impossibility. Such a phenomenon is conspicuous by its absence in a language. For, as Pat. has remarked, it is impossible for a *kriyā* to be syntactically connected with another *kriyā*. And if thus such a phenomenon simply cannot exist in a language, that is, if it is *abhāvarūpa* or if it has no *prāpti*, where is the point in arguing that P. has warded it off in the present *sūtra* ? Who can ward off an *abhāva* ? Who would try to ward off or negative a *vandhyā-putra* or *khapuṣpa* ? It is, therefore, not correct to hold that P. in this *sūtra* is warding off cases where a *tiṅ* can be preceded by a *samartha tiṅ* which, therefore, he must have held as possible. Hence it may now be conceded that P. did not

1. It is here argued that according to the *samarthaparibhāṣā* the question of excluding *asamartha padas* (whether *tiṅ* or *atiṅ*) does not arise at all. This means that the only possible point to be excluded by the word *atiṅ* in this *sūtra* is *tiṅ* (i.e *samarthatiṅ*). And since exclusion to be proper requires the *prāpti* or the possibility of what is to be excluded (cf. *prāptipūrvo hi pratiṣedho bhavati*), it follows that P. holds the possibility of a *tiṅ* being syntactically connected with another *tiṅ* This, in other words, means that P. admits two *tiṅs* in a *vākya*. But here one may put the following question. Supposing that P. (like Kāt.) held *vākya* to be *ekatiṅ* only, how could he have framed this rule (namely *tiṅṅatiṅa*) ? There appears to be no other way of expressing the idea so concisely. For *atiṅ* here stands for all other kinds of words except the *tiṅ*.

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think of more than one *tiṅ* in a sentence; and hence further that all the three *munis* of SK. *vyākaraṇa* were at one in holding the view that one *vākya* could have one *tiṅ* and one only. Cases like *pibāpiba* and *stuhi stuhi*, already referred to above, can now be very well explained on the basis of the rule *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* without any difficulty.

Having thus seen that P. Kāt. and Pat. virtually agree on *ekatiṅ* as the definition of *vākya*, let us consider some defects that may possibly be said to mar its value. This definition is sometimes said to be ambiguous,[1] because the expression *ekatiṅ* can be understood either as a *karmadhāraya* or as a *bahuvrīhi*, and there is nothing to decide the matter one way or the other. This argument, however, is not correct. For, as we have already seen above *ekatiṅ* is *anyapadārthapradhāna* and hence necessarily a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

It is further said that early Indian grammarians attempted to define the notion of a sentence empirically, using what may be called the formal criterion and ostensibly without referring to the content of the sentence.[2]

Now, if by this it is meant to suggest that they were not aware of the meaning content of a sentence it is surely unjust. For P. himself has laid down the *samarthaparibhāṣā* which does attach importance to the meaning content when a *padavidhi* is concerned. Even a *pada* which is defined by P. as *suptiṅantam padam* is not without reference to it. For, as we know, a *pada* consists of two parts, namely *prātipadika* and *vibhakti* (*sup* or *tiṅ*); and both these are declared to be *arthavat* in P's system. If thus *padas* are *arthavat* each one of them,[3] then does it not follow that *vākya* which consists of syntactically connected (*samartha*) *padas* is also *arthavat*? It is true that the definitions of *vākya* as given by ancient Indian grammarians emphasize the formal aspect, leaving the meaning aspect only to be indirectly indicated. But that is because they are concerned mainly with *śabdasiddhi*. Grammar is *śabdānuśāsana*, which aims at establishing

1. *Matilal, op. cit*, p. 378.
2. *Matilal, op. cit*, p. 378.
3. P. defines *prātipadika* as *arthavadadhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam* (1.2.45), which clearly shows that *prātipadika*, *dhātu*, and *pratyaya* are all of them *arthavat*. The *arthavattva* of *pratyayas* in P's system is also proved by the fact that P. himself has stated the *arthas* to convey which the *pratyayas* are appended to nominal or verbal bases. The same is again confirmed by the *paribhāṣā*, *anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti*, which has been actually enunciated by Patañjali. (on 3 3.19 1;—*anādeśe svārthavijñānāt*).

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the correct form of words to the avoidance of their incorrect forms (*apaśabda*). This subordination of the meaning content to the formal aspect, therefore, cannot and should not be misconstrued.

It is further argued that this definition might lead to difficulties, because one might ask whether such expressions as *paśya mṛgo dhāvati* etc. which contain more than one finite verb should be regarded as one sentence, or several sentences put together, or no sentence at all.[1] But this should be no difficulty at all. For the definition would show that the statement in question contains two *tiṅs* and hence forms two *vākyas*. Thinkers in India have, however, gone further and told us that several such unitary *vākyas* get combined together on the basis of *ākāṅkṣā* (or *vyapekṣā*) and form what is called *mahāvākya*. A couplet attributed to Hari (*Bhartṛ-hari*) may be aptly quoted here : *svārthabodhe samāptānām aṅgāṅgitvavyapekṣayā/ vākyānām ekavākyatvam puṇaḥ saṁhatya jāyate//*

Ancient grammarians are quite clear on this point when they give *ayaṁ daṇḍo harānena/* and *odanam paca tava bhaviṣyati* as illustrations of *asamāna* (or *nānā*) *vākyas* or sentences. But it must be observed that these are *avāntara vākyas* which combining together form one *mahāvākya*. Pāṇini, who appears to have tacitly assumed the ordinarily known view of *vākya*, is aware of both these and has composed his rules on the assumption of the one or the other as he found it necessary to do. Ordinarily he seems to have the unitary sentence before him; but when he speaks of more *tiṅs* than one, as in *cavāyoge prathamā*, *ekānyābhyāṁ samarthābhyām* etc. (8.1.59, 65, etc.) evidently he is referring to the *mahāvākya*.[2]

After all this discussion, therefore, we may be justified in concluding that the three *munis* of *vyākaraṇa* were at one in holding that a *vākya* primarily is *ekatiṅ*, though they are not unaware of the idea of *ekavākyatā* of more than one *ekatiṅ* (i.e. primary or unitary *vākyas*).[3] It is not at all necessary to suppose that there were any differences among them in this respect.[4]

1. *Matilal*, *op. cit*, p. 378.
2. And this is exactly what Kāt. has tried to clarify in his *vārttikas* and this is what Pat. also has referred to in the words *sarvam etad vikalpate*.
3. Cf. the well known couplet : स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानां...वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहत्य जायते, ascribed to हरि (भर्तृहरि ?) in his साहित्यदर्पण by विश्वनाथ.
4. I have to thank my friend and colleague Dr. S. D. Joshi for the enlightening discussions which I had with him on this topic.

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INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE RAJASTHANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

R. C. Dwivedi

Sanskrit produced first Middle Indo-Aryan languages and finally Modern Indo-Aryan languages of which it continues to be the basic and rich linguistic and literary source. Rajasthani is no exception to the rule. It was around 11th century A.D. and onwards that from the Apabhraṁśa[1] developed a number of dialects in the region comprising whole of modern Rajasthan, parts of Malwa, Saurastra, Sindh and Punjab. Important amongst these dialects are : (1) Mārwāṛī[2] (2) Ḍhuṁḍhāḍī (ढूंढाड़ी)[3] (3) Malvi[4] (4) Mevati[5] (5) Vagari[6].

1. *Prākṛtacandrikā* lists twentyseven varieties of Apabhraṁśa.

ब्राचड़ो लाटवैदर्भावुपनागरनागरौ ।
बार्बरावन्त्यपांचालटाक्कमालवकैकयाः ॥
गौड़ोढहैवपाश्चात्यपाण्ड्यकौन्तलसैंहलाः ।
कालिंग्यप्राच्यकर्णाटकांच्यद्राविणगौर्जराः ॥
आभीरो मध्यदेशीयः सूक्ष्मभेदव्यवस्थिताः ।
सप्तविंशत्यपभ्रंशाः वैतालादिप्रभेदतः ॥

George Abraham Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* identifies Nāgara Apabhraṁśa as the source of language of Rajasthan. S. K. Chatterjee has preferred to call it Saurāṣṭra Apabhraṁśa (Vide *Rājasthānī Bhāṣā*, Udaipur, 1949 p. 65) while K. M. Munshi calls it Gurjari Apabhraṁśa.

2. Mewarī spoken in Udaipur division is considered a sub-dialect of Mārwāṛī. It is spoken in Jodhpur, Bikaner, Sirohi, south-west parts of Ajmer-Merwara, in some parts of Kishangarh and Palanpur, Shekhavati, Sindh and in southern parts of Panjab.

3. Spoken in area comprising old state of Jaipur : (excluding Shekhavati), Lava, parts of Kishangarh, Tonk, and in north-eastern parts of Ajmer-Merwara. Its popular form is influenced equally by Gujarati and Marwari and its literary content abounding in works of saints like Dādu is influenced by Brij Bhāṣā.

4. Current mainly in Malwa but spoken in parts of Mewar also. Besides Marwari and Dhundhādī, Marathi has also influenced it.

5. Spoken mainly in the north-western parts of Alwar and Bharatpur and in Gurgaon (in Haryana). This is also greatly influenced by Brij Bhāṣā. Much of its literature is the creation of Saint Charan Das and his disciples.

6. The language of the old States of Dungarpur and Banswara. Influence of Gujarati is marked over them called Vagada.

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Rajasthani is the collective name for the above dialects. While the language of Rajasthan today imbibes the characteristics of all the above dialects and is a natural heir to their linguistic and literary treasury, it is the Marwari, like Khari Boli, which has the chief claim to forming the standard Rajasthani. Marwari as the literary language is known as Dingal since the 19th century A.D.[1]

An observation by John Beames regarding the relation of Sanskrit with Modern Arvan languages of India holds good in the case of Rajasthani also. "Let it then be granted as a fact sufficiently proved...that the spoken Sanskrit is the fountain from which the languages of Aryan India originally sprang; the principal portion of their vocabulary and the whole of their inflectional system being derived from this source. Whatever may be the opinions held as to the subsequent influences which they underwent, no doubt can fairly be cast on this fundamental proposition."[2]

Vocabulary of early Rajasthani[3] contains a comparatively small percentage of Tatsama words (say 20%) whereas the percentage of Tadbhava words derived from Sanskrit (either through the process of Prakrit or directly) and of Deśaja words is extremely large. The words of Persian and of non-Āryan source are also

1. The earliest and clear reference of this name is found in a verse of *Kukavi-Battisi* by Bankidas, vide *Bankidas granthavali*, Pt. II. p. 81. Budhaji, a near relation of Bankidas uses the term Digal and Dingal in his *Dhaveta* :

   (1) डीगल का तो क्या संस्कृत भी जाँणे । Verse No. 155.
   (2) डीगल में खूब गजब जस का गीत । Ibid, 156.
   (3) डींगल पींगल संस्कृत फारसी में निसंक । Ibid, 157.

   From these it is clear that Dingala was recognised as a language different from the Piṅgala (or Brij Bhāṣā—i.e Hindi) and from Sanskrit and that this language was characterised by the songs of glory of the brave Rajputs. Rajasthani has been referred to as Marubhāṣā in *Kuvalayamālā* vide अपभ्रंशकाव्यत्रयी, p. 91.

2. *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Āryan Languages of India*, John Beames, Chapter I. P. 2 Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970.

3. Speaking about the percentage of Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Apabhramśa words on the one hand and the words of Arabic and Persian origin on the other in the Dingal literature as a whole Motilal Menaria has observed :

   'अनुमानतः डिंगल में प्रतिशत ८० शब्द संस्कृत, प्राकृत और अपभ्रंश के, ५ प्रतिशत शब्द अरबी फारसी आदि मुसलमानी भाषाओं के और शेष शब्द प्रान्तीय हैं ।' डिंगल में वीर रस, मोतीलाल मेनारिया, हिन्दी सा० सम्मेलन प्रयाग ।

   Hindi and other modern Indian languages have definitely more of Arabic and Persian words and less of Tatsama words than Rajasthani.

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in small number. In view of a large percentage of Tadbhava and Deśaja words, a thorough study of the Rajasthani language in all its developments will prove amply rewarding. An examination of the three thousand words occurring in the *Kanavajja Samaya* of the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* reveals[1] that the percentage of Tatsama words is 16 and that the Persian words constitute a very small fragment as they are only fifty. Among the Tatsama words occurring in the above text the following may be noted :

अंकन, अंगना, अंगुलि, अंचल, अम्ब, अंबर, अम्भोरुह, अंखंड, अथ, अच्छ, अनुहार, अपर, अर्क, अलक, अस्तमित, आगत, आबद्ध, आसने, इतो, इह, उच्च, उच्चार, उभय, एव, कथित, किरण, कुंभ, कुसुमित, कोट (Fort), गंडस्थल, घनसार, तंबूलस्यः, ततो, तटाक, तामस, नग्न, नभ, पावन, पुनर्, पूजा, विम्बेन, मरंति, मंजीर, मध्याह्न, मनोमय, यज्ञार्थे, रद, लोल, विवर्जित, शृंग, संवेग, समादाय, सह, सहस्र and सीधु ।

An analysis of the nature of Tadbhava words in the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* will require a comprehensive discussion on the Rajasthani language proper, its phonology, formation of nouns and verbs in it, etc., which is not very pertinent for our purpose here. The poet of the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* suffers from a pathetic desire to introduce Sanskrit in his work. He fails miserably in writing any verse correctly in Sanskrit. Nevertheless, a number of stanzas are found here which are full of some kind of corrupt Sanskrit. Sanskrit was employed perhaps to demonstrate knowledge of the language of the learned and thus to earn recognition of the Pandits. Some examples of this may be found interesting and will eventually illustrate how early literature in Indo-Āryan languages imitated, though very poorly, the form of Sanskrit. What they wrote was a semblance or imitation of Sanskrit and never Sanskrit. In the *Kanavajja Samaya* there are eight chandas in this corrupt Sanskrit. They are :

Kāvya : Verse Nos. 20, 95, 141.
Śataka : 140.
Āryā : 147.
Śloka : 179,188. 194.

The Kāvya (Verse No. 20) is as follows :

बंभे कंडकमंडले कलिमले कान्तिहरः कः कविः ।
तं तुष्टां त्रैलोक्यतुंगगहनी तुं गीयसे सांमनी

1. Vide *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso Kī Bhāṣā*, p. 148 by Manvar Singh. Sarasvati Press, Banaras, 1956. Vipin Bihari Trivedi has listed 150 words in his edition of the text *Chandavardai Aura Unakā* Kāvya, pp. 313-346. Considering the size of the text this number is very small.

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अर्धं विष्णु अगामिनि अविज्रते अस्टट्ट ज्वालाहवी
जंजाले जग मार पार करनी दरसाइ सा जाह्नवी ॥

The Āryā is as given below :

तुलसाइ विप्र हस्तेषु विभूतिः वर योगिनां ।
चंडिय पुत्र तवोरह त्रीणि देयानि सादरम् ॥

Verse No. 147.

The Śloka is :

धर्मार्थेषु च यज्ञेषु कामकालेषु शोभितं ।
सर्वत्र वल्लभा वाला रणकालेसु मोहिनी ॥

Verse No. 188.

The other Śloka is :

गुरुजनो नाम नास्ति तातमातविवर्जितः ।
तस्य काम विनश्यंति जाम चन्द्रदिवाकरः ॥

Verse No. 194.

In Troṭaka also 'm' is used to give the semblance of Sanskrit as in Troṭaka Nos. 21-31:

सुरनर टट चालं कुसुमति लालं अतिजालं ।
हिम रिम प्रतिवालं हरिचर नालं विधिवालं ॥

Verse No. 28.

Similarly again in Troṭaka Nos. 203-211, 282-298 *m* is employed to symbolise Sanskritism. Gāthā (see verse No. 179), Nāraca (see verse No. 248) also at times employed the *m* trick. The following Gāthā is interesting as it embodies with necessary modification and simile an oft-quoted Sanskrit saying न गृहं गृहमित्याहु-र्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते

यतो नलिनी ततो नीर यतो नीर ततो नलिनी ।
यत्र गेह गेहिनी तत्र यत्र गेहिनी तत्र गृह ।

Verse No. 273.

The above examples of the use of corrupt Sanskrit in *Pṛthvī-Rāja-Rāso* demonstrate unavoidable impact of Sanskrit literature on Rajasthani. There is a popular saying that म् लगन्तं संस्कृतं बनन्तम्. The poets of early literature in Rajasthan seemed to follow this dictum to maintain their popular prestige as poets of considerable calibre. The tradition of *Ṣaḍbhāṣākavitā* or a poem containing use of six languages, which invariably included Sanskrit had such an unchallenged sway over the writers of poetry that such tricks as use of 'm' for poor Sanskritisation came into vogue.

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One of the important characteristics of Rajasthani is the use of Tadbhava words in more than one meanings. For example, the word *Karatāra* from *Karta* in Sanskrit occurring eighty times in the *Pṛthvī-Rāja-Rāso* means *maker* (*Kartā*), *cymbal* (*Karatāla*), *palm* (*Karatala*); the word *kara* (occurring 400 times) stands for hands, ray of light and trunk of the elephant. Being pronounced as *Kaḍa* it also stands for buttocks (the word *Kada* being derived from *Kati*).

It was observed earlier that the percentage of Tatsama words in the *Pṛthvī-Rāja-Rāso* is very small (about (20%). This increased in later works of Rajasthani, particularly from the 16th century A.D. onwards. The *Veli Krisaṇa Rukmiṇi Rī* (1580 A.D.) by Pṛthvi Raj Rathor bears testimony to this. To illustrate we quote :

मेली तदि साध सुरमण को कमनि
रमण को कमनि साधु रही ।
फूले छंडी वास प्रफूले, ग्रहणो सीतलता इ ग्रही ।
धुनि उठी अनाहत संख भेरी धुनि
अरुणोदय थियो जोग अभ्यास
माया पटल निसामे मंजे प्राणायामें ज्योति प्रकाश ।

The Sanskrit words, such as *Aruṇa*, *Abhirāma*, *Kañja*, *Nayana*, *Grīvā*, *Pataṅga*, *Dhanuṣ*, are abundantly used in the Dingal Literature of centuries that followed. The most brilliant poet of Dingal in the 19th century, Sūryamal Misraṇa had freely mixed Sanskrit in his historical poem the *Vaṁśabhāskara*. It may also be noted in passing that in Rajasthani works, dealing with Śāstraic subjects (prosody, rhetorics, astrology Darśana etc.) and in translations or adaptations or in works based on Sanskrit literature (for example *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*) the percentage was still higher. However, the Rajasthani works in prose had always a higher percentage of Tadbhava words, even words of Persian origin, such as सुरतांण, आदाब, जमात, तमास, दखेस, फील, दस्ते, फरमाण, बन्दगी were freely used. So much about the impact of Sanskrit on the vocabulary of Rajasthani. Now we pass on to its structural and inflectional elements.

Sanskrit is synthetical or inflectional. Hindi like English and many other modern Indian languages is analytical[1]. In a synthe-

1. From synthetical to analytical is a natural stage of linguistic growth and one need not import the question of Dravidian influence over analytical Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya as John beams has rightly pointed out, vide fn. 1 on p. 221.

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tical language particles are not separable. They are incorporated into the words which they modify by varying the terminal syllable or syllables. In an analytical language particles are not even recognisable as constituent elements of the word with which they are used and new auxiliary words have to be brought in to express the necessary modifications of sense.[1] Rajasthani, unlike Hindi, preserves both the inflectional and analytical forms. To illustrate

1. Nominative singular, masculine (by termination in e) :

ढोले करह चलावियो करि सिणगार अपार
(ढोला मारु रा दोहा)

2. Nominative singular, masculine (by termination in simple stem) :

(१) जप्यो प्रिथिराज (*Kanavajja Samaya*), 336. 2.
(२) चहुवान गाउ (Ibid. 302.6)
(३) सिर तुट्टे (Ibid 189.1)

3. Nominative singular, masculine (by termination in 'u')

(१) कहे चन्दु (कनवज्जसमय (336.6)
पर्‌यो माल चँदेलु

4. Nominative plural, masculine (by termination in a)

कायरड़ा मंजन करे आँसू धार मंझार
(कायर बावनी)

5. Nominative plural, masculine (by termination in आँ)

पारस कीधी पंडिताँ सरब मिले संतांह
(वचनविवेकपच्चीसी)

6. Nominative singular, feminine (by termination in 'i' and a) :

(१) धरणि (२) अरधंगा

7. Nominative plural, feminine (by termination in आँ or यां)

(१) अखियाताँ वाताँ बचे (सुजसछत्तीसी)
(२) जाया रजपूताणियाँ वीरत दीधी वेइ ।[2]

1. Vide Intro. Vol. I. Ch. I in *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India.* by John Beames, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, Reprint 1970.
2. It is clear from the above examples that Nominative singular of Masculine is formed by termination in (i) u (ii) ए (iii) simple stem and of feminine by termination in 'i' and 'आँ'. The Nominative plural of masculine is formed by termination आ and feminine by आँ.

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The accusative singular of masculine is formed by either termination in simple stem or in 'u' or in 'e'. For example :—

(१) वज्जपति वज्ज गहि
(२) दिव दिवान गो देवरउ
(३) हाथी घोड़ाए मार्‌यो (वेलि०)

The accusative plural of masculine and feminine is formed by आँ and याँ.[1] For example :

(१) भिड़ज्जाँ भड़ा चारणाँ भाटों मुंहगा वतरणहार
(२) नराँ नठीणों नारियाँ (सूर्यमल्ल)

The accusative singular of feminine is formed by termination in 'i' and 'a'. For example : कट्टारि and अरधंगा,

The instrumental singular of masculine and feminine is formed by 'i' and 'e' and plural (both masculine and feminine) by 'e' and 'ām'.[2] For example :

(१) कनवज्ज दिख्खन कारणइ (कनवज्जसमय)
(२) रुके निरदलिया रवद (राजरूपक)
(३) पितनू कमलाँ पूज बारणमुख बड़भाग ।

The dative is formed by 'e' 'nu' and आँ in singular and by only आँ in plural. For example :—

(१) कलह करे मत कामणीं घोडे यी देताँह ।
हंसाँ नग हरनूँ तुचां, दांत किरातां दीध । (सीहछत्तीसी)

The ablative is formed by ऐ and आँ. For example :

(१) नारवै हियै निसास पास न राण प्रतापसी । (दुरसाजी)
(२) चिहुरै जल लागो चुवण (वेलि०)
(३) तात विदेसाँ आवियो (नाथूदान)

The genitive is formed by अ, ऐ and आँह.[3] For example :—

ढोले मन आणंद भयो
(ढोला मारु रा दोहा)

(२) भाव टालिये भवाँह (पृथ्वीराज)
माथै मुगलाँह वधि वधि खाँडा वाहती
(रतनरासो)

1. In the Pṛthvi Raja Raso 'hi' is used for the accusative. As in—
वीर चुनहि मुकुताफलहि ।
(कनवज्जसमय 98. 4)
2. For plural 'na' is often used here which is perhaps short form for 'आँ' in Sanskrit. Examples पुरखन, राइन, सुगंधिनि
3. The Genitive is also found without any ending. In such cases the Tatpuruṣa compound may also be suspected.

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The locative singular is formed by ऐ and plural additionally by आँ. For example :

(१) कंत घरै किम आविया (सूरजमल)
(२) चंचलाँ चांद महा सरवर री पाल आइज्मो रही
(रतनरासो).

For vocative either a simple uninflected stem is used or ए and ऐ are prefixed to the stem.

From the above examples two facts stand out. Rajasthani maintains like Sanskrit synthetical forms and secondly its particles inseparable from the stems are few and many of these are employed in different cases. Thus 'ए' particle can be used in all cases of singular masculine. In plural generally आँ or याँ is used. Another important feature is the use of the uninflected stem in a number of cases like instrumental, dative, genitive and the locative. Side by side with synthetical forms Rajasthani developed analytical forms under the influence of the Apabhraṁśa. In Rajasthani two or more postpositions are found for different cases except the nominative and the vocative which have none.[1]

It is clear from the above that the Rajasthani language has in its declension of nouns a great variety, namely :

(1) Uninflectional i.e. where simple stem is used without ending. We have in Sanskrit such uncharacterised nominative neuters to the stems in-h and in nominative feminines ending in ā (Ramā) and those in ī of the Devī class. The locative without ending (which is the oldest form in Sanskrit) appears in n- stems (for example, Ahan, Śīrṣan, Mūrdhan,) and in the vṛddhied forms of the i and u-stems.

(2) Inflectional form has been treated at length and it has been pointed out how Rajasthani, unlike Hindi and some other modern Indian languages, is similar in this respect to Sanskrit.

(3) Analytical form of the Rajasthani brings it closer to Hindi

1. Postpositions are as under :
(1) Accusative : ने, प्रति ।
(2) Instrumental; करि, नइ, पाहि, साथि, सिउँ, सूँ
(3) Dative : कन्है, ने, प्रति
(4) Ablative कन्हई, कनै, तांइ, थी, मझारि, मझि, मा, माहि, हूंत, हुंता, हुंती ।
(5) Genitive रा, री, रे, चा, ची, चे, चो, केरी, केरा, केरो, तपा, तपी, तपों ।
(6) Locative : मंझार, माँझ, माँ, माझल, मधि, में ।

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and other modern Indian languages of India and marks the impact of the Apabhraṁśa.

Other important linguistic peculiarities of Rajasthani marking the influence of Sanskrit may now be noted briefly :

(1) In Dingal both dental and cerebral 'l' are found, while dental 'l' is common to classical Sanskrit and other modern Indian languages, cerebral 'l' is found in Vedic Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati, Lahandi and Oriya only. There are a number of words ending with cerebral 'l' where if 'l' were pronounced dentally, it would change its meaning.[1] For example :

(1) *Māḷī*, gardener ; Mali, financial.
(2) *Mahaḷ*, woman; Mahal, palace.
(3) *Cañcaḷa*, horse; Cañcala, fickle.

(2) In Vedic Sanskrit accent or stress on a particular syllable determines the meaning of a word. In Rajasthani stress on a particular syllable or lack of it changes the meaning. For example :

Nara Woman, Lion.
Kaḍa Height, When.
Maur Coin, Back.
Pīra Pain, Bride's parental home.

(3) Although palatal *s* does not exist in Rajasthani and it is always represented by a dental *s* in its script but in pronunciation both are distinguished. Thus *Sasatra* in writing is read as *Śastra* Caturdasa as Caturdaśa. This was clearly to maintain correct pronunciation of the Tatsama and Tadbhava Sanskrit words. Similarly a cerebral ṣ is generally pronounced as *kha* but in Tatsama Sanskrit words the cerebral pronunciation is respected. For example, *Poṣa*, *Āṣāḍha* and *Bhīṣma*.

(5) Independent ṛ changes into *ri*, for example, Ṛṣi in Rajasthani becomes Risi but in words with conjoined syllables, generally Tatsamas, the ṛ has been retained as in *Smṛti* and *Vṛta*.

(5) Words of Sanskrit origin are changed into Tadbhavas, by various devices, as illustrated in the following examples :—

(i) दुरलभ—दुर्लभ, दुरग—दुर्ग, कीरत—कीर्ति, धरम—धर्म, करम—कर्म
(by changing *r* into *ra* or its position)
(ii) हेक-एक, एक-हेव, तुलछी-तुलसी, छमा-समा, रामण-रावण
(by replacing e by *he*; *s* by *ch* and *va* by *ma*)

1. In old Rajasthani Script cerebral 'l' was written like the dental. However it was always pronounced as cerebral as in Gurumukhi where also there is no separate character for cerebral.

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(iii) कैरव-कौरव
(by replacing *au* by *ai*)
(iv) समहर-समर, अंवहर-अंवर
(by placing *ha* before *ra*)
(v) आरण-रण
(by adding a vowel in the beginning)
(vi) जीवण-जीवन, माण-मान
(by changing words of N-stem in o ṇa)
(vii) पीवइ-पिवति, हुई-भवति

(6) For tadbhava indeclinables the following words of Rajasthani may be listed :

परभातइ-प्रभात, रातई-रात्रि, अज्ज-अद्य, पुण-पुनः, दूरइ-दूरे, तठे-तत्र, अनेठि-अन्यत्र, पाखलि-पक्षे, जेण-येन, जथा-यथा, अवस-अवश्य, अउझकइ-अकस्मात्, अत-अति, आगा-अग्रे, नएवि-न तु।

(7) In old Rajasthani, which was influenced to a large extent by Gujarati, there were three genders as in Sanskrit. But later on the neuter was assimilated to the masculine as in Panjabi and Hindi.

(8) Agreement of the adjectives with their substantives is found both in Sanskrit and Dingal.

(9) A simple future derived from the synthetical tense in Sanskrit exists in Rajasthani. For Example : करस्यूं, करसी, करस्यां, करस्यों, करसो and करसूं. It is the Sanskrit future *iṣya* as in *kariṣyāmi* which is retained by Rajasthani through *karissāmi* in Prakrita.[1] Side by side with *karissati* we get in Prakrita करिहइ and thus in Chand's simple future हैं–forms are found as in Tulasi :—

हम सावंत सब जुझिहैं
कै सिर तुमहि समप्पि हैं
कै सिर धरिहौं छत्र।

Rajasthani has an interesting variety of metres. *Dohā*, *Kavitta*, *Chhapaya*, *Nisani*, *Jhūlaṇa*, *Kuṇḍaliyā*, *Davavaita*, *Vacanikā*, *Jhamal*, *Be-akkhari* and *Gīta*, and more particularly *Dohā* (perhaps from *Dodhaka or Dogdhaka* in Sanskrit) *Kavitta* and *Gīta*, are mostly favou-

1. In Rajasthani simple future is also found with the ending *lā*, as in :—
(1) बूड़ैला बुधवायरा जल विच छोड़ जहाज (हरिदास)
(2) पाकड़ जम धतेला फांसी पापी इण दिन ने पछतासी

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red by the Rajasthani poets.[1] A number of varieties of the Dingala metres were named in Sanskrit such as *Vidyādhara*, *Lakṣmīdhara Sāraṅga*, *Modaka*, *Nārāca*, *Ardha-Nārāca*, *Carcari*, *Amṛtadhvani*, Amongst Sanskrit metres freely used in Rajasthani are *Upendravajrā*, *Bhujaṅga-prayāta*, *Taralanayana*, *Muktadama*, *Troṭaka*, *Cāmara*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Gītikā*, *Harigītikā*, (i.e. *Harigīta* in Sanskrit), *Chappaya*, (*Aṣṭapadī* in Sanskrit) *Vacanikā* and *Paddhari* (*Padhari* in Rajasthani). Use of a great number of Sanskrit metres in Rajasthani signified their close relationship.

Employment of the Alaṁkāras is *sine qua non* of literary language. Alaṁkāras of Sanskrit are not only discussed and illustrated in Rajasthani Rhetorics but are freely used in literature. Given below is the list of important alaṁkāras employed with or without any effort in important works of Dingal.[2]

Sanskrit Alaṁkāras in the Veli Krisaṇa Rukmaṇī Rī :

(1) Anuprāsa-13; Yamaka-10; Śleṣa-9; Vakrokti-7; Citra-1.

(2) Rūpaka-58; Utprekṣā-44; Upamā-37; Svabhāvokti-16; Dīpaka-10; Apahnuti-10; Yathāsaṁkhya-9; Vyāghāta-9; Parikara-8; Ullekha-7; Virodhābhāsa, Saṁdeha, Uddātta, Samāsokti, Atiśayokti (each six times), Hetu-5; Samuccaya-5; Vibhāvanā-4; Vyatireka-4; Pratīpa-4; Nidarśanā, Kāvyārthāpatti, Atyukti, Bhrāntimān, Parikarāṅkura, Paryāya (each three times); Dṛṣṭānta, Sāra, Paryāyokti, Ekāvalī, Mīlita, Anyonya, Viśeṣa, Anumāna and Pramāṇa (each twice) and Viśeṣokti, Tulyayogitā,

1. A number of metrical works in Rajasthani were written. The most important amongst them are listed below :

(1) हरिपिंगल प्रकाश, (2) लखपतगुण पिंगल (3) रघुनाथरूपक गीतारो (4) रघुवरजसप्रकाश (5) डिंगलकोश (6) पिंगलसिरोमणि ।

Number of poetical works in Rajasthani are named after the metres that they use. For example :

गोगैजी चहुँवाण री नीसाणी, अमरसिंह जी रा झूलणा, राजकुमार अनोपसिंह जी री वेल, झमाल आउआ री, राठोड़ रामसिंह जी रा गीत, महाराज अभैसिंह जी रा कवित, सांगे राणे रा दूहा ।

2. *Vaina-Sagain* (or harmonious relationship of the syllables) is exclusively Rajasthani alaṁkāra. It has a bewildering variety and is most frequently used . It may not be Anuprāsa or any of its variety found in Sanskrit but there can be no doubt that it evolved under great impact and extensive use of the Anuprāsa and other *Citrālaṁkāras* in Sanskrit. Figures after the Alaṁkāras indicate number of times that alaṁkāra is used.

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Adhika, Udāharaṇa, Sahokti, Praharṣaṇa and Sūkṣma (each once only).

Dhavalapacīsī of Bankidas

Each *Dohā* or *Soraṭhā* has one or more Alaṁkāras. However only 14 arthālaṁkāras are used. Besides *Hetu* and *Vicitra* each occurring eight times, *Sama* occurs four times and Ākṣepa three times. Each of *Aprastuta-praśaṁsā*, *Samuccaya*, *Vidhi* and *Uddātta* are employed twice only. The remaining alaṁkāras, *Adhika*, *Ananvaya*, *Sambhava*, *Nirukti*, *Viśada* and *Vinokti* occur only once.

In another work of his, namely, the Nītimañjarī, Bankidas has used twelve *arthālaṁkaras* including *Dṛṣṭānta*, *Pariṇāma*, *Upāmā*, *Krama* and *Vyāghāta* (which are not found in the Dhavalapacīsī). The best poet of Rajasthani even in using alaṁkāras of *Śabda* and *artha* is Suryamala Misana. In his *Vīrasatasaī*, *Śabdālaṁkāras* (besides *Vayanasagai* alaṁkāra of Rajasthani) include *Chekānuprāsa*, *Vṛttyanuprāsa*, *Śrutyanuprāsa*, *Antyānuprāsa*, *Lāṭānuprāsa*, *Yamaka* and others. The arthālaṁkāras used in this Vīrasatasaī include *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā* *Rūpaka*, *Parikarāṅkura*, *Kāvyaliṅga*, *Apahnuti*, *Dīpaka*, *Atiśayokti*, *Atyukti* (a kind of *Udātta*), *Anumāna*, *Vibhāvanā*, *Dṛṣṭānta*, *Svabhāvokti*, *Rūpakātiśayokti*, *Paryāyokti*, *Anyokti*, *Asaṁgati*, *Samāsokti*, *Saṁdeha*, *Bhrāntimān*, *Vyatireka*, *Viśeṣokti*, *Vyājastuti*, *Nidarśanā*, *Viṣama*, *Adhika* *Udātta* and *Praharṣaṇa*. Besides onomatopoeia, personification and euphemism are also used in Vīrasatasai.[1]

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1. Some illustrations of the alaṁkāras from the Virasatasai :

Upamā :

बाला, चाल म बीसरे
मो थण जहर समान
रीत मरंता ढील की
अठ छियो घमसाण ॥

Rūpaka :

घोड़ां घर ढालां पटल
भाला थंभ वणाय

Kāvyaliṅga :

मैं तो विण सब हाँसिया उण भड़ एक महेस ।
काय दिये छण मेहणूं हूँ भड़ हेतु विसेस ॥

Apahnuti :

सींह न वाजो ठाकरां
दीन गुजारो दीह ।
हापल पाड़े हाथियां
सो भड़ वाजे सींह ॥34॥

Atiśayokti (with Utprekṣā)

तोरां घर दरजां पड़े
झड़े गिरां सिर झाट
जाणे सागर-खीररे-
मंदर रो अरडाट ॥164॥

Sandeha

आँख हिये कै सीस । 174

Vibhāvanā :

विण माथे बाढ़े दलां । 174

Dīpaka .

मायड़ खाय दिखाय थण
थण पण वलय बताय ।

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The poet of the *Ḍholā Mārū Rā Dohā*, having 41 alaṁkāras, is very fond of using alaṁkāras based on similitude. Thus Upamā is used 109 times, Rūpaka and Utprekṣā 37 and 32 times respectively.

Rajasthani literature has been enriched by all important sections of society. Cāraṇas take the lion's share and their contribution is the largest. Jainas are next to Cāraṇas only and their contribution to Rajasthani may not be excellent but is very important[1] for a study of the evolution of the Rajasthani language from its earliest beginning to the modern times. Kings contributed to the Rajasthani in no small measure. The *Kriṣaṇa Rukmiṇī Rī Veli* by king Prithvi Raj is an outstanding work of Rajasthani literature. Amongst the Brahmins the names of Narapati Nath, a celebrated poet of *Bīsaladeva Rāso*, Sridhara Vyas who composed *Raṇa Mala*, *Chand* and *Saptasatī-chand* of Padmanābha who is famous for *Kanhana De Prabandha* and of *Vyas Bhanda* the poet of Hammirayana, deserve special mention. A Kayastha poet, namely, Ganapati composed (Samvat 1554) the *Kāma-kandala Prabandha*, a love poem containing 2500 *Dohās*. Another Kayastha versified in Rajasthani the Bhāgavata and the Gīṭā (available in the collection of Manuscripts of Agarachanda Nahata). A muslim poet, named, Dhadhi Badara wrote Biravana. Jana, a muslim poet of great repute is credited with the authorship of seventy-five works many of which are in Rajasthani and deal with Sṇgāra. He was well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Rajasthani.

The most important class of literature is by Cāraṇas and Bhāṭas which is in Dingal and is predominantly poetry of bravery abounding in Vīra Rasa.[2] This constitutes the largest part of Rajasthani literature. The Cāraṇa poetry is found in the form of *Prabandha*[3] (which partakes of certain characteristics of a *Mahākāvya* in Sanskrit), *Gīta*[4] and in the form of other chandas such as *Chhappaya*, *Dohā*, *Savaiyā*, *Kavitta*. The Prabandha form is borrowed from

1. The list of Jaina writers is very large. They contributed to Sanskrit and Rajasthani literature to a very great extent. Some of the Jainas like Jinavallabhasuri, Jinaprabhasuri, Samayasundara, Dharmavardhana, Jñānasāra wrote in Sanskrit and Rajasthani with equal felicity.
2. Some cāraṇas have composed secular love-poems and still others have translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and other Sanskrit works.
3. The number of *Prabandhas* is very large, the more important being Canda Baradai's *Pṛthvi Raja Raso*; *Veli Kriṣaṇa Rukmaṇī Rī* (1581 A.D.) of Pṛthvī Rāja (based on the 10th *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*).
4. *Gīta* is a type of khaṇḍakāvya. The best examples of this class are Kallola's *Ḍholā Mārū Rā Dohā* (composed in 1473 A.D.), *Hala Jhala Rā Kuṇḍaliyā* (1563 A.D.), *Vīra Jaitasi Ro* (1534 A.D.)

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Sanskrit. However, Prabandhas called Visara eulogising valiant deeds and the poetry of bravery or vīrakāvya are specially and almost exclusively developed in Rajasthani. The erotic and devotional Prabandhas are to a large extent based on either the *Bhāgavata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rītikāvyas, such as, *Hari Piṅgala Prabandha*, *Lakhapata Pingala*, *Raghunatha Rupaka Gitaro*, described elements of prosody and rhetorics of Sanskrit. The *Gīta* in Rajasthani is the type of Khaṇḍakāvya like *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.

Rajasthani literature by Jainas deals mainly with Jaina religion, culture and tales of both religious and secular character. I have already stated that the contribution of the Jainas to Rajasthani literature has been uninterrupted from its very beginning and though it may not have produced excellent literary treasure, its importance in the study of the Rajasthani language cannot be minimised. Many Jainas wrote both in Sanskrit and Rajasthani and it is natural therefore that Sanskrit literature created by the Jainas influenced their Rajasthani literature both in content and style.

A number of sects of saints flourished on the liberal soil of Rajasthan. Their literature generally ponders over God, Self, Māyā, ephemeral nature of the world, identity or intimacy of self with the supreme self, life of saints, Haṭha Yoga, glory of guru, word, Om, love of all human beings and instructions for leading meritoriously good life. In the immense literature of the saints of various sects, such as, Nātha, Lāladāsī, Rāmasnehi, Caranadāsi, Dādūpanthi, we breathe the atmosphere created by devotional, Tantric and religious literature in Sanskrit.

An important form of literature preserved in Rajasthani is known as Vacanikā, for example, *Acaladāsa Khici Rī Vacanikā* (15th century), *Rao Ratan Mahesadasota Rī Vacanikā* (18th century), Khiriya Jagga and Mātā jī Rī Vacanikā (18th century) (by Jayacanda, a Jaina Saint. In this class of Rajasthani literature prose is mixed with verse making it *campū* of Sanskrit. We have no such form developed in Hindi. Bāta, a word derived from *Vārtā* in Sanskrit, is a form of prose-literature in Rajasthani. However, *Bāta* by Ḍholā Mārū and Sadayavatsa are also found in both verse and prose giving a *campu* form as to the *Vacanikī*. Intimate, informed and respectable relationship between Sanskrit and Rajasthani is attested to by the fact that more than one Sanskrit Ṭīkā is found on the *Veli Kriṣṇa Rukmiṇī Rī* (1581 A.D) of Prthvi Raja, which is a poem based on the tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata. Impact of Sanskrit on Rajasthani is underlined by the fact that all the important

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works in Sanskrit, more particularly the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Gītā, Bhāgavata (or parts of it, expecially the tenth Skandha), Purāṇas, dramas, tales, poems, Śāstraic works have been and continue to be translated or adopted or used as source by a number of poets of the past and the present in both prose and verse in Rajasthani. List of such works is too long to be presented here and can be briefly illustrated by mentioning :—

1. Works based on the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata :

गीता भाषा, दशम भागवत रा दूहा दसरथरावउत, वसुदेवरावउत, हरिचरित, भागवत भाषा निबन्ध by कृष्णदास, जानकीविजय रामायण, भागवत भाषा of किशोरदास

2. Poems, Dramas and Tales of Sanskrit in Rajasthani :

गीतगोविन्द टीका by महाराणा कुम्भ, भर्तृहरिशतकत्रय, वेतालपच्चीसी शिवदास, नासिकेतोपाख्यान[1] (नासिकेतरी बात 1797), नासिकेतरी कथा, नासिकेतोपाख्यान भाषा (1918), पंचाख्यान भाषा, पंचाख्यानवार्त्तिक, बृहत्कथा भाषा, डोकरी री बात, नैषधचरित भाषा, सिंहासनवतीसी, हितोपदेश भाषा, प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय by जसवन्तसिंह (1720-37) प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय भाषा by माधोदास, मालतीमाधव भाषा। ब्रह्माण्डपुराण भाषा (प्रथमखण्ड) (1806), हरिवंशपुराण भाषा, भूगोलपुराण (1878) वाराणसीविलास (18th Century) by देवकरण पंचोली, गणेशपुराण भाषा, मार्कण्डेयपुराण भाषा (in verse) by दामोदर, दुर्गासप्तशतीव्याख्या, देवीचरित by बुधसिंह (translation of देवीभागवत in verse), अश्वमेध भाषा, एकलिंगमाहात्म्य भाषा, गंगालहरी। विजयादशमीमाहात्म्य, श्रीकृष्णजन्माष्टमीव्रतकथा, शनिकथा। तन्त्रभेद, नम्सार, पश्चिमाधीशस्तोत्र, त्रैलोक्यबोधिका, वेदान्तपरिभाषा by मनोहरदास (1866), षट्प्रश्नि by मनोहरदास निरंजनी, सर्वबोधसार by नाथूराम, ज्ञानसार, सिद्धान्तबोध, सिद्धान्तसार, अनुभवप्रकाश, अपरोक्षसिद्धान्त, आनन्दविलास।

4. Jyotiṣa, Music, Āyurveda.

लीलावती भाषा, शकुनसंवत्सरसार, ज्योतिषरत्नमाला, राधागोविन्द संगीतसार (based on the संगीतरत्नाकर)।

रसरत्नाकर, षट्रसगुणागुण, द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका भाषा।

5. On Prosody, Rhetorics and Dramaturgy

रसमंजरी by रत्नसुन्दरसूरि, चमत्कारचन्द्रोदय by रसपुंज (1866), भाषाभूषण by जसवन्तसिंह, रससरस by शिवदास, ध्वनिव्यंग्यार्थचन्द्रिका by ईश्वरकवि,

1. All figures within brackets signify date of the manuscripts in Samvat. The mss are deposited with the Rajasthan Pracyavidya Pratisthana.

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भाषाभूषण, रसिकसिरोमणि by रामसिंह, छन्दसार रत्नावली by हरिरामदास, पिंगलशिरोमणि by कुशललाल, हरिपिंगलप्रबन्ध by जोगीदास, डिंगलकोश by मुरारिदान, छन्दसार पिंगल and a number of other works by Surati Misra.

Jainas developed various forms of comments on Sanskrit, such as Bālāvabodha, Tāvbā and the number of such works is very large.[1]

What has been given above is simply a casual illustrative list of Rajasthani (Dingal and Pingal) works hastily taken down from the catalogue of Sanskrit and Rajasthani manuscripts deposited with the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. In many cases the names of writers are unknown and even the dates of the manuscripts are not traceable.

Sanskrit contributed words, content, fo m and style to Rajasthani, which in its turn inspired the poets of Rajasthan to write Sanskrit works eulogising bravery, chivalry and culture of Rajasthan. These works in Sanskrit have at times the same atmosphere as found in the popular speech. It was but natural because a poet who wrote both in Sanskrit and Rajasthani could not split himself emotionally. The result is that we have a number of small and big poems in Sanskrit eulogising Hindu kings of Rajasthan and not surrendering literary results of their talents to the *Dillīśvara* as the king amongst Pandits, Panditarāja Jagannātha did (दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः). Rajasthani (particularly Dingala) is known primarily for its *cāraṇa* literature glorifying the deeds of the brave kings. Sanskrit poets also gave a number of Sanskrit Kāvyas and Mahākāvyas such as the following :—

राजरत्नाकर (1709),[2] अमरसार (1665), श्रीजगतसिंह महाकाव्य (1685), अमरकाव्य, पृथ्वीराजविजयमहाकाव्य (1849), प्रबंधचिन्तामणि (1361), वीरतरंगरंग (1981), वीरवंशवर्णन (1982), पृथ्वीराजविजयमहाकाव्य (13th century A.D.), मानप्रकाश महाकाव्य (16th century A.D.), ईश्वरविलास महाकाव्य (16th century A.D.), कच्छवंशमहाकाव्य (18th century A.D.), जयवंशमहाकाव्य (19th century A.D.), मानवंशमहाकाव्य (20th century A.D.), वीरभूमि (1787), हमीरमहाकाव्य (1460), सुरजनचरित्र (1635), प्रतापोदय, प्रतापविलास काव्य ।

1. See राजस्थानी साहित्य की गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा—अगरचंद नाहटा, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन, दिल्ली—१९६७.
2. Dates within brackets are in Vikrama era unless otherwise specified.

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Like Rajasthani, Sanskrit also used words of local and Persian origin, such as : लत्ता, सलामं, डूंगरपुरं, नबाव, लड्डूक, चौकड़ी, जहाज, सिसोदिया, राणा, नाल (as found in the राजप्रशस्ति of रणछोड़ भट्ट, a work of 1718-1732 V.S.).

It is not only that the poets like *Vālmīki*, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti of distant past inspired the Rajasthani literature but in fact contemporary poets of Sanskrit and Rajasthani sang together the chorus of Rājput chivalry and displayed loyalty to their kings and love and admiration for the history and culture of Rajasthan.

A detailed and critical study of the Rajasthani language is still a desideratum. Much in literary works is awaiting publication and much of what has been published needs critical editing. A standard etymological dictionary of Rajasthani is yet to be conceived. One may expect and hope that this will be done before long but until that is done any study of this kind as mine will suffer from a lack of critical source material. Simlarly works in Sanskrit written in Rajasthani need be edited, translated and published so that the rich source material may be available to the students of history, culture, language and literature.

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NIMITTA

J. GONDA

In the dictionaries the well-known word *nimitta* is as a rule translated by "butt, mark, target; sign, omen; cause, motive, ground, reason." Thus Monier-Williams, following in the track of the Petersburg Dictionary, and Stchoupak, Nitti and Renou in their Sanskrit-French Dictionary. However, V.S. Apte, (P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve), The practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Poona 1958) provide us with a longer list of meanings which, moreover, they have put in a different order : 1 Cause, motive, ground; 2 Instrumental or efficient cause; 3 Any apparent cause, pretext; 4 Mark, sign, token; 5 Butt, mark, target; 6 Omen, prognostic (good or bad); 7 Means of knowledge; 8 Function, ceremony"[1]. Now, some problems arise. First, as to how many 'meanings' must be distinguished, three or eight ? And in the second place, how are these 'meanings' connected with one another ? The question may even be put as to whether we should distinguish more than one word *nimitta*. As far as I am aware, these questions have never been answered.

This article is an attempt to get some light on the difficulty. The technical term *nimittasaptamī* is, to begin with, variously translated or explained, for instance as "the seventh case (locative) indicating the cause or motive" (Monier-Williams). Speyer[2] at the time argued that "as the locative often denotes the spot, *towards which* there is some movement, so it may be used at the very large extent to signify the person or thing, towards which some action is directed, in other terms, that *on account of which* something is done. Speaking exactly, the dative-like locative...is but a consequence of this general faculty to denote that, *about which* one is engaged". To my regret, I must disagree with my learned compatriot. First, it is, in my opinion, possible to reduce all types or classes of datives to the same denomination : the Sanskrit dative[3] is in principle the case

1. Similarly, V.M. Apte, *The student's Sanskrit-English dictionary*, Delhi 1959, p. 289.
2. J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*; Leyden 1886. p. 111.
3. I refer to my paper *The unity of the Vedic dative, in the periodical Lingua*, 11 (Amsterdam 1962), p. 141 ff.

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assumed by a nominal form when it refers to 'the object in view' (this does not necessarily imply a conscious intention on the part of the subject of the sentence). According to the Indian authorities the dative occurs *tādarthye*, not *kriyāpye* (cf. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, on Pāṇini 2, 3, 13). The locative on the other hand is said to denote the abode, receptacle of an action or of a thing or the sphere in which the action takes place (*ādhāra*). Generally speaking, it may be said that when an ancient Indo-European noun appears in the locative the speaker would indicate that a thing is, or an action takes place in the sphere of, within the range of, or in relation to, the idea expressed by that noun. The definition 'on account of which' may at first sight seem plausible and 'locative of motive'—that is expressing that which influences the desires or incites the will of the subject in a particular direction so as to induce a specific action—may serve for practical purposes. The question however arises as to why Sanskrit has *carmaṇi dvīpinaṁ hanti* (translated "he kills the panther for, or on account of, its skin" : Kāśikā on Pāṇini 2, 3, 36) beside *yūpāya dāru* "wood for, i.e. in order to make a sacrificial post" (Kāśikā on Pāṇini 2, 3, 13). The answer seems to be that in the latter case the subject has the post (which is to be made in view—similarly, in *upādhyāyāya gāṁ dadāti* the cow is not in the teacher's possession before it is given to him (cf. Pāṇini 2, 3, 13ff.) —, in the former case the existence of the skin is not only a fact but also a necessary preliminary or presupposition for the action. If the panther's skin had not been eagerly desired, the animal would not have been killed. Thus in Chānd. Up. 2, 22, 3 *taṁ yadi svareṣūpalabheta* "if one should reproach him for his vowels" the vowels are, it is true, 'the immediate cause of the statement, the motive of the reprehension, viewed as a spiritual place'[1]; but there is no denying that the pronunciation of the vowels is, as the motive a preliminary fact determining a definite action and so is the field in *kṣetre vivadante* "they are at law on account of a field" (Kāśikā, on Pāṇini 1. 3. 47).

However, 'motive' cannot be the adequate translation in any grammatical context. In the construction with two accusatives of the type *gāṁ dogdhi payaḥ* "he draws the milk out of the cow" the cow denoted by the accusative *gām* is considered the *nimitta* of the action. Compare Kāśikā, on Pāṇini 1. 4. 51...*tasya nimittaṁ gavādi, tasyopayujyamānapayaḥprabhṛtinimittasya gavādeḥ karmasaṁjñā vidhīyate.*

1. Thus (in French) L. Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, Paris 1930, p. 311.

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pāṇinā kāṁsyapātryāṁ gāṁ dogdhi payaḥ. pāṇyādikam apy upayoganimittaṁ tasya kasmān na bhavati. naitad asti. vihitā hi tatra karaṇādisaṁjñā ...Here *nimittam* is that which, either as the hand of the milker, or as the cow, must simply be there, or is necessarily presupposed, if the action of milking is to take place. In this connection some authors[1] speak of "the formal cause of a grammatical operation", an explanation which cannot be corroborated by the paribhāṣā *nimittābhāve naimittikasyāpy abhāvaḥ*. As long as we mean by 'formal cause' the shape or, metaphorically, the structure or organizing principle which distinguishes a thing from other bits of the same matter—e.g. the formal cause of a statue is its human shape—this explanation is not appropriate. Nor is it felicitous in connection with Vārttika 2 in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 3, 1, 1 *prakṛtyupapadopādhayoḥ nimittaṁ pratyayo nimittī*.

The words *nimittanaimittikayor ayaṁ kramaḥ* in Kālidāsa, Śak. 7, 30—quoted by Apte, Gode and Karve—are explained as *kāryakāraṇayor ayaṁ kramaḥ* (Rāghavabhaṭṭa) and translated by "this is the order of cause and effect" (viz. "first appears the flower and then the fruit, first the clouds, then the shower of water"[2]). Here also *nimitta* is a state of affairs, or anything such, that, if it were not present, the effect would not occur. The same explanation is applicable in cases such as Bhāg. Pur. 3, 7, 32 where *nimitta* is said to denote "the instrumental or efficient cause" : *dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṁ nimittāny avirodhataḥ*. The opposite is *upādāna* "material cause"; Compare also *nimittam eva brahma syād upādānaṁ ca vekṣaṇāt* (Adhikaraṇamālā quoted by Apte, Gode and Karve). Nobody will however deny that in this case also the *nimitta* is that which is presupposed. In cases such as Bhagavadgītā 11, 33 *mayaivaite nihatāḥ pūrvam eva nimittamātraṁ bhava*...some scholars translate..."any apparent cause, pretext (Apte, Gode and Karve), others "be thou no more than a means"[3], "instrument"[4], or "occasion".[5] All these translations are only approximately correct,

1. E. g. K. V. Abhyankar, *A dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, Baroda 1961, p. 205.
2. See M.R. Kale—K. M. Shembavanekar, *The Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa*, Bombay 1934, Transl. p. 80.
3. W. D. P. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā*, Oxford 1928.
4. F. Edgerton, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, Cambridge Mass. 1944, I, p. 113 and R.C. Zaehner, *The Bhagavad-gītā*, Oxford 1969, p. 311; cf. also R. Garbe *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig 1921, p. 134.
5. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā*, London 1948, p. 280.

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because what is meant is this: the death of the enemies is inevitable but one factor in the antecedent, viz. Arjuna's action, is still wanting. Similarly, Veṇīsaṁhāra. 1, 22 +*nimittamātreṇa pāṇḍavakrodhena bhavitavyam*. For the general meaning "cause" see e.g. also Śvetāśvatara Up. 1, 4 *dvinimittamoham* "whose one delusion (arises) from two conditioning causes"; Mahābhārata, 13, 20, 50 *sā vepamānāṅgī nimittaṁ śītajaṁ tadā/ vyapadiśya maharṣeḥ*"... pretending to tremble with cold".[1]

In the frequent cases of the type Mahābhārata 5, 175,17 *kanyānimittam...tatrāsīd utsavo mahān*! 3, 63, 18 *viṣanimittā* (*pīḍā*), or Rāmāyaṇa 2, 27, 1 *vanavāsanimittāya bhartāram idam abravīt*, there can be no doubt whatever that the girls, the poison and the idea of dwelling in the forest were, in a large sense, the state of affairs, the 'something' which were the 'cause' —likewise in a large sense—of some result, effect or occurrence, notwithstanding the fact that other factors may have been present in the antecedent also.

At first sight the meaning "omen, good or bad prognostic" seems widely different. If, however, we remember that in the view of the ancient Indians an omen and the occurrence which is indicated or foreboded by it are so closely connected that the latter cannot happen if the former is annulled or is made inoffensive, or as it is called, is propitiated (*Śānti* : cf. e. g. Varāhamihira, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 49, 8 *aśubhanimittotpattau śāstrajñaḥ śāntim ādiśed rājñaḥ*), we are aware that the relation between an omen and the event which happens after its occurrence was believed to be 'causal'—in the above sense—in nature.[2] (According to the Amarakośa a *nimitta* is a "cause or prognostic sign: *nimittaṁ hetulakṣmaṇoḥ*). When Arjuna sees adverse omens (Bhagavadgītā 1, 31 *nimittāni...viparītāni*) he is absolutely convinced that some evil will occur as their 'effect' or 'fruit' (*phala*, e. g. Yājñavalkya 3, 171; Kullūka, on Manusmṛti 6, 50) and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa the opportune appearance of the cow is an auspicious preliminary event indicating the near fulfilment of the king's wishes.[3] The term is also used by the inter-

1. P. Ch. Roy, *The Mahābhārata*, X, Calcutta n, d., p. 121,
2. I refer to J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*. I. Stuttgart 1960, p. 112; D. J. Kohlbrugge, *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa* über Omina, Thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 13 ff.
3. Specialized uses such as that in Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 21, 35 ff. (where H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, I, The Hague 1913, p. 255 translated "concomitant") need not detain us : the *nimittāni* of a cloud-embryo, viz. wind, rain, lightning etc. are omens, marks, tokens also. I would however avoid the translation "symptom" (the same, on 43, 30).

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preters of dreams : Jagaddeva, Svapnacintāmaṇi 1, 98 states that the appearance of definite birds is a *nimitta* of wealth (*dhanasaṁpattinimittam*): Von Negelein translated "causes or brings about."[1] Hence also the compound *pūrvanimitta* (Pāli *pubbanimitta*) in Buddhist literature : "the 'advance-sign' prognosticating something that is to happen in the future, especially of the thirtytwo signs which precede and forecast the birth of a Bodhisattva.[2] That in contradistinction to an *utpāta*, which generally denotes an unlucky portent, a *nimitta* may also be auspicious is an argument in favour of the basic and general meaning of the term assumed in this article. That it is often restricted to special prognostic signs such as throbbing of a person's limbs[3] is one of those special acceptations which may always be expected to develop in definite contexts and milieus. It is not surprising that the term *nimitta* was also applied to the personal physical marks, traits or characteristics (of the body, but also of dress and ornaments) which are likewise a 'basis' for prognostication : here the translation "features"[4] is hardly adequate. When in the Pāli Jātaka 108 (I, p. 420) a queen is described as *uddhumātakanimittasadisā* this may for clearness' sake be rendered by "almost bloated in appearance",[5] but a more precise translation would be "like (similar to) the signs, marks or outward appearance of being bloated". Conclusions with regard to the state of health of the lady are drawn from her outward appearance and so this must not only exist (be visible), but also precede these conclusions.

The same explanation applies to the frequent use in cases such as Visuddhimagga, 1.54 *na nimittaggāhī ti itthipurisanimittaṁ vā subhanmiittādikaṁ vā kilesavatthubhūtaṁ nimittaṁ na gaṇhāti, diṭṭhamatte yeva saṇṭhāti* "He does not apprehend the 'sign' (*nimitta*) of woman or man, or any 'sign' that is a basis for defilement such as the 'sign' of beauty, etc. : he stops at what is merely seen", a passage which is commented upon as follows[6] : "Here it is the 'sign of woman'

1. J. Von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*, Giessen 1912, p. 106. As to the relation between dreams and omens see Jagaddeva 2, 158.
2. For some particulars see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*, New Haven 1953, p. 351.
3. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V. Poona 1262 p. 743.
4. J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, III, London 1956, p. 143 (translating III, 148, 3).
5. E. W. Cowell, *The Jātaka* translated, I, London 1957, p 251.
6. See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The path of Purification*, Colombo 1956, p. 21.

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because it is the cause of perceiving as 'woman' all such things as the shape that is grasped under the heading of the visible data (materiality) invariably found in a female continuity... 'The signs of beauty' here is the aspect of woman that is the cause for the arising of lust".[1] Compare also contexts such as ibidem, 1, 63 "What is hinting (*naimittikatā*) ? A sign to others, giving a sign, indication ....." and 77 "a sign (*nimitta*) is any bodily or verbal act that gets others to give requisites". In the Abhidharmakośa[2] 1, 28 it reads: *saṁjñā nimittodgrahaṇātmikā* "notion (consciousness) consists in the comprehension of the 'signs'". In certain contexts the meaning can be 'mere sign, appearance' : Saddharmapuṇḍarīka 57, 7 *nimittasaṁjñīn' iha bālabuddhinām* "for fools who form notions based on appearances"[3].

With reference by *dhyāna* (Pāli (*jhāna*) a *nimitta* is a 'sign' or 'mental reflex or image' which, if it refers to an object of sensory perception, calls forth or elicits a *paṭibhāga* "likeness, resemblance" or, in the other case, an *uggaha* "perception".[4] In other words in Buddhist meditative practice a 'sign' (*nimitta*) is a definite supersensual appearance which, whilst occurring as the immediate result of his meditation, makes the adept certain about the success of his efforts.[5] See e.g. Visuddhimagga 4, 22 (dealing with the earth *kasina*): "One who is learning the earth *kasina* apprehends the 'sign' in earth...He sees to it that that 'sign' is well apprehended...Seeing its advantages and perceiving it as a treasure..., making it dear to him, he anchors his mind to it, thinking, '...In this way I shall be freed from ageing and death'" (see e.g. also 4,72; 74 : "...confronting the 'sign' (and knowing,) 'now absorption will succeed'"; 8, 141, and 7, 51 the story of the frog which after apprehending such a 'sign' was reborn in a divine palace; seeking for the reason, "he found that it was none other than his apprehension of the sign in the Blessed One's voice"). In Pāli, the expression *nimittam gaṇhāti* means "to make something the object of a thought, to catch up a theme for reflection", e. g. Majjhima-Nikāya II, 62.

1. Cf. also the definition in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, 228, 6f. : *yat saṁsthānākṛtiviśeṣākārarūpādilakṣaṇaṁ dṛśyate tan nimittam.*—The acceptation *sexual organ* (*Vinayapiṭaka* III, 129) impresses us as being a specialization.
2. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, Paris-Louvain 1923-1931, I, 28.
3. For other places and particulars see Edgerton, o. c., p. 297.
4. S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga*, Lund 1932, p. 50 ff.
5. See e. g. H. Beckh *Buddhismus*. Berlin-Leipzig 1916, II, p. 47 and compare also E. Conze, *Buddhist thought in India*, London 1962, p. 62; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The central conception of Buddhism*, Calcutta 1956, p. 15 f.

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Bhīṣma, expounding at Mahābhārata 12,61,6 the duties of the four āśramas and, in the preceding stanzas, especially those of the vānaprastha, says : *etāny eva nimittāni munīnām ūrdhvaretasām*...Apte, Gode and Karve translate by "function, ceremony". If one would prefer "aim, objective aimed at", one could argue that the object to the attainment of which one's efforts are directed is also in this connection antecedent to the action itself. On second thoughts another interpretation is however more probable : the purificatory rites and ascetic life are the preliminaries on which the success, viz. the attainment of emancipation, of the vānaprasthas depends, or which have in any case to precede emancipation. Accordingly the text continues:...*kartavyāmīha vipreṇa...ādau vipaścitā*:

Sometimes *nimitta* unmistakably denotes "a butt, mark, target" : Mahābhārata 7, 52, 22 *nimitte* (*lakṣyabhedane*, (Nīlakaṇṭha) *dūrapātitve laghutve dṛḍhavedhane* "in hitting the target, shooting from a distance, agility, piercing what is solid" and 13, 98, 4 *calaṁ nimittaṁ viprarṣe sadā sūryasya gacchataḥ/ kathaṁ calam bhetsyasi tvaṁ sadā yāntaṁ divākaram*. (Compare also, in Pāli, Milindapañho 418 *yathā... issattho...nimittaṁ ujuṁ karoti*). Placing this use before the other uses of the word the Petersburg Dictionary and Monier-Williams seem to regard it as the starting-point of its semantic development, whereas others, mentioning it after "sign" and before "omen", seem to consider this "object to be aimed at in shooting-practice" a sort of token, sign or mark. In my opinion, neither view is convincing. The term *nimitta* is applied to the target because this simply must be present, if the archer is to hit something with his missile. If this "something", the target, were not present, successful shooting would be impossible, or shooting would be no sensible thing to do at all.

In the tale of Vāladhi who, desirous of an immortal son, was given a son whose life should not end till the object in which his life was bound up—an 'indestructible' mountain—should perish we find the line Mahābhārata 3, 136, 5 *nāmartyo vidyate martyo nimittāyur bhaviṣyati*..."his life will last as long as that by which it is determined" (Petersburg Dictionary, in German).[1] Being sinful the father provoked a saint who thereupon destroyed the mountain —which in st. 10 is called the son's *nimitta*, which should not with

1. "...On no condition a mortal can be made immortal" (M. N. Dutt, *The Mahābhārata, Vana Parva*, Calcutta 1896. p. 199) is of course a very free rendering.

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M. N. Dutt be translated by "instrumental cause"—and therewith Medhāvan also : *sa nimitte vinaṣṭe tu mamāra sahasā śiśuḥ*. Here the above fundamental meaning of the term under discussion is quite clear.

So the conclusion may be that the different 'meanings' of *nimitta* are fundamentally one. In various contexts and situations this basic meaning has developed in different directions so as to necessitate different translations. The origin of the word remains obscure.[1]

1. Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *A concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary*, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 165 f.

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BHARTṚHARI ON *TADDHITA* FORMATIONS INVOLVING COMPARISON[1]

K. A. Subramania Iyer

1. The last section of the third *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari deals with *Vṛtti*, that is, complex or integrated formation in Sanskrit. It is well known that five such formations are recognised in Sanskrit grammar: (1) primary derivatives (कृदन्त), (2) secondary derivatives (तद्धितान्त), (3) compound words (समास), (4) denominative verbs (नामधातु) and (5) retention of one (एकशेष). Bhartṛhari draws our attention to some ideas of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali on these formations. I have dealt with the way in which Bhartṛhari presents some of these ideas in my work on Bhartṛhari, pp. 371-401. How he presents some other ideas is also worthy of notice. Some formations taught by Pāṇini involve comparison. Elsewhere I have drawn attention to how Bhartṛhari presents Patañjali's ideas on compounds involving comparison. Primary and secondary derivatives and denominative verbs also sometimes involve comparison. Pāṇini 3. 2. 79 teaches the suffix णिनि after a root if it has a proximate word (उपपद) expressive of the standard of comparison which is the agent for which the suffix stands. उष्ट्र इव क्रोशतीत्युष्ट्रक्रोशी is usually given as the example. The word उष्ट्रक्रोशी is a primary derivative in which the suffix णिनि has been added to the root क्रुश् when the word उष्ट्र, expressive of the standard of comparison, stands next to it. Similarly, P. 3.1.10. tells us that, to a word expressive of the standard of comparison (उपमान) which is the object (कर्म) of action, the suffix क्यच् is added in the sense of 'to treat'.[2] Thus, we get पुत्रीयति छात्रम् in the sense of पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रम् ।='he treats his pupil like a son'. This suffix can also be added to a word expressive of location (अधिकरण) if it is a standard of comparison.[3] That

1. *Bhartṛhari on compounds involving comparison*—a paper read at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute—Madras March 1971.
2. उपमानादाचारे—P. 3.1.10
3. अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्—*M. Bhā.* on *vā.* 1. on P. 3.1.10.

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is how one can say प्रासादीयति कुटयां भिक्षुः = 'the monk lives in his hut as in a mansion. Similarly, the suffix क्यङ् is added to a word expressive of the agent who is the standard of comparison in the sense of 'to behave or act'.[1] Thus we get कृष्णायते in the sense of कृष्ण इवाचरति = 'he acts like Kṛṣṇa'. But Bhartṛhari does not say anything about primary derivatives and denominative verbs involving comparison in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. He has, however, much to say about secondary derivatives, involving comparison. He does it soon after he has finished with compounds involving comparison. He does not deal with all the *taddhita-sūtras* which teach forms involving comparison. He makes a selection of them.

2. He takes, first of all, P. 5.1.115, 116 and 117 for consideration. The first *sūtra* is—तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः = 'after a word ending in the third case affix (तृतीया विभक्तिः), the suffix वति is added in the sense of 'similar to' or 'equal to' provided that what is similar is an action. When an action is similar to another, the suffix *vati* is added to the word expressive of the standard of comparison and ending in the third case-affix. For example : ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवद् अधीते क्षत्त्रियः = 'the *kṣattriya* studies like a *brāhmaṇa*'. 'ब्राह्मणवत्' is the form which results from this *sūtra*. The word *brāhmaṇa* here stands for *brāhmaṇādhyayanam* = brāhmaṇa's study. What one ultimately understands is that the *kṣattriya's* study is equal to that of the *brāhmaṇa*. In other words, an action done by one is compared to an action done by another.

To this *sūtra*, Bhartṛhari devotes as many as ninety-one stanzas (433-523) of the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* of the Vākyapadīya. Outwardly, he explains how Patañjali interprets this *sūtra*. In that sense, these ninety-one stanzas can be looked upon as a commentary in verses on the M. Bhā. on P. 5.1.115. But in the course of his explanation, he expresses some general ideas which have more than a contextual interest and the object of the present paper is to draw the attention of the reader to these ideas which are mentioned in the course of the explanation of P. 5. 1. 115.

3. In this *sūtra*, the word *tena* stands for the standard of comparison and the word which expresses it is the stem to which the suffix *vati* is to be added. The word *tulyam* in the *sūtra* stands for the meaning of the suffix. After that comes the word *kriyā* which is a qualifier (विशेषण, उपाधि). The question is : what does it qualify ? Does it qualify the meaning of the stem (प्रकृत्यर्थ) or that of the suffix (प्रत्ययार्थ) ? As the word तेन comes first in the *sūtra*, one would natu-

1. कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च P. 3.1.11.

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rally think that it qualifies the meaning of the stem. There is no reason for by-passing what comes first. But a difficulty arises : the third case-ending, like the others, is added to a word expressive of *sattva*=substance, concrete object and not to a word expressive of action which is not *sattva*, but a process (*sādhya*). How can the word क्रिया=action, process, qualify the meaning of a word ending in the third case-affix ? That in which the universal quality and action inhere, that which can be referred to by a pronoun like 'this' (इदम्) or 'that' (तत्) is called substance, concrete object (सत्त्व). A stem which expresses that can take the third case-ending. The meaning of a stem, fit to render service to something else, becomes different from it and takes a case-ending which expresses that difference. That difference may be based upon the relation of action and as accessory (क्रियाकारकसंबन्ध) or on relation in general (शेषसंबन्ध). In the sentences अध्ययनेन वसति, दध्ना जडः, तपसा कृशः, धनेन कुलम्, this relation in general takes the form of causality. Where the difference is based upon the relation of action and accessory, there also, the third case-ending can be used as in दात्रेण लुनाति, परशुना छिनत्ति. These two occasions for the use of the third case-ending cannot exist in a verb. A verb expresses action which consists of the activities of the accessories (कारक), has its parts spread out. It is something yet to be, a process and is different from substance which is already there. A process cannot be the substratum of the powers which bring about the process.[1] A word which expresses the process, that is, a verb cannot take the third case-ending or any case-ending and it is in order to make this clear that a verb has not been declared to be a *prātipadika* (a stem).

It might be said that a verb is not the only kind of word which expresses action. There are words like पाक, ending in affixes like घञ् which also express action. But the fact is that such words express action as a thing, as substance. They cannot, therefore, be really considered to be action words in the way that verbs can be so considered. That is why the M. Bhā. has declared that an action denoted by a word ending in the कृत् suffix is like substance.[2] Such a word can take gender and number because the action denoted by such a word is not really action, not a process. It is called action because, if expressed by a verb formed from the same root, it

1. क्रिया च साधनव्यापारस्वभावा प्रसुतावयवा, साध्या सिद्धस्वभावद्रव्यविलक्षणेति साध्योपयोगिनीनां शक्तीनामनाश्रयः । Helārāja on *Vāk*. III. वृ. 435.
2. कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवद् भवति. *M. Bhā*. I. p. 417, l. 17-18.

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would be real action. As it is, it is not so and that is why. the suffix कृत्वसुच्, used when repetition of an action has to be counted, cannot be added to a numeral in association with a word like *pākaḥ*. One cannot say पञ्चकृत्वः पाकः ।[1] Words ending in the suffix क्त्वा or तुमुन् are also, like verbs, expressive of action and, therefore, do not take case-endings.

To justify the view that the word क्रिया in P. 5. 1. 115 qualifies the meaning of तेन in the same *sūtra*, it is argued that even if the suffix *vati* cannot be added to a verb on the ground that it cannot end in the third case-ending it can surely be added to a word formed with a कृत्य suffix, because such a word can denote action and take the third case-ending too. But it is not such a word which is meant to be the stem to which the suffix वति is added. It is true that such a word can denote action and so the suffix कृत्वसुच् can be added to it. One can say पञ्चकृत्वः शयितव्यम्. But the suffix वति cannot be added to such a word, because it is added only when comparison is understood and here it is not understood. If a comparison is possible at all, it would be between the action expressed by, say, शयितव्यम् and another action or substance or quality or substance having quality. But there cannot be any comparison between action and any one of these things because there cannot be any common property between them.[2] It is not because no word expressive of the common property is used that no comparison is understood here but because no comparison is possible between a process on the one hand and a substance or quality on the other. Nor is any comparison possible between two pure actions or processes, whether they are of the same kind or of different kinds. But an action existing in one substratum is different from the same action existing in another substratum and the two can be compared with each other. That is why one can say : ब्राह्मणाध्ययनेन तुल्यं क्षत्त्रियाध्ययनम् = 'the study of a *kṣattriya* is equal to that of a *brāhmaṇa*'.[3]

The view that the word क्रिया in P. 5.1.115 qualifies the meaning of the word ending in the third case-affix, so that तेन means : "(similar to) the action denoted by the stem", in other words, the

1. P. 5.4.17.
2. न केवलौ द्रव्यगुणौ तद्वान् वाप्युपमीयते ।
शयितव्यादिभिस्तेषु नोपमार्थोऽस्ति कश्चन ॥ Vāk. III. vṛ. 439.
3. आधारभेदाद्भिन्नायामुपमानस्य संभवः ।
अध्येतव्येन विप्राणां तुल्यमध्ययनं विशाम् ॥ Vāk. III. vṛ. 443.

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प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्ष, is being discussed now. If the suffix वति can be added to words formed with suffixes like कृत्य and घञ् and ending in the third case-affix, why does the author of the M. Bhā. say that words expressive of a combination of properties are sometimes used for one of the properties only ? He does so in order to show that in ब्राह्मणवत्, the suffix वति has been added to a stem which is expressive of action. Ordinarily, the word ब्राह्मण stands for a combination of three qualities, namely, (1) तपस्=austerity, (2) श्रुतम्=learning and (3) योनि:=birth. Sometimes, however, it may stand for one of them only, say, श्रुतम्=learning, the habit of study. So the word *brāhmaṇa* means the habit of study of a *brāhmaṇa*. To use a word which ordinarily means a combination of qualities for one of them only is secondary usage. When a word formed with a कृत्य suffix expresses action, it does so primarily. Between the primary and secondary use of words, the former would be preferred and that would result in our inability to add the suffix वति to a word like ब्राह्मण, as it would be preferably added to a word ending in a suffix like the कृत्य which express action primarily. It is in order to make it possible that the author of the *M. Bhā* has stated that sometimes, a word instead of denoting the whole of its meaning, denotes only a part of it. So here the word ब्राह्मण means only the *brāhmaṇa's* habit of study.

This प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्ष which is now being discussed raises a difficulty. According to it, the stem ending in the third case-affix is the thing to be qualified (विशेष्य) and so the main thing (प्रधान). How can the word क्रिया which means action and ends in the first case-affix (प्रथमा विभक्ति) be its उपाधि ? They are not in apposition to each other (समानाधिकरण). Only that which is in apposition to another can be its qualifier (उपाधि or विशेषण). One sees this apposition in the case of other *upādhis* taught in the *śāstra*. For instance, in the case of the *upādhis* mentioned in P. 3. 2. 45; 4. 2. 24 and 4. 2. 57. Here the *upādhi*, namely क्रिया is in the first case-ending whereas that of which it is the *upādhi* is in the third case-affix, which is not right. Nor can the difficulty be got over by changing the first case-ending to the third one at the time of interpretation because, then the use of the first case-ending in the *sūtra* would become useless. One would have to postulate some scope for it somewhere else.[1] If the case-ending actually used in a particular place has already played its

1. विविभक्तिः प्रकृत्यर्थं प्रत्युपाधिः कथं भवेत् ।
विभक्तिपरिणामे च प्रकल्प्यं विषयान्तरम् ॥ Vāk. III. vṛ. 458:

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part there, it can be changed if necessary, in another place, to suit the new context. As the stem would remain the same, the word with the new case-ending would be recognized as the same. But this change of case-ending is not allowed in the original place where it is taught. This process of change is called ऊह by the Mīmāṁsakas and in their *śāstra*, it is done in connection with विकृतिभाव. In Grammar also, it can take place in a similar manner. For instance, in P. 1.3.1, the word धातवः ends in the plural of the first case-affix and the sūtra is interpreted without any change in it. Thus it plays its part in that *sūtra* when the word धातु is brought into later *sūtras* in order to complete their meaning, the first case-ending and the plural number may not fit there. For instance, in P. 1.3.12 it is brought in, but now the singular first case-ending is added to it. Sometimes but rarely the case-ending actually used may be meant to stand for others also. For instance, in P. 1. 1. 56, the term अल्-विधि has been deliberately used in the following senses : अलः परस्य विधिः, अलि विधिः, अला विधिः. But that is not the case here.[1]

If change of case-ending is not possible here, how there be connection between two words ending in two different case-endings? The connection can take place as follows. As, usually, there is no verb in the *sūtras*, it has to be supplied according to the requirement of the context. The word चेत् in the *sūtra* enables us to complete its sense as follows—यत् तत् तृतीयासमर्थं क्रिया चेत् सा भवति='if the meaning of what ends in the third case-affix is action'. In this way, without changing the case-ending in the *sūtra* itself, a connection between the words तेन and क्रिया results.[2] The word तेन in the *sūtra* only tells us that the stem ends in the third case-affix. The word चेत् enables us to construe the *sūtra* according to the word expressive of the condition.

The fact is that the condition (उपाधि) for the operation of a grammatical rule is not always indicated in the same way in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In P. 4. 2.57, the words तदस्यां प्रहरणम् are an imitation, in a general way, of a sentence like दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायाम्='a game in which a stick is the tool,' or मुष्टिः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायाम्='a game in which the fist is the tool'. In these sentences, the words expressive of the

1. तथा अनल्विधाविति सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः समासः। नानाविभक्त्यर्थयोगी हि प्रातिपदिकार्थः सकृन्निर्देशेऽप्यत्राभिप्रेतः। Helārāja on Vāk. वृ. 459-460.
2. सोपस्कारेषु सूत्रेषु वाक्ये शेषः समर्प्यते।
तेन यत् तत् तृतीयान्तं क्रिया चेत् सेति गम्यते॥ Vāk. III. वृ. 463.

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different tools are put in the same case-ending as the word तत् in the *sūtra*. Similarly, the word expressive of the game is also put in the same case-ending as the word अस्याम् in the *sūtra*. The tool and the game constitute the condition or the उपाधि for the use of the suffix ण taught in this *sūtra* and they are expressed by words parallel (समानशब्द) to those used in the explanatory sentence. The parallelism consists in being put in the same case-ending. This is one way of indicating the (उपाधि). Another way of indicating it is not to mention it at all in the explanatory sentence, but to leave it to be understood. Nor would the *sūtra* contain an imitation of it. That is the case in P 5. 1. 115. In explaining the form ब्राह्मणवद् अधीते, one says ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यमधीते (क्षत्रियः). In this explanatory sentence the action of studying is not presented directly as connected with ब्राह्मण. It is just understood. This is another legitimate way of indicating the उपाधि. One cannot, therefore, object to the word क्रिया, expressive of the उपाधि, being put in the first case-ending, because connection can be shown by the completing sentence.[1]

Now the *M. Bhā.* passage which states that words stand for a combination of qualities[2] is explained. In order to explain how an action word can end in the third case-affix, it has been stated that a word like ब्राह्मण stands for a combination of qualities like fair colour , clean conduct and reddish-brown hair associated with birth in a particular caste. Even though these qualities may not be invariably present, still they are expressed by the word which denotes that caste. The close association of these qualities with a caste is what is meant here. In this way, there would be no confusion. What is meant by standing for a combination is that neither option (विकल्प) nor addition (समुच्चय) is meant to be conveyed.[3] If the word can express each quality separately, the combination would be obtained by adding the qualities together. If all the qualities included in the combination are conveyed at the same level, they would all be conveyed by adding them together. Then multiplicity being fully manifest, the word would take the plural number. When the com-

1. उपाधेः कस्यचिद् वाक्ये प्रयोग उपलभ्यते ।
प्रतीयमानधर्मान्यो न कदाचित् प्रयुज्यते ॥ Vāk. III. vṛ. 464.
2. सर्व एते शब्दाः समुदायेषु वर्तन्ते—ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्र इति *M. Bhā.* II. p. 363, 12-13.
3. तदेतत् पुनः समुच्चयस्य विकल्पस्य चाविवक्षायां समुदायवचनत्वमुच्यते शब्दानाम् । अविद्यमानो विकल्पोऽयं वायं वेत्येवंरूपोऽविद्यमानश्च समुच्चयोऽयं चायं चेत्येवंरूपो यस्य तस्य समुदायस्य विवक्षायाम् । Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. vṛ. 470.

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bination is conveyed with its multiplicity hidden, it would take the singular number. But then, there would be no adding up, resulting in multiplicity. Similarly, here, if the word stands for a combination, it cannot stand for adding up.

The examples given in the *M. Bhā* of words denoting a combination of qualities being sometimes used for a part only are as follows समुदायेषु च शब्दा वृत्ता अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते । तद्यथा पूर्वे पाञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पाञ्चालाः, तैलं भुक्तं घृतं भुक्तम् । शुको नीलः कृष्ण इति । These examples require a little explanation. In cognition objects figure as characterised by their universal qualities and actions. As words convey objects as cognised, from them also, objects are similarly cognised. That is why a combination of these things is said to be the meaning of a word. As purposive action is applied to a substance, that is the main meaning of a word, but it is characterised by the universal etc. As they are all united as one, the singular number is used. Substance in which the universal inheres is the meaning of a word. As such a substance cannot be devoid of quality and action, the latter are also understood. In the view that a combination is the meaning of the word, they all come within the denotative power of words.[1] The external object is naturally a qualified thing. Nobody speaks about it as a combination of separate things. But as such it does not come within the range of cognition. Due to an eternal predisposition, it is divided into parts, each being cognised separately. Thus, it is in cognition that the elements universal, action, quality and substance figure separately and then combine. This is what is meant by combination (समुदाय).[2] Words are said to be expressive of a combination of elements that figure in the cognition. As in the external object, in cognition also, the different elements stand in the relation of primary and secondary and so the word conveys substance qualified by the universal action and quality. As expression through words is preceded by cognition and as the base substance is not cognised, it is substance as characterised by its properties that is expressed by the word. Words expressive of a combination can express one of the elements also. That is why

1. *M. Bhā.* II. p. 363, l. 17-18.
2. सर्वेविशिष्टास्तैरर्थैर्जन्यन्ते सहचारिभिः ।
   बुद्धयः प्रतिपत्तृणां शब्दार्थास्तानतो विदुः ॥ Vāk. III. वृ. 472.
3. तथा च प्रत्ययेष्वेवार्था जातिगुणक्रियाद्रव्यलक्षणा भेदपूर्वकं ससर्गं भजन्ते । Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. वृ. 473.

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पूर्वं पाञ्चालाः=eastern *Pāñcāla* is given above as one of the examples. The word पाञ्चालाः means a particular country which being one, cannot be qualified by the word 'eastern'. So here the word expressive of the whole is used for a part. The relation between word and meaning being eternal, the word *Pāñcāla* here does not give up its meaning merely because of the presence of the word *pūrva*. Nor does it become expressive of a part. Giving up an established meaning and conveying a new meaning is not desired as far as words are concerned. As a country is one, the word पूर्वं cannot qualify it. If, to explain the connection, it is held that the word expressive of the whole qualifies a part, it would take the sixth case-affix as in पूर्वं कायस्य.[1] Thus difference of case-ending would result. One would have to say पाञ्चालानां पूर्वं: while the two words are in apposition to each other, the word पाञ्चालाः cannot give up its meaning, namely, the whole country. So it denotes a part only because the whole has been superimposed on the part.

If the word *pāñcālāḥ*, the name of a country, is looked upon as a derivable word (व्युत्पन्न) on the basis of its being a place of residence then the whole of the country as well as a part of it can be the place of residence of its masters (स्वामिविशेषाणां). A country is not a whole like the body. It is more like a forest. The whole, with all its parts, cannot be seen at the same time. It becomes a place of residence through its parts. So the word becomes applicable to the whole as well as to the parts. The whole can become connected with action only through the parts. If it is not a derivable word (अव्युत्पन्न), then also it can be applied to the whole as well as to the parts. So there is no question of abandoning or taking on anything. Just because the word can denote a whole or a part, the adjective सर्वं='all' can be used with it. Thus, a word expressive of the whole can denote the part also primarily. The author of the *M. Bhā.* also supports this view. He has explained the compound अर्धपिप्पली as अर्धं च सा पिप्पली चार्धपिप्पली.[2] That means that the word पिप्पली which denotes the whole has been used for a part. It is a word expressive of the universal which exists in the part irrespective of its size. Whether this compound is interpreted as formed out of words in apposition to each other or not in apposition to each other (अर्धं पिप्पल्याः अर्धपिप्पली) the word पिप्पली stands for a particular universal

1. समुदायाभिधायी च यदि भेदं विशेषयेत् ।
तत्तातुल्यविभक्तित्वं पूर्वकायादिवद् भवेत् ॥ Vāk. III. v. 476.
2. *M. Bhā.* I. p. 479, 14.

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and would, therefore, exclude other universals. Just as the whole of the पञ्चाल country is different from other countries, so is a part of it like a village. So when the word is used to exclude other countries, the difference between the whole and the part is unimportant. Even though the whole and the part are conveyed by the word, a word like पञ्चाल is known as standing for the whole and not for a part. That it stands for a part is determined from the context. Similarly, words like ब्राह्मण also denote a combination as well as a part. They denote that which manifests the universal (ब्राह्मणत्व) which is perfected by ceremonies such as the उपनयन, which is associated with acts like performing and officiating at sacrifices and with qualities like clean conduct, faith, learning, gentleness, truthfulness, freedom from revengefulness and so on. In the first instance, because of established convention, it stands for a combination of all of them. When the word is used in order to exclude other universals than ब्राह्मणत्व, the question of whole and part does not arise and so the word can stand for a part also. That it stands for a part is understood from the context and so it is a kind of secondary meaning[1] What the *M. Bhā* means by saying that words expressive of a combination can denote a part also is that, because of similarity of sound and form, the two are looked upon as one. It is not meant that a word gives up the meaning of combination and denotes a part. That would result in the non-eternality of the relation between word and meaning which is not desired.

Coming now to the other examples given in the *M. Bhā*, by the word तैल='oil', or घृत='clarified butter', what is meant here is medicated oil or clarified butter, having a definite measurement. As the definite measurement consists of so many small units or doses it may be looked upon as a combination of these, or it may mean a limited quantity of oil or clarified butter polluted by some animal like a dog. The word should not be taken to stand for the universal and, therefore, capable of denoting the whole or the part as the universal inheres in both. As it stands for medicated oil, the dose taken every day is felt to be the same medicated oil, so that the word denotes a part also. The same applies to what is polluted.

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1. तत्र च जात्यन्तरनिवृत्तिपरायां चोदनायां जातिनिमित्तस्यास्य शब्दस्य समुदायावयवविभागानाश्रयेण प्रवृत्तेरवयवेऽपि वृत्तिरविरुद्धा। अर्थप्रकरणादिवशात् पुनस्तत्रावसाय इत्यमुख्यत्वमेव। Helārāja on Vāk III. v. 481-482.

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Words expressive of the universal or of a quality are applied to objects irrespective of their size or quantity. Their purpose is only to distinguish the objects from others on the basis of the universal or quality. Measurement words like द्रोण on the other hand, stand for objects having a definite measurement or quantity. If words like तैल merely stand for the universal, they would denote both the whole and the part equally well. That is why the Bhāṣyakāra has used it in the sense of medicated or polluted oil. Elsewhere also he has made a distinction between words expressive of the universal and quality on the one hand and words expressive of measurement and quality on the other.

It has already been stated that quality words can be applied to objects irrespective of their size. Normally of course, an epithet like कृष्ण is applied to an object when all its parts are black. Sometimes, however, even when only a part is black, the whole is called black, especially to exclude objects which are not even partly black.[1] When a piece of cloth, part of which is black, is said to be black, there are two possibilities : (1) what is wholly black is superimposed on the part that is black, (2) the word 'cloth' itself stands for the part and the word 'black' denotes primarily the black part which is entirely black. The word भुक्त should be understood here as used when the part is superimposed on the whole, if one can see that an action word like भुक्त has an object of limited quantity. When there is doubt as to whether the medicated or polluted oil has been eaten and one says तैलं भुक्तम्, there is no intention to emphasise the whole or the part and so the word expressive of the whole can denote the part. So the position is this : When the cloth is primarily meant, then the word cloth stands for the part. The same applies to the statement तैलं भुक्तम्. Similarly, in a statement meant to exclude other countries, the use of the name पञ्चालाः for a part is primary usage. When the purpose of the statement is the exclusion of others, the difference between the whole and the part is irrelevant and a quality word like कृष्ण, whether it denotes the whole or a part, does exclude other things and such a use of it is primary usage.

Now that the illustrations have been explained, they can be applied to the present case. In the expression ब्राह्मणवदधीते क्षत्रियः, the act of studying is mentioned in connection with the object of com-

1. कृष्णादिव्यपदेशश्च सर्वावयववृत्तिभिः ।
गुणैस्तेऽप्येकदेशस्थाः परादीनां विशेषकाः ॥ Vāk. III. dr. 486.

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parison (उपमेय) and that is why resemblance is understood. Therefore, here the word ब्राह्मण denotes the action of studying only. As the word primarily stands for a combination of qualities like austerity, learning, birth etc. its application to the act of studying only is secondary usage. So the suffix वति is added to the word ब्राह्मण which denotes the act of studying and ends in the third case-affix.[1]

This प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्ष raises a difficulty. If the word ब्राह्मण denotes the action of studying only, then the relation of उपमान and उपमेय would be between the two acts of studying and not between the two persons who study. One would then have to state some common property like excellence in the two acts of studying. Once that is done, the act of studying would become the substratum of a quality, cease to be action and become a thing or substance capable of being referred to by a pronoun like इदम् or तत्. Then the condition that the stem should be expressive of an action and should end in the third case-affix would remain unfulfilled.[2]

So the position would have to be stated as follows : As it is not possible to have a pure action-word ending in the third case-affix, a word expressive of substance qualified by action is understood as the stem. The word ब्राह्मण, though expressive of a combination, is understood as standing for substance (that is, a person) characterised by the act of studing which is a part of the combination. So the suffix वति is added to the word ब्राह्मण ending in the third case-affix and denoting a person qualified by the act of the studying and we get ब्राह्मणवद् अधीते क्षत्त्रियः and we understand the relation of उपमान and उपमेय on the basis of the act of studying actually mentioned.[3]

Even if the word ब्राह्मण stands only for a part of the combination, namely, action, it does not abandon the universal or the substance. The universal comes in here as the standard of comparison As the word क्रिया is mentioned as the qualifier of the meaning of the stem, the word ब्राह्मण denotes substance qualified by action. The

1. तपः श्रुतमध्ययनमित्यादौ हि समुदाये मुख्यो ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रसिद्ध इति तदेकदेशेऽध्ययनमात्रे सम्पचरितः । ततश्चाध्ययनक्रियावाचिनस्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वतिरित्येकीयं मतम् । Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. वृ. 489.
2. तथा च तदधिकरणभावापन्नमध्ययनमिदं तदिति व्यपदेश्यत्वात् क्रियात्वं जह्यात् इति न क्रियावाचिनस्तृतीयासमर्थता समर्थिता स्यादित्यभिप्रायः । Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. वृ. 490.
3. अध्येतरि यदा वृत्तिरुच्यते ब्राह्मणश्रुतेः ।
निमित्तत्वं तदोपैति क्रियैवाध्येतरि स्थिता ॥ *Vāk.* III. वृ. 491.

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other associated attributes are ignored.[1] As a word expressive of pure action cannot end in the third case-affix, the word क्रिया mentioned in the *sūtra* to exclude other things stands for that which has action. It is an accepted procedure to adopt a secondary meaning if the primary one is unsuitable. Whether a word denotes the combination or only a part of it, it is said to be expressive of the particular (विशेषवृत्ति). When it is used for a part, it excludes the other parts and thus it stands for the particular. When it is used for the combination, it excludes the part and thus it stands for the particular. So, from the word ब्राह्मण, which really stands for the combination, a part, not action only, but the substance (द्रव्य) qualified by action is understood. Through the latter, resemblance is understood.[2] It is through action or quality that something becomes the standard of comparison. But ordinarily, a word like ब्राह्मण stands for a combination. No part is excluded, unless the context tells us so. Thus the word denotes action and quality also. They can, therefore, become the basis of comparison. So even when expressive of the combination, a word can stand for the standard of comparison. If a word is to denote a part only, there should be some special indication for it. For instance, in ब्राह्मणवद् अधीते क्षत्रियः =‘the *kṣattriya* studies like a *brāhmaṇa*, the action of studying, mentioned in relation to the *kṣattriya* indicates that the word *brāhmaṇa* stands for the act of studying. The relation of standard and object of comparison depends upon a common property and so here the action is common to both. So the word expressive of the उपमान stands for a part. It is not that the verb mentioned in relation to the उपमेय expresses the action present in the उपमान, but from it we understand that the उपमान stands for an action.[3]

Thus the प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्ष has been stated in a more acceptable form, namely, that the suffix वति is added to a stem ending in the

1. जहाति जातिं द्रव्यं वा तस्मिन्नवयवे स्थितः ।
क्रियायास्तु श्रुतिर्यस्मात् तद्वत्यर्थेऽवतिष्ठते ॥ *Vāk.* III. vṛ. 495.
2. केवलायाः क्रियाया वाच्यत्वे दोषाभिधानात् क्रियोन्मुखं द्रव्यमभिधेयमिति क्रियामुखेन तुल्योत्पत्तिस्तस्य । Helārāja on *Vāk.* III. vṛ. 498.
3. उपमाने क्रियावृत्तिमुपमेये क्रियाश्रुतिः । प्रत्याययन्ती भेदस्य करोतीव पदार्थताम् ॥ Vāk. III. vṛ. 502.
..... ततश्च भेदस्य प्रदेशस्यात्रोपमानपदेनाभिधानं निश्चीयते । उपमेयगता क्रियाश्रुतिरुपमानगतां क्रियां नाभिदधाति । किन्तु ततोऽवसीयते क्रियावचनत्वमुपमानशब्दस्येतीवशब्दः ।
Helārāja on the above.

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third case-affix and expressive of substance qualified by action. Even so stated, it is not satisfactory and, therefore, leads to the adoption of the प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्ष=the view that the word क्रिया in P. 5.1.115 qualifies the meaning of the suffix वति. The defect which still remains is that the suffix could be added to a word expressive of substance qualified by action in the sense of resemblance in some quality. As the word क्रिया is mentioned only once in the *sūtra*, after qualifying the meaning of the stem, it would be exhausted and so would not qualify the meaning of the suffix which could be some quality or other. So the suffix could be added to a stem ending in the third case-affix and expressive of substance qualified by action when there is resemblance in respect of some quality. One could say, for instance, पुत्रवत् स्थूलः in the sense of पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः. But this is not desired. It might be said that such a form cannot be made according to the प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्ष because the stem पुत्र does not denote substance qualified by action. The fact is that in the world one who obeys his father, continues the family line and behaves well is commonly called a son (*putra*). In other words, the word पुत्र, like the word ब्राह्मण, stands, ordinarily, for a combination of action like obeying the father's directions etc. To the word पुत्र expressive of a part of the combination qualified by action, the suffix could be added. The word is usually explained as one who protects the parents from the hell called पुत्. Disregarding that, it is explained as stated above, according to worldly usage. Thus the form पुत्रवत् स्थूलः could be formed. But that is not desired.

So the प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्ष is adopted. In this view, the word क्रिया qualifies, not the word तेन but the word तुल्यम् which has the same case-ending. Secondly, in any formation, the meaning of the suffix is the dominant one and so it is better to take the word क्रिया as qualifying the dominant meaning, represented by the word तुल्यम्. This would also save one the trouble of resorting to अध्याहार=bringing in what is not mentioned in the *sūtra* to explain it. That is what one had to do when one took the word क्रिया as a qualifier of तेन.

It might be said that in this new interpretation also, similar difficulty would crop up. If the word क्रिया qualifies the meaning of the suffix, it would, of course, not qualify the meaning of the stem which would then be not action or substance qualified by action. The *sūtra* would then mean that the suffix वति is added to a word ending in the third case-affix and *not* denoting action when

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the word so formed is expressive of what is similar in action.[1] One could say : स्थूलवत् पुत्रः in the sense of स्थूलेन तुल्यः पुत्रः. But this is not desired either. To point out the difficulty, some give the undesired formation स्थूलवद् याति in the sense of स्थूलेन तुल्यो याति as the example. But this is not suitable either because the suffix cannot be added even in this way. Here याति is in apposition to the masculine word तुल्यः। Therefore, resemblance due to action is not understood and that is the essential condition for any form coming under P. 5. 1. 115. स्थूलवद् याति in the sense of स्थूलेन तुल्यो याति can mean : one, who is similar in fatness, goes. Here once the first two words are connected and similarity in fatness is understood, वति can be added and so the verb which follows cannot be the cause of the addition.

To remove this difficulty which has been shown to be the same in both interpretations, the *M. Bhā.* shows a way[2] and that is explained by Bhartṛhari as follows—The word क्रिया, though mentioned only as the qualifier in relation to one will be understood as the qualifier of both the meaning of the stem and that of the suffix. The word तुल्य denotes resemblance which always presupposes two things. That word would make us understand that the qualifier exists in both.[3] It has been said in the *M. Bhā* passage referred to above that what has been weighed (सम्मितम्) in the balance (तुलया) is तुल्य. The action of weighing or comparing is implied in the word तुल्य. Just as the balance determines or measures something in the same way the common attribute determines or compares something to another. So though the common attribute is mentioned only in regard to one, it is understood in regard to the other also. Even when it is the qualifier of the meaning of the stem, it becomes the qualifier of the meaning of the suffix also. Nothing can be similar to an action except another action.[4] Even though mentioned only in regard to one, the word क्रिया is understood as related to both. Where no word expressive of action is mentioned, there the suffix वति cannot be added at all by P. 5.1.115, as in पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्थूलः and

1. M. Bhā. II. p. 363, 23-24.
2. नैष दोषः। यत्तत्तुल्यं क्रिया चेत् सा भवतीत्युच्यते। तुलया च सम्मितं तुल्यम्। यदि तृतीयासमर्थमपि क्रिया प्रत्ययार्थोऽपि क्रिया ततस्तुल्यं भवति। *M. Bhā.* II., p. 364, 1-2.
3. द्वयं विशेष्यते तेन यदेकत्र विशेषणम्।
   तुल्यशब्दो हि तं धर्ममुभयस्थमपेक्षते॥ *Vāk.* III. v. 512.
4. तस्मात् प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्षेऽपि प्रत्ययार्थः क्रिया। न ह्यन्यस्तुल्यः क्रिययास्ति, अन्यदतः क्रियायाः। Helārāja on Vāk. III. v. 513.

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स्थूलेन तुल्यः पुत्रः । As there is no verb here, no particular common action is understood. Therefore, no relation of उपमान and उपमेय based on action is understood. Hence, the suffix वति cannot be added here.

After having removed the difficulty which arises in both interpretations, Patañjali declares his preference for the second, namely the प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्ष. He prefers the second interpretation because : (1) the wording of the *sūtra* is such that the word क्रिया and the word तुल्यम् which stands for the meaning of the suffix वति are in apposition to each other and (2) the word formed by the *sūtra* in question would be automatically an indeclinable and there would be no need to include words ending in the suffix *-vati* in the list of indeclinables.[1] According to this interpretation, the suffix denotes pure action and not substance having action. In the other one, where the word क्रिया was taken as a qualifier of the stem, it was understood as standing for substance having action, and not pure action, because there would be no apposition to a word ending in the third case-affix (*tena*). Here it denotes pure action and so there is no need to resort to a secondary meaning when the primary meaning itself fits. So, as the suffix is expressive of pure action which is असत्त्व, a word ending in it automatically becomes an indeclinable (अव्यय) without being included in a list of indeclinables like स्वरादि referred to in P. 1.1.37. The reasons given for the preference are of a minor and technical nature.

This is a brief exposition of the explanation by Bhartṛhari of the *M. Bhā.* of Patañjali on P. 5.1.115 which is one of the *sūtras* which teach तद्धित formations involving comparison. The interest for us in this long section consisting of ninety-one stanzas devoted by Bhartṛhari to this *sūtra* is that various general ideas lie embedded in it. The following may be said to be some of them.

(a) Case-endings can be added only to words expressive of सत्त्व and not to words expressive of a process.

(b) A word formed with a primary suffix (कृदन्त) presents action as a substance and not as a process.

(c) A process cannot be the substratum of the powers which bring about the process.

(d) No comparison is possible between a process and substance or a quality or a substance having quality.

1. एवं चैव हि कृत्वाचार्यण सूत्रं पठितम् । वतिना सामानाधिकरण्यं कृतम् । अपि च वतेरव्ययेषु पाठो न कर्तव्यो भवति क्रियायामयं भवन् लिङ्गसंख्याभ्यां न योक्ष्यते । *M. Bhā.* II. p. 364. 8-10.

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(e) The object is a qualified thing; it is first so cognised, then analysed in cognition into its different elements and combined again.

(f) If action becomes the substratum of quality it ceases to be action and becomes a thing or a substance, capable of being referred to by a pronoun like this or that.

(g) Even the very general, when presented as the main thing, is as good as the particular, as it excludes the particulars. The *M. Bhā* says : सामान्यमपि यथा विशेषस्तद्वत् (I. p. 422. 5).

(h) Nothing can be better compared to an action than another action.

Similar ideas underlie Bhartṛhari's treatment of the other *sūtras* which teach तद्धित formations involving comparison. I hope to be able to deal with them on another occasion.

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PĀṆINI'S TREATMENT OF KĀRAKA-RELATIONS[1]

S. D. Joshi

(A) *Surface grammatical level and Underlying grammatical level* :

It is claimed by the modern linguists that the grammatical structure found in the surface form of sentences cannot explain large range of grammatical properties and relations. Since the underlying relations do not always coincide with the corresponding surface relations, the modern transformational grammar claims that the analysis should be based on unobservable reality underlying observable phenomenon of the surface form.[2] But the term transformational grammar has unfortunately created a good deal of unnecessary controversy and confusion. The term roughly claims that the transformational grammar assigns to each sentence that it generates, both — a deep structure and surface structure analyses—and tries to relate these two analyses systematically. Let us see how far this remark holds true for the Pāṇinian analysis also.

The mere fact that Pāṇini does not use the terms corresponding to deep structure and surface structure in his work is not sufficient to prove that Pāṇini was unaware of an underlying level of syntactic structure. Especially, in the province of syntax Pāṇini does not describe always the sentence in terms of physical features of sentence. In some of his rules, in the *Kāraka* section Pāṇini takes into account an underlying level of syntactic structure. The Pāṇinian rules illustrate that one underlying relation is expressed by the two different surface structures and two underlying relations are expressed by the same surface structure.[3] In other words, the meaning of a sentence, according to Pāṇini bears no direct relation to the surface structure exhibited in the form of utterance. A description of the surface structure of sentences does not suffice to account

1. P. *Kiparsky* and J. F. *Staal*, "Syntactic and Semantic Relations in Pāṇini", *Foundations of Language* 5 (1969) pp. 83-116. I should like to mention here that I am benefited immensely by this article. Some of the conclusions in my paper are based on it.
2. Jerrold J *Katz*, The *Underlying Reality of Language and its Philosophical Import*, Harper and Row Publications, New York 1171, pp. 32-34.
3. For this discussion in general see *Kiparsky* and *Staal*, *op. cit*, p. 85.

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for all its syntactic and semantic features. To establish that Pāṇini's analysis involves inter-relation between the deep grammatical level and the surface grammatical level let us see the facts which Pāṇini presents in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

(B) *The meaning of the term Kāraka* :

The word *kāraka* is *Ṇvul* derivation form the root *kṛ* in the sense of agent (P. 3.1.133, P. 3. 4. 67). Therefore, *kāraka* means that which brings about, i.e., doer or actor. For instance, when we say *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṁ kāṣṭhaiḥ pacati* 'Devadatta cooks the rice grains in the pot with fuel,' Devadatta, the rice grains, the pot and the fuel are *kārakas* in relation to the action of cooking because each of them in its own peculiar way brings about the action. *kāṣṭhaiḥ* is called *karaṇa* : 'means' (P.1.4.42). Without fuel no action of cooking can be undertaken. *sthālyām* is called *adhikaraṇa* : 'location' (P. 1.4.44). Without pot rice cannot be cooked. *odana* is called *karman* : 'object', 'goal', 'patient' (P. 1.4.49). Cooking cannot take place without something to be cooked. Devadatta is called *kartṛ* : 'agent' (P. 1.4.54). Any action requires an agent.

A traditional counter-example is *māṇavakasya pitaraṁ panthānaṁ pṛcchati* : 'he asks the father of a boy the way'. Here *māṇavaka* : 'boy' is not considered to be a *kāraka*, because he is not instrumental in bringing about the action of asking the way.

In Pāṇini's grammar, *kāraka* is a technical designation which is used in co-application with the lables *apādāna*, *saṁpradāna*, *karaṇa*, etc. introduced in the section P. 1. 24-54. Therefore, the term *kāraka* becomes defined by enumeration and it can be applied to items labelled *karaṇa* etc. only. This is why the genitive ending can be termed as *kārakaṣaṣṭhī* if it comes only through one of the above mentioned labels like *karman* or *kartṛ* (P. 2.3.65).[1]

(C) *Sentence is a miniature drama* :

Pāṇini's rules analyse the noun-verb relation in terms of roles. Each sentence is considered to be a miniature drama. The main verb indicates the plot.[2] The nominal expression called *kārakas* which play various roles are regarded as actors. The individual which is mainly responsible (i.e. *svatantra* : 'independent' in Pāṇini's term) for carrying out the plot is called *kartṛ* : 'agent' (P. 1.4.

1. *Kāra, Patañjali's vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, Kārakāhnika* (in preparation) to be published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, by S. D. *Joshi* and J. A. F. *Roodbergen*.
2. Compare D. Terence *Langendoen, Essentials of English Grammar*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1970, pp. 89-100.

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54). The main goal of an action (in Pāṇini's term, what the agent seeks most to obtain) is called *karman* (P. 1.4.49). The most effective tool used by the agent is called *karaṇa*: 'instrument' (P.1.4.42). A person or a thing aimed at in connection with an object (*karman*) is called *sampradāna* (P. 1.4.42). The source or origin from which departure takes place is called *apādāna* (P. 1.4.32). The location of an action is called *adhikaraṇa* (P. 1.4.44).

(D) *Roles represent the underlying grammatical level :*

According to Pāṇini, when we analyse the noun-verb relation in the sentence *Devadattaḥ sthālyāṁ kāṣṭhaiḥ odanaṁ pacati* we have to note the following things :

(i) Devadatta plays the role of a main actor, since he is mainly responsible in bringing about the action-total. Devadatta is called *kāraka* (P. 1.4.23). According to Pāṇini, this role can be best defined as being independently responsible for bringing about an action (P. 1.4.54). Therefore, Devadatta is labelled *kartā*. This is a feature of the grammatical structure of a sentence, even though it is semantically defined, that is, with reference to a general meaning abstract from the above mentioned sentence and similarly construed sentences. The *kartṛ-kāraka* is basically represented by what is labelled *tṛtīyā* (P. 2.3.18). According to P. 2.3.1, the instrumental is used to denote the agent if agent is not expressed otherwise. Since the verb-ending *ti* expresses the meaning : agent, the nominative case-ending (*prathamā*) is added to express the nominal stem-notion (i.e. subjectivization, P. 2. 3. 46). *Prathamā* is a category of nominal endings noted down as *su, au, jas* (P.4.1.2).[1]

(ii) *Sthālī* plays a role of containing. Since *sthālī* is instrumental in bringing about the action-total, it is called *kāraka* (P. 1. 4. 23). According to Pāṇini, this part can be defined as being location of an action (P. 1.4.45). As such, *sthālī* is labelled *adhikaraṇa*. The *adhikaraṇa kāraka* is represented by what is labelled *saptamī* (P. 2.3.36). *Saptamī* is a category of nominal endings noted down as *ṅi, os, sup* (P. 1.4.2).

(iii) *Kāṣṭha* plays a role of most effective tool in bringing about the action of cooking. Since it is instrumental in accomplishing the action-total it is called *kāraka* (P. 1.4.23). According to Pāṇini this role can be defined as being the most effective tool for bringing about an action (P. 1.4.42). As such *kāṣṭha* is *karaṇa*. The *karaṇa* is basically represented by what is called *tṛtīyā* (P. 2.3.18). *Tṛtīyā*

1. More information is available in *Kāra* (unpublished), *op. cit.*

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is a category of a nominal endings noted down as *ṭā, bhyām, bhis* (P. 1.4.2.).

(iv) *Odana* plays the role of a goal, i.e., the most desired object. Since for effection of *odana* the action has been undertaken, it is called *kāraka* (P. 1.4.23). According to Pāṇini this role can be defined as being the most desired object (P. 1.4.49). As such *odana* is called *karman*. This *kāraka* is basically represented by what is labelled *dvitīyā* (P. 2.3.2). *Dvitīyā* is a category of a nominal endings noted down as *am, auṭ, śas* (P. 1.4.2).

Now the basic question may be raised: How did Pāṇini arrive at six basic roles ? Did he first analyse the semantic categories appearing in the outside world and try to fit them in linguistic modes of expression ? The answer to this question will be in the negative. Pāṇini must have studied grammatical categories[1] prior to finding out the underlying semantic roles exhibited in the sentences. The roles of agent, patient, instrument, location, etc. conveyed by the above sentences, are primary features of the grammatical structure of the sentence, even though they are semantically defined. These roles are discovered by studying a general meaning abstracted from similar sentences which show similar pattern in form as well as in meaning. By the terms *svatantra* or *sādhakatama* etc. Pāṇini does not refer to the objects in the outside world. The term stands for the functions of nominal expressions as exhibited in the sentences. From the foregoing discussion it is clear that Pāṇini uses the labels *karman* etc, to serve as intermediaries between the surface form and the semantic roles exhibited in the sentences.

Now the question may be asked, why does Pāṇini not directly link the definition of the grammatical features to the case morphemes like *su, au, jas* etc. ? Or more specifically, why does Pāṇini require the intermediary labels like *apādāna, sampradāna* etc. ? The reason is as follows : In the sentences *akṣān* (*akṣaiḥ*) *dīvyati* : 'he plays (with) dice', the role played by the dice, according to Pāṇini is called *sādhakatama* : 'most effective tool'. This role is labelled *karaṇa* (P. 1.4.42). The *karaṇa-kāraka* is basically represented by what is called *tṛtīyā* (P. 2.3.18). Alternatively in the case of the root *div* the same role namely *sādhakatamatva*: 'being the most effective tool' is optionally labelled *karman* (P. 1.4.43). The *karmakāraka*

1. G. *Cardona*, "Pāṇini's syntactic categories", Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. XVI, No. 3, Baroda, 1967, pp. 202-214.

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is basically represented by what is called *dvitīyā* (P. 2.3.2). Thus the instrumental role is expressed via two labels namely *karman* and *karaṇa*. The inter-relation between P. 1.4.42, 1.4.43, 2.3.2, 2.3.18[1] can be represented as follows :

	labels	Surface form
Underlying role *sādhakatamatva*	*karman*	accusative (P. 2.3.2).
	karaṇa	Instrumental (P. 2.3.18).

Here it should be noted that the semantic role cannot be directly connected with the phonological or surface structure role in following manner.

sādhakatamatva	The accusative
	The instrumental

Had Pāṇini directly linked *sādhakatamatva* with the accusative and the instrumental he could not have accounted for the passive transformation *akṣāḥ dīvyante* : 'dice are played'; because passive transformation requires the label *karman* (P. 3.4.69).[2] To give one more example, the object of the verb *saṁjñā* : 'to recognise' is expressed by the accusative as well as by the instrumental *mātaraṁ saṁjānīte* or *mātrā saṁjānīte* : 'he recognises his mother' (P. 2.3.22).[3]

P. 1.4.45. says that the name for the (basic role) location is *adhikaraṇa*. The basic expression for this role is the locative case (P. 2.3.36). P. 1.4.48 lays down that in the case of the root *vas* : 'to dwell' when it is preceded by *upa* the (basic) role *ādhāra* is labelled *karman*. This accounts for the usage *grāmam upavasati* : 'he lives in the village'. Here also the semantic role, namely location cannot be directly connected with the surface structure.

The direct connection between the semantic role and the surface structure without intermediary label *karman* will not account for the passive *grāmaḥ upoṣyate* : 'the village is inhabited'. The passive transformation is linked directly with *karman* but not directly with *ādhāratva*.

1 The facts are best treated by *Kiparsky* and *Staal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-97.
2. For more information see *kāra* (unpublished) *op. cit.*
3. See *Kiparsky* and *Staal*, *op. cit* , pp. 89-93.

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From the foregoing discussion we can say that the same role is expressed in two different surface forms. Or we can say that there is no "one to one" correspondence between the semantic roles and the labels. It will be clear also from the following examples that the same case may be used to introduce many different roles. The genitive case expresses the agent role, *kṛṣṇasya kṛtiḥ* : 'creation by Kṛṣṇa' (P.2.3.65). The genitive may express the role of main goal (*karman*) *apāṁ sraṣṭā* 'creator of waters' (P.2.3.65). The genitive may express the instrumental role *ghṛtasya yajate* : 'he sacrifices by ghee oblations'. (P.2.3 63).

Since in terms of roles Pāṇini tries to describe the linguistic structure, one may feel inclined to compare these roles with the level of underlying (deep) structure in a generative grammar. But, to avoid confusion, instead of saying that Pāṇini makes his statement in terms of deep structure, I prefer to say that he describes the function of nominal expressions in terms of roles. To the various roles played by the nominal expressions, Patañjali[1] and Bhartṛhari give the names *guṇa* and *śakti* respectively. According to Bhartṛhari any object in the world is defined in terms of its capacity to carrying out the action undertaken. Bhartṛhari emphasises that it is not a thing which is the means as is its power.[2] The object in the outside world has a certain fixed character and cannot explain a great variety of ways in which it figures out in our knowledge derived from the sentences. In other words, according to Bhartṛhari, the particular role played by the objects in carrying the action is called *sādhana* (i.e. *kāraka*). This is why one and the same object figures out differently as an agent, object, instrument

1. *Mbh.* (The *vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* of *Patañjali*, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I, 3rd edn. by K. V. *Abhyankar*) p. 442, lines 20-26.

   किं पुनर्द्रव्यं साधनमाहोस्विद्गुणः । किं चातः । यदि द्रव्यं साधनं नैतदन्यङ्गवत्यभिहितात् । अन्यो हि सद्गिगुणः अन्यश्चासिगुणः । किं पुनः साधनं न्याय्यम् । गुण इत्याह । कथं ज्ञायते । एवं हि कश्चित्कञ्चित्पृच्छति । क्व देवदत्त इति । स तस्मा आचष्टे । असौ वृक्ष इति । कतरस्मिन् । यस्तिष्ठतीति । स वृक्षोऽधिकरणं भूत्वान्येन शब्देनाभिसंबध्यमानः कर्ता संपद्यते । द्रव्ये पुनः साधने सति यत्कर्म कर्मैव स्यात् ।

2. *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, ed. by K.V. *Abhyankar* and V. P. *Limaye*, University of Poona, 1965, p. 78. (3.7.1-2) :

   स्वाश्रये समवेतानां तद्वदेवाश्रयान्तरे
   क्रियाणामभिनिष्पत्तौ सामर्थ्यं साधनं विदुः ॥
   शक्तिमात्रासमूहस्य विश्वस्यानेककर्मणः ।
   सर्वदा सर्वथा भावात् क्वचित्किंचिद्विवक्ष्यते ॥

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etc. in different sentences. If the thing in itself, apart from its role or power, were the *kāraka*, it could not play the various roles of agent, patient, source, location etc.; because the thing has a fixed character. But because of the fact that the thing plays various roles it is open to the speaker to emphasise some role or the other in a particular context. That is how one and the same object figures in different roles in different sentences; for instance, we say, *ghaṭaṁ paśya* : 'see the jar', *ghaṭena udakam ānaya* : 'bring water with a jar'.[1]

From the preceding discussion it will be clear that the underlying meaning of the nominal expressions is stated by Pāṇini in terms of six basic roles—(i) *dhruvam apāye* (ii) *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti* (iii) *sādhakatamam* (iv) *ādhāraḥ* (v) *kartur īpsitatamam* (vi) *svatantraḥ*. It is also clear that there is lack of correspondence between the roles and surface forms or between the roles and syntactic labels (*karman, karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna, adhikaraṇa, kartṛ*).

The following sentences will make this point further clear.

(1) *takṣakaḥ kuṭhāreṇa kāṣṭham chinatti* : 'the carpenter cuts the wood by the axe'.

(2) *takṣakaḥ kuṭhāreṇa chinatti* : 'the carpenter cuts with the axe'.

(3) *kāṣṭhaṁ chidyate svayam eva* : 'the wood cuts of itself'.

(4) *kuṭhāraḥ kāṣṭhaṁ chinatti taikṣṇyena* : 'the axe cuts the wood by its sharpness'.

(5) *taikṣṇyam kāṣṭhaṁ chinatti* (*ātmanā*) : 'sharpness cuts the wood (by itself).'

In these examples, the carpenter plays the role of an independent agent. The *kuṭhāra* plays the role of an instrument. The *kāṣṭha* plays the role of an object affected by the action. The first example shows that the verb *chid* can be used with three accompanying roles, namely, agent, instrument, patient (or goal).

The second example shows that the expression designating the object role can be omitted in the surface form. This phenomenon has been referred to by the Sanskrit grammarians as *karmaṇaḥ avivakṣā* : 'no intention to express karman'.

In the third example the role of the main agent is omitted in order to convey the idea that the wood considerably facilitates the action of cutting. The nominative in the surface form represents

1. K. A. Subrahmania *Iyer, Bhartṛhari*, Deccan College, Poona 1969, pp. 284-85.

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the role of the surface subject and at the same time that of the underlying object. In the fourth example the role of the main agent is omitted in order to express the idea that the axe considerably facilitates the action of cutting independently. Here the speaker underplays the activity of the main agent and assigns the independence to the instrument, i.e., the axe. When the instrument is raised to the status of independence the speaker assigns the role of dependent instrument to the sharpness. In the fifth example the speaker goes further and makes sharpness as an independent instrument i.e. an agent. In this case to fulfil the role of an instrument he has to postulate something as the dependent instrument. The new instrument is not different from the sharpness which acts as the independent instrument.[1] Thus we have *taikṣṇyaṁ taikṣṇyena chinatti*. But the occurrence of the two identical nominal phrases *taikṣṇyaṁ taikṣṇyena* causes reflexivization. So we have *taikṣṇyaṁ svayam eva chinatti* or *svayam eva* can be optionally dropped.

In *kuṭhāraḥ kāṣṭhaṁ chinatti*, according to the modern transformational linguists the sentence assigns the instrumental role to the axe, the patient role to the wood and the unspecified agent is deleted. When the agent is not expressed in the surface structure the instrument becomes the subject. *Kuṭhāraḥ* is the nominative of the deep instrument. On the other hand, the Sanskrit grammarians say that the instrumental role can be expressed in two ways. It can be expressed independently as well as dependently. When it is expressed dependently we say *kuṭhāreṇa chinatti*. When it is independently expressed we say *kuṭhāraḥ chinatti*. The dependent role of an instrument is labelled *Karaṇa* and the independent role of an instrument is labelled *abhihita kartā* (i.e., subject).

According to the Sanskrit grammarians, each *kāraka* is independent as far as its minor role is concerned and dependent on the main agent in so far as the main action is concerned.[2] However, when the speaker wants to emphasize the roles of *karaṇa*,

1. Ibid., p. 310.
2. *Mbh.* Vol. I, p. 324, lines 14-15 :
   सिद्धः करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृभावः । कुतः प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदात्पचादीनाम् । पचादीनां हि प्रतिकारकं क्रिया भिद्यते ।
   See also Ibid., p. 325, lines 16-19 :
   न वा स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात्तयोः पर्यायेण वचनं वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा । न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् ? स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात् । सर्वत्रैवात्र स्वातन्त्र्यं पारतन्त्र्यं च विवक्षितम् । तयोः पर्यायेण वचनम् । तयोः स्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्ययोः पर्यायेण वचनं भविष्यति ।

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adhikaraṇa or *karman*, he can represent these *kārakas* as the agents. In the sentence *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṁ kāṣṭhaiḥ pacati* : 'Devadatta cooks the rice grains in a pot with the firewood, Devadatta plays the role of agent, the rice grains play the role of patient (i.e., the object affected by the action), the pot plays the role of location and the fire-wood plays the role of instrument. Each one of the items mentioned here has a particular role in bringing about the action of cooking. Devadatta has the main role because he independently initiates the action and sets the other items (*kārakas*) in motion. The rice, the pot and the fire-wood play minor parts. Each *kāraka* is dependent on the main agent with regard to the main action of cooking but this does not mean that it looses its independence with regard to its minor role. That is to say, each *kāraka* functions as an agent as far as its own contribution is concerned. When the speaker wants to give prominence to the role of fire-wood he uses *kāṣṭham pacati* : 'firewood cooks'[1] In such cases *pacati* refers directly to the action of firewood. In *sthālī pacati* : 'the vessel cooks' *pacati* refers to the action of the pot.[2] In *odanaḥ pacyate svayam eva* (see *SK* No. 2766 on P. 3.1.87) : 'the rice cooks of itself', *karman* functions as the agent. However, we have no examples to show that the source of origin (i.e., *apādāna*) or the recipient of the object (*sampradāna*) are presented as the agent of an action.[3] We cannot use *grāmaḥ āgacchati* : 'the village comes' to indicate the same role which we assign to the word *grāma* in *grāmād āgacchati* : 'he comes from the village'. Similarly, we do not use *brāhmaṇo dadāti* : 'brahmin gives' to indicate the same role which we assign to the word *brāhmaṇa* in *brāhmaṇāya dadāti* : 'he gives (something) to a brahmin.'

In (i) *sthālyām pacati* and (ii) *sthālī pacati*, (i) *kāṣṭhaiḥ pacati* and (ii) *kāṣṭhāni pacanti*. (i) *odanam pacati* and (ii) *pachyate odanaḥ svayam eva*, we can say that, on the grammatical level, the roles of *sthālī*, *kāṣṭha* and *odana* are the same, namely, instrumental, location

1. *Mbh.* Vol. I. p. 325, lines 2-3 :
एधाः पक्ष्यन्त्या विक्लित्तेर्ज्वलिष्यन्तीति ज्वलनक्रियां कुर्वन्ति काष्ठानि पचन्तीत्युच्यन्ते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एष करणस्य पाकः । एतत्करणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।
2. *Mbh.* Vol. I, P. 324, lines 23-25 :
द्रोणं पचतीति संभवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च कुर्वती स्थाली पचतीत्युच्यते। तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते। एषोऽधिकरणस्य पाकः । एतदधिकरणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।
3. *Mbh* Vol. I, p. 325, lines 14-15 :
अपादानादीनां कर्तृत्वस्याप्रसिद्धिः । यथा हि भवता करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृत्वं निदर्शितं न तथापादानादीनां कर्तृत्वं निदर्श्यते ।

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and patient respectively. But their expression in (i) and (ii) is different. In (i) these roles are dependently expressed, and in (ii) they are independently expressed. In (i) *adhikaraṇatva*, *karaṇatva* and *karmatva* are expressed by the locative, instrumental and accusative cases respectively. In (ii) these roles are labelled *kartā* and *kartṛtva* is *abhihita* : 'expressed' by the ending *-ti* or *-anti*. Therefore, all these words are used in the nominative.

It is interesting to note that Pāṇini phrases some of his rules taking into account the underlying relation. This is clear from the section heading *anabhihite* (P. 2.3.1) : 'if it is not expressed already'. Accordingly, P. 2.3.2 means that the accusative is used to denote the patient (*karman*) role if that role is not expressed by the verb-ending suffix or the primary suffix. In the passive (i) *ghaṭaḥ kriyate* : 'the pot is made' the *karman* relation is expressed by the verb-ending *-te*. Since the patient role (*karman*) has been already expressed by the passive form *kriyate* the accusative case-ending is not attached to the nominal stem *ghaṭa*. Since no relation is to be expressed, the nominative case ending is attached to the stem *ghaṭa*. But in the active (ii) *ghaṭaṁ karoti* the verb-ending suffix-*ti* expresses the agent role and the ending *-am* expresses the *karman* role, which is not expressed by the verb-ending suffix. In Pāṇini's view, in both the sentences *ghaṭa* plays the role of the patient *karturīpsitatamatva*) although the forms in which it has been put in the sentence differ. Pāṇini explains this difference in terms of *abhihita/ anabhihita* device. If the *karman* is *abhihita* the passive construction results. In Chomskian terminology we could say that *kaṭa* (in the passive construction) is the surface subject but that at the same time it is the underlying object.

Similarly, P. 1.4.54 means that the *kartṛ* (agent) is the independent. P. 2.3.18 means that the instrumental is used when *kartṛ* is not expressed otherwise.

In *ghaṭaḥ kriyate devadattena* : 'the jar is made by Devadatta' the verb-ending suffix does not express the agent role. Accordingly it is expressed by the instrumental (P. 2.3.18). But in (ii) *devadattaḥ ghaṭaṁ karoti* : 'Devadatta makes the pot', the agent role is expressed by the verb-ending *-ti*. In the passive construction we have *anabhihitakartā* and in the active we have *abhihitakartā*. In Chomskian terminology we could say that Devadatta is the surface subject but the deep agent in the active.

On the other hand, P. 2.3.46 takes into account the surface

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form. It comes to mean that if the agent role or the patient role or the instrumental role or the *sampradāna* role or the locative role or the source role is expressed in the surface form by the verb-ending or by the primary suffix etc., then the words standing for these roles become the subject in the surface structure.

Although Pāṇini does not say directly that the subject is expressed by the nominative when it syntactically agrees with the verb etc., still it is implicitly stated by P. 2.3.46 which defines the use of the nominative. P. 2.3.46 prescribes the nominative without assigning the specific function to it.[1] The rule says that the nominative is used to denote the gender and number of the nominal stem. By treating the nominative as unmarked case and using the criterion of *abhihitatva/ anabhihitatva* for the cases whose function is marked, Pāṇini brings the nominative of agent, the nominative of object, the nominative of the instrument, the nominative of location, the nominative of *sampradāna*, the nominative of *apādāna*, under the category *prātipadikārtha* which virtually means the subject. I have already offered illustrations for the nominative of agent and the nominative of object. Now I furnish examples to prove the point that the remaining *kārakas* also, when they are *abhihita*, are used in the nominative. In *dānīyo viprah* : 'a brahmin whom something is offered', since *sampradāna* has already been expressed by the suffix *anīya* (P. 3.3.113), the dative case-ending is not attached to *vipra* : 'brahmin'. This is the nominative of *sampradāna*. But in *viprāya dadāti* the ending *-ti* does not denote the meaning *sampradāna*. Therefore, the dative case-ending is added to *vipra*. *Snānīyam cūrṇam* : 'bathing powder' is an example of the nominative of *karaṇa*. Here the *karaṇa* role has been already expressed by the suffix *anīya* (P. 3.3.113). Therefore, the instrumental case ending is not attached to the word *cūrṇa*, which we find in the corresponding sentence *cūrṇena snāti* : 'he takes bath by powder'. In *prapatanah parvatah* : 'a mountain from which one falls', since the *apīdāna* role has been already expressed by the suffix *ana* (P. 3.3.113), the ablative ending is not attached to the word *parvata*, which we find in the corresponding sentence *parvatāt patati* : 'he falls from a mountain'. This is an example of the nominative of *apādāna*. Similarly, *vīrapuruṣako grāmah* : 'a village containing heroic persons' is an example of the nominative of location. Here the *bahuvrīhi* compounding denotes the sense of *adhikaraṇa*. But in the corresponding sentence *grāme*

1. For more information see *Kiparsky* and *Staal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-93.

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vīrāḥ puruṣāḥ we use the locative case. Kātyāyana, in fact suggests that the nominative is to be used when the roles of agent etc. are already expressed. Alternatively he suggests that the nominative is to be used when it has the effect of determining the number concord, i.e. *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.[1]

Some times Pāṇini finds it convenient to phrase the rule referring to both—the surface form and the underlying relation. For instance, P. 2. 1. 32 prescribes compounding of words which function as the *kartṛ* or the *karaṇa* and which end in a *tṛtīyā* suffix. If Pāṇini had merely conditioned compounding referring to the surface form, the rule would have been liable to over-application, because the *tṛtīyā* suffix may represent a non-*kāraka* called *hetu* : 'cause' also (P. 2. 3. 23). For instance, *bhikṣābhir uṣitaḥ* : 'he has stayed because of alms.' If Pāṇini had discarded references to a surface form and had prescribed compounding conditioned by underlying syntactic relations, namely *kartṛ* and *karaṇa*, the rule would again have been liable to over-application, because it would apply to examples like *devadattaḥ gataḥ* : 'Devadatta has gone', where Devadatta functions as the agent. Therefore, in order to prevent over-application, Pāṇini was forced to mention both the conditions namely, underlying relations (*kartṛkaraṇa*) and the surface form (*tṛtīyā*).

P. 2.1.24 represents a still more different case. The rule prescribes the compounding of words *śrita* etc. with a word ending in a surface form *dvitīyā*, without reference to the underlying relation labelled (*karman*). If here Pāṇini had phrased this rule in terms of underlying relation labelled *karman*, we would drive the cpd. *grāmagataḥ* : 'a village gone to', from *gramaḥ gataḥ* (*devadattena*) where *grāma* functions as the *karman*. This is clearly undesired. Similarly, P. 2.1.30 prescribes compounding with words ending in a *tṛtīyā* without referring to the underlying relation labelled *kartṛ* or *karaṇa*. The reason is that in examples like *kirikāṇaḥ* : 'blind in one eye because of a hog', we do not encounter a noun-verb relation. The *tṛtīyā* suffix in *kiriṇā kāṇaḥ* has been specially prescribed by P. 2. 3. 20.

When there is no reference to any one of the six basic roles, Pāṇini, obviously, cannot use intermediary labels like *apādāna*, etc., For instance, P. 2.3.119 links a *tṛtīyā* suffix directly with a distri-

1. *Mbh.* Vol. I, p. 462, line 6 ; अथवाभिहिते प्रथमेत्येतल्लक्षणं करिष्यते । *Ibid*, line 15 एवं तर्हि तिङ्समानाधिकरणे प्रथमेत्येतल्लक्षणं करिष्यते ।

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butional condition, namely, *sahayoga* : 'connection with the word *saha*' without intervention of the label *karaṇa* mentioned in the immediately preceding rule 2.3.18. In general we may say that when a case-suffix comes through labels like *apādāna*, *sampradāna* etc. we speak of underlying relation (*kārakavibhakti*). On the other hand, when the case suffix comes through a distributional condition or through a surface form (without intervention of the labels *karman* etc.), we speak of *upapadavibhakti*.[1]

The point which I tried to establish in this paper is that, what Chomsky calls the deeper level of grammatical relation, appears in Pāṇini's analysis of *kāraka* relation in terms of role relations. By the roles mentioned by him Pāṇini does not refer to the objects in the outside world. These are primarily grammatical features of a nominal expression appearing in the sentences. Pāṇini's definition of *kārakas* is based on the roles played by a nominal expression in different sentences. Pāṇini's treatment of *kārakas* is nearer to the modern works on syntax because Pāṇini also shows that the same role may be introduced by a variety of cases through labels like *karman* etc. and that the same case may be used to introduce many different roles. There is no "one-to-one" correspondence between the morphological categories like *dvitīyā* etc. and the six labels. This establishes that Pāṇini's analysis involves interrelation between the deep grammatical relation and the surface grammatical level. Some of Pāṇini's rules are based on the deeper relation, some take into account only the surface form and some take both. For the description of syntax he does not rely only on the surface form or only on the underlying relation. Pāṇini is an experimentalist. To him there is nothing like, this is 'the theory' and only 'the theory'. He adopts one or the other which suits to his brevity of description.

1. See the discussion on the *paribhāṣā* : *upapadavibhakteḥ Kārakavibhaktiḥ balīyasī*, *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, ed. by Kielhorn, 2nd edn. by K. V. *Abhyankar* BORI Poona, 1962.

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HOW MANY GRAMMARS ?

V. RAGHAVAN

In his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, S. K. Belvalkar dealt with the schools of Grammar, *Pāṇinīya*, *Cāndra*, *Jainendra*, *Śākaṭāyana*, (later), *Haima* (*Siddha Hemacandra*), *Kātantra*, *Sārasvata*, *Mugdhabodha*, *Jaumāra* (*Saṁkṣiptasāra*), *Saupadma* and a few later minor ones marked by the extraneous element of devotion to Hari, Śiva, etc., *Harināmāmṛta*, *Prabodhaprakāśa*, etc. Belvalkar mentioned also in passing Vāmana and *Bhojavyākaraṇa*[1] of Vinayasāgara written for King Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla and different from the famous Bhoja of Dhārā. A few more names noticed in his monograph are noted only for mere re-arrangement or adoption of the *Prakriyā*-plan, *Prabodhacandrikā* of Vaijalabhūpati, *Bhāvasiṁhaprakriyā*, *Dīpavyākaraṇa*, *Kārikāvali* of Nārāyaṇa and *Bālāvabodha* of Narahari.

H. P. Sastri, in his Introduction to Volume VI of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta describing mss in Grammar, Lexicography and Poetics dealt with the schools noticed by Belvalkar and mentioned in addition to the *Prayogaviveka* of *Vararuci*, the *Vyākaraṇajīvātu* of Cāṅgudāsa, a Buddhist, current in Orissa, and Puruṣottama's *Prayogaratnamālā* (Coch Behar 16th Cent.).

In his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Keith noticed after describing Pāṇini and his followers, the later or lesser schools, the *Kātantra* etc. but added no new name not included in the lists given above.

There is the well known verse of Bopadeva at the beginning of his *Kavikalpadruma* (v.2) which mentions eight primary or ancient Grammarians *ādi śābdikāḥ* :

इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः ।
पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥

Of these, the name of Indra is associated in some manner with grammatical study in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, and there is also the reference, especially in Tamil. gram-

1. For mss. of this, see Weber 1636, *BORI.* 278 of 1889-1915.

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mar-tradition, to the *Aindra* school on which Burnell produced a dissertation.[1] From the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (1.4), the *Aindra* would appear to be a pre-Pāṇinīyan school studied first by Kātyāyana-Vararuci, Vyāḍi and Indradatta; it was later superceded by the Pāṇinīyan but it survives in the *Prātiśākhyas*, *Kātantra* and *Pāli* and was also perhaps in Tamil. It is not quoted by Yāska, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana or Patañjali; the only quotation from it is its alleged opening *sūtra* made in Jñānavimala's commentary on Maheśvara's *Śabdaprakāśa* but this *Sūtra* is not to be seen in Kātantra or Jainendra.

Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna are among the authorities quoted by Pāṇini and Patañjali. On Kāśakṛtsna, the grammarian, again, I have given the available data in the fourth volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (p. 115a). Kāśakṛtsna's grammar is said to have been in three chapters and his *Sūtras* have been collected and his Dhātu-*pāṭha* also reconstructed. Some consider that the *Kāśakṛtsna* grammar is not different from the *Kātantra*.

Kāśakṛtsna and Āpiśali of course do not exhaust the pioneers of Grammar who are cited by Pāṇini or are otherwise known. Of these Śiva or Maheśvara is remembered as the author of the fourteen basic *Pratyāhāra Sūtras* known after Him as the *Śiva or Māheśvara Sūtras*; there is also a well known verse that Vyāsa studied *Maheśa-vyākaraṇa*, far larger than Pāṇini's and sanctioning the usages that are common in the epics and are referred to as un-Pāṇinīyan or *Ārṣa*. These is also the tradition that it was from Śiva that Pāṇini got the *Akṣara-samāmnāya*.

यान्युज्जहार माहेशाद्[1] व्यासो व्याकरणाम्बुधेः ।
तानि किं पदजालानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्पदे ॥[2]

The passage in the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya*, where Indra is referred to, mentions Bṛhaspati as his teacher in grammar. Yudhishthira Mimamsaka notes a verse in the *Avacuri* on *Haima Bṛhadvṛtti*, which mentions other gods among the eight early authors of grammar, Brahmā, Prajāpati and Tvaṣṭā. There was evidently a tradition of eight ancient grammars'.[3] e.g. Durgācārya on Yāska,

1. See *New Catalogus Catalogorum* II. (pp. 249-50 and III. p. 90) where I have put together all the data available on *Aindra*.
2. v. l. माहेन्द्रात् । Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, in his *Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana*, reads neither Maheśa nor Mahendra but simply Bhagavān (edn. Dr. E. R. K. Sharma, Tirupati).
3. Śāśvata, in the Introduction to his *Kośa* speaks of a modest number of three: 'Dṛṣṭaśiṣṭaprayogo'ham *dṛṣṭavyākaraṇa-trayaḥ* (v.6).

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I.20. 2 says 'Vyākaraṇam aṣṭadhā'; Bhāskāracārya at the end of his *Līlāvatī* refers to his having studied the eight Vyākaraṇas : 'Aṣṭau Vyākaraṇāni .×. .×. .×. .×. kavir Bhāskaraḥ. Eight old Grammars available in Kashmir are said to have been procured by the King to enable Hemacandra to write his *Siddhahemacandra.*

परं व्याकरणान्यष्टौ वर्तन्ते पुस्तिकानि च ।

× + × ×

आनाययतु काश्मीरदेशात्तानि स्वमानुषैः ।
महाराजो यथासम्यक् शब्दशास्त्रं प्रतन्यते ॥

× × × ×

पुस्तकान्यर्पयामासुः × × ॥

Prabhāvakacarita, Hemacandra prabandha, 86-98. Different writers or texts made up these eight by including some divine and semi-divine names. The *Yāmalāṣṭaka Tantra*, for example, adds to the divine names mentioned above Candra (Moon), Yama, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Soma and Vaiṣṇava, a list which is obviously of little value.

There seems to have been current a tradition of nine Vyākaraṇas. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 3. 28, Rāma, in praising Hanūmān's eloquence, exclaims that the latter's speech showed that he had learned in many ways the entire Vyākaraṇa : नूनं व्याकरणं कृत्स्नमनेन बहुधा श्रुतम् । In expounding this line it is usual for *Paurāṇikas* to say that Hanūmān had mastered the 'nine' (*nava*) *vyākaraṇas.* The only literary source that I could so far see for this tradition of nine Vyākaraṇas is a verse quoted by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, in the beginning of his *Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana* which says that Vyāsa studied the 'nine grammars' and composed the *Bhārata* and close upon this, the well known verse which refers to the vast ocean of *Śabdas* existing out-side the small cavity of Pāṇini is quoted by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa as referring to Vyāsa himself and not to Mahendra or Maheśa.

अष्टादश पुराणानि नव व्याकरणानि च ।
निर्मथ्य चतुरो वेदान् मुनिना भारतं कृतम् ॥

To come back to Hanūmān, we do not get any clue to his study of nine grammars in the Madhva-tradition in which he is especially glorified and worshipped. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, author of

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the *Saṁgraha Rāmāyaṇa* has the following verse of salutation on Hanūmān at the beginning of the work :

महाव्याकरणाम्भोधिमन्थमानसमन्दरम् ।
कवयन्तं रामकीर्त्या हनूमन्तमुपास्महे ॥

This verse mentions Hanūmān's mastery of *Mahāvyākaraṇa*, which the gloss calls also *Mūla-vyākaraṇa*. Madhvācārya himself quotes three *Sūtras* from the *Mahāvyākaraṇa* but there is no further information on this. In Purāṇic sources it is said that Sūrya bestowed scholarship on Hanūmān but the *Saṁgrahaṛāmāyaṇa* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita says more specifically that it was grammar that Hanūmān studied with Sūrya.

The only other reference to Sūrya as a teacher of Vyākaraṇa that I have come across so far is in Jinasena's verse on Devanandi as having seen the grammars of Indra, Candra, *Arka* and Jina, in the introductory verses in his *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, I. 31.

इन्द्रचन्द्रार्कजैनेन्द्रव्याडिव्याकरणेक्षिणः ।
देवस्य देववन्द्यस्य न वन्द्यन्ते गिरः कथम् ॥

Indra the first name here is read in some mss. as Rudra (Śiva).

The other ancient authorities cited by Pāṇini in his *Sūtras* are Kāśyapa,[1] Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarmaṇa, Bhāradvāja, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka, Sphoṭāyana. Some of these names are cited also in the *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Nirukta*. Śākaṭāyana, whose name occurs in Bopadeva's list, appears from statements like अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः in *Kāśikā* I. 4.83 to have been the most celebrated of these. He is known from tradition and citations as a *Nairukta* and his name is also associated with the *Uṇādi Sūtras*.

Ancient grammarians who are known from quotations and references in sources other than Pāṇini are Bhāguri, who is well known, Pauṣkarasādi, Vyāghrapāda, whose work according to *Kāśikā* IV. 26. 5 was in ten chapters (*Daśakāḥ Vaiyāghrapādīyāḥ*), Mādhyandini, Rauḍhi, Gautama and Vyāḍi. The last known also as Dākṣāyaṇa and a kinsman of Pāṇini, is the celebrated author of great and comprehensive work *Saṁgraha* on which Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is based.

To come to the other names mentioned in Bopadeva's list of eight, Candra refers to the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa and Jainendra to Pūjyapāda Devanandi's work. Amara mentioned by Bopadeva is intriguing. Jainendra uses *Kātantra* and is the basis for Hema-

1. He is quoted thrice in *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*.

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candra's *Siddhahemacandra*. By the adjunct 'ādi' meaning pioneers, in the word, 'ādiśābdikāḥ', we must understand Bopadeva as having excluded the Jaina Śākaṭāyana, Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja, etc.

Vardhamāna, who wrote his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* in 1140-1 A.D. gives at the beginning the authorities on grammar on whom he based his own work.

शालातुरीयशकटाङ्गजचन्द्रगोमि-
दिग्वस्त्रभर्तृहरिवामनभोजमुख्याः ।
मेधाविनः प्रवरदीपककर्तृयुक्ताः
प्राङ्निषेवितपदद्वितया जयन्ति ॥ 1.2.

In this verse, he mentions Pāṇini, Śākaṭāyana, Candragomin, Devanandi (*Jainendra*), Bhartṛhari, Vāmana, Bhoja and the author of the *Dīpaka*, and in his *Vṛtti* on the above, he adds Śivasvāmin, Patañjali, Kātyāyana and also identifies Vāmana mentioned by him as the author of the grammar *Viśrānta-vidyādhara* and the author of the *Dīpaka* as Bhadreśvarasūri.

वामनो विश्रान्तविद्याधरव्याकरणकर्ता । × × ×
मुख्यशब्दस्य आदिवचनात् शिवस्वामि-पतञ्जलि-कात्यायन-प्रभृतयो लभ्यन्ते । दीपककर्ता श्रीभद्रेश्वरसूरिः ।

The correct name of Vāmana's work is *Viśrānta-vidyādhara* and not *Aviśrānta-* as found in some mss. Hemacandra also quotes this work in his *Bṛhadvṛtti* on his own *Śabdānuśāsana*. Vāmana and Bhadreśvara are quoted by Vardhamāna, the former often. Vāmana's work consisted of *Sūtras* and *Vṛtti* (p. 173, *GRM* : *Vāmanavṛttau*). At one place Vardhamāna refers to Vāmana as *Sahṛdaya-cakravarttin* (p. 312) but the significance of this is not clear. On p. 344, Vardhamāna mentions together Bhoja and Vāmana but I am afraid some scholars have not correctly understood the meaning of the passage here; it is clear from this that Bhoja was later; for what Vardhamāna says that in the light of what Bhoja has said, he does not propose to adopt Vāmana's view. Vardhamāna cites twice a *Nyāsa* on *Viśrānta-vidyādhara* (pp. 131, 167). The *Prabhāvaka-carita* says that Mallavādin[1] wrote this *Nyāsa*[2] :

शब्दशास्त्रे च विश्रान्तविद्याधरवराभिधे ।
न्यासं चक्रेऽल्पधीवृन्दबोधनाय स्फुटार्थकम् ॥
Mallavādiprabandha, v. 38.

1. Cf. A Malla quoted in *Kṣīratarangiṇī* according to some mss. 1.216.
2. The *Nyāsa* is quoted by Hemacandra also.

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This however gives no clue to an early date for the *Viśrāntavidyādhara*, for obviously the Mallavādin who wrote the *Nyāsa* on it is not the great logician Mallavādin who wrote the *Dvādaśāranayacakra*.[1] Śivasvāmin mentioned by Vardhamāna is quoted also by Kṣīrasvāmin and Mādhava but we cannot say that he is the same as the Kashmirian poet who wrote the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* and was in the court of Avantivarman along with Ānandavardhana.

We shall now consider the longest list in which the later grammars left out by Bopadeva are also included. The list is given by the Jain scholiast Vinayavijayopādhyāya and his commentary[2] written in A.D, 1640 on the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (5th Cent. A.D.). Commenting on the word *Vyākaraṇa* in the original, Vinayavijaya says that Vyākaraṇa or Śabdaśāstra comprises 20 schools or works and proceeds to enumerate these 20.

व्याकरणे शब्दशास्त्रे, तानि च विंशतिः—ऐन्द्र (१) जैनेन्द्र (२) सिद्धहेमचन्द्र (३) चान्द्र (४) पाणिनीय (५) सारस्वत (६) शाकटायन (७) वामन (८) विश्रान्त (९) बुद्धिसागर (१०) सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (११) विद्याधर (१२) कलापक (१३) भीमसेन (१४) शैव (१५) गौड (१६) नन्दि (१७) जयोत्पल (१८) मुष्टिव्याकरण (१९) जयदेव (२०) अभिधानानि।

The 20 schools or works figuring here are : 1. *Aindra*, 2. *Jainendra*, 3. *Siddhahemacandra*, 4. *Cāndra*, 5. *Pāṇinīya*, 6. *Sārasvata*, 7. *Śākaṭāyana*, 8. *Vāmana*, 9. *Viśrānta*, 10. *Buddhisāgara*, 11. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, 12. *Vidyādhara*, 13. *Kālāpaka*, 14. *Bhīmasena*, 15 *Śaiva*, 16. *Gauḍa*, 17. *Nandi*, 18. *Jayotpala*, 19. *Muṣṭivyākaraṇa* and 20. *Jayadeva*. No new comments are needed on 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The 6th *Sārasvata* is Anubhūtisvarūpācārya's work and is well known. Śākaṭāyana, the 7th, here may refer to the later Jain writer of that name who wrote his grammar under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa in the 9th century A.D. and which followed the earlier Jain grammar of Devanandī. The names given by Vinayavijaya follow no chronological or any other logical order; the *Kālāpa* which is really ancient is mentioned as the 13th. Vāmana the 8th must be the joint author of the *Kāśikā*, as otherwise the list will be vitiated by too many repetitions. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of King Bhoja of Dhārā is well known and has been printed; it uses *Cāndra* and

1. See also p. 35, English Introduction to Vijayalabdhisūri's edn. of the *Dvādaśāranayacakra*, Sri Labdhisūriśvara Jainagranthamālā 44, Vol. 4. The *Prabhāvakacarita* takes the two Mallavādins as identical.
2. Ptd. in the D. L. Jain Pustakoddhāra Fund Series, No. 61.

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enlarges Pāṇini by making *Sūtras* of *Vārttikas* etc. It consisted of *Sūtras* and *Vṛtti*, the latter remaining to be discovered.

The other names mentioned by Vinayavijaya require elucidation. Of these, Bhīmasena refers, in all probability, to the author of that name who is believed to have arranged the Pāṇinīyan *Dhātupāṭha* and assigned to the Roots the meanings now current. That beyond this, he wrote an actual *Vṛtti* on the *Dhātus* is doubtful, although the *Puruṣakāra* on the *Daiva* mentions such a *Vṛtti*. Regarding the 10th Buddhisāgara, we know from the *Prabhāvakacarita* that he wrote a new grammar called after himself in 8000 *granthas*.

श्रीबुद्धिसागरः सूरिश्चक्रे व्याकरणं नवम् ।
सहस्राष्टकमानं तत् श्रीबुद्धिसागराभिधम् ॥

Abhayadeva prabandha, v. 92.

Yudhishthira Mimamsaka has shown that from a quotation of the concerned verse of Buddhisāgara, he is known to have written his grammar in Sam. 1080 (A. D. 1024) at Jābālipura.

We have already noted when dealing with Vardhamāna's list the *Viśrāntavidyādhara* of a Vāmana. In the light of what we saw, the mention of two separate names, the 9th *Viśrānta* and 12th *Vidyādhara*, is a mistaken bifurcation of Vinayavijaya.

The 17th Nandī mentioned by Vinayavijaya is another tantalising name; while it may refer to any of the Jain grammarians, it has to refer to an author different from Devanandī, as Jainendra has already been mentioned (No. 2). In this connection the Nandi who is quoted no less than 24 times in the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* comes to our mind; this may lead one to take him as a commentator on the *Dhātupāṭha* only, but that is not a necessary conclusion, as may be seen from the solitary quotation from Nandī in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (p. 212). Nandisvāmī, the reading adopted in the *Puruṣakāra* is incorrect and does not stand for his fuller name; 'Nandi-Svāminau' in dual is the correct reading, referring to two writers Nandī and Svāmī from which the corruption into a single name must have come about.

'Gauḍa', the 16th in the list, represents the writers of that part of the country or the followers of a prominent writer of that region. Kṣīrasvāmin cites the 'Gauḍas' several times in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* and Hemacandra also refers to 'Gauḍa'.

Of the other names *Muṣṭivyākaraṇa* (19th) may appear obscure but it is only another name of the new grammar compiled by the prolific commentator on Jain canonical and non-canonical works

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Malayagiri. There is a ms. of the *Śabdānuśāsana* of Malayagiri in BORI, No. 61 of 1880-81, in which the work is given the other name *Muṣṭivyākaraṇa*. In the old list of Jain works called *Bṛhaṭṭippaṇaka*, this alternate name is found. This grammar of Malayagiri has recently been published by the L.D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandira, Ahmedabad (No. 13).[1]

Malayagiri wrote this, as the editor has shown, in A.D. 1171. the text is in *Sūtras* and *Vṛtti* and the author has quoted his grammar several times in his commentaries. It follows mostly Śākaṭāyana and its claim for novelty is in respect of some abridgement, some *Saṁjñās* and some re-arrangement.

The significance of the name *Muṣṭi* is not clear. The only possible meaning is 'handy', 'easy of grasp'; Cf. expressions like Muṣṭi-grāhya', 'Muṣṭi-meya.' Malayagiri's work is really not so short as it has, in addition to its 2210 *Sūtras*, *Vārttikas*, *Nipātasūtras* and *Gaṇasūtras*.

The remaining names are *Śaiva* (15th), *Jayotpala* (18th) and *Jayadeva* (20th) and these are, for the present, completely obscure. Possibly one of the two names with *Jaya*, the 18th and 20th, carry some corruption for Jayāditya. It strikes one as strange that Vinayavijaya makes no mention of Bopadeva and his *Mugdhabodha* which had been in existence for a considerable time before him.

The question of 'How many Vyākaraṇa?' raises the further question of what entitles a work to be called a 'Vyākaraṇa', i.e. the promulgator of a school of *Vyākaraṇa*. A mere subject-wise arrangement of Pāṇini as in works of Dharmakīrti, Vimalasarasvatī, Rāmacandra, Bhaṭṭoji and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa does not make for a school. Within Pāṇini's school itself there are numberless differences in interpretation and the large number of writers of this type too mentioned as authorities or cited in later commentaries cannot be considered as authors of different Vyākaraṇas. The use of different technical terms, difference in the method of treatment, the omission of certain topics, reduction or enlargement, features like these should be taken as the criteria for a work to be called a 'Vyākaraṇa'.

1. Ed. by Bechardas J. Doshi.

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PĀṆINI'S TECHNIQUE OF DESCRIPTION

J. D. Singh

0. Pāṇini composed sometime during 7-5th C.B.C. his *aṣṭādhyāyī*, a grammar of Sanskrit language. It is organized in eight chapters (adhyāya, unit of study), each chapter being further divided into four sections (*Pāda*, quarter) of unequal lengths. In all, it contains about 4, 000 algebraic formulae like statements (*sūtra*, aphorism). He surveys therein two varieties of speech, the colloquial standard (bhāṣā) of his times and the language of the Vedic literature (chandas), studied and recited by the speakers of colloquial variety.

1.0 Before we discuss how he formulates and presents his findings, it seems appropriate to briefly make some observations with regard to his attitude towards language and his motivations for undertaking a study of it. Formal structure of his grammar, perhaps, can be better appreciated in this background. It is rather unfortunate that Pāṇini eschewed altogether making any statements relating to his views on the nature of language and linguistic inquiry. But fortunately for us his work was interpreted and commented on by a line of illustrious and dedicated scholars. Patañjali's *mahābhāṣya*, the great exposition, is simply brilliant. At times Pāṇini is so laconic and intractable that but for the commentators' exposition one would feel completely lost. A close scrutiny of his statements, coupled with the observations of his commentators, will, thus, enable us to get an idea of his theoretical assumptions.[1]

II. *Language : an integral part of total human behaviour* :

Pāṇini undertakes to describe comprehensively the Sanskrit language both in its structure and use. Language, no doubt, has a formal structure, i.e., a network of inter-relationships between its formal units at various levels, but it is intricately interwoven in the texture of man's lifeways. Thus Pāṇini views language as part of man's total behaviour, influencing and being influenced by other norms of behaviour. The formal structure of language to be understood completely in all its aspects does involve reference to his

1. Singh, J. D. : Pāṇini's Theory of language, 'proceedings of the First All India Conference of Linguists. Poona, 1971.

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environs. While seeking explanation of the structure of a linguistic form Pāṇini does not demur to take into consideration, if necessary, such factors as socio-cultural and physical environments of speech, act, psychological or emotional attitude of participants, etc.

It may be maintained that with regard to the spoken variety of language the speaker, the hearer and the phenomenal world seem to be the relevant environmental factors. Pāṇini seems to have kept these in view while describing the idiom, the norm of speech, in its variations, as current in his times in the speech community. On the other hand, the problem of the language of literature was a little different. The usage there was fixed. Since it was transmitted orally in various schools, variations in pronunciation were expected. Meticulous care however was taken to preserve the original pronunciation. Here the grammarian (including the phonetician) could play his role. The motivations, as stated by Patañjali, for the study of grammar, include cultivation of skill in correct pronunciation. Pāṇini's grammar is interspersed with such observations with regard to the language of literature (cf. 1234-40; 8135, 8288-91, 83109, 8326-27[1], etc.).

1.2 *Language : a hierarchical system :*

Language is capable of being analysed into elements at various levels which are integrated into a unified system. Relations obtaining between units at different levels in a system are capable of being captured by generalizations. But in a natural language which is a product of numerous forces (linguistic and non-linguistic) pulling in diverse directions, imbalances at several points may arise. Consequently the facade of generalizations may show cracks in the form of exceptions. Nevertheless these, in no way, are allowed to destroy the system which language essentially is.

Here we shall like to refer to the criticism that Pāṇini has given an account of morphology in all its details while providing little information with regard to phonology and ignoring syntax almost completely. The critics perhaps seem to have been dismayed by his technique of description and failed to retrieve and isolate the relevant facts of phonology and syntax. One thing, Pāṇini has not compartmentalized his description to the extent to which one may expect from a grammarian today. Different aspects of a specific

1. The first figure here stands for the adhyāya (chapter), the second for pāda (section) and the rest for Sūtra (rule). Thus 1234 means chapter *one*, section *two* and rule number thirty four.

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topic will be found discussed in various sections in his book. One has thus to work out himself from his statements an account of phonology and syntax. All the relevant data have been recorded. An exhaustive inventory of speech sounds, their contrast and distribution is available there. Sandhi rules will give us all the permissible sequences of sounds. Pragṛhyas, for instance, illustrate the few vowel sequences permitted in the language.

Similarly, the charge that Pāṇini neglected the study of syntax seems to be completely misplaced. In fact, in a highly inflected language like Sanskrit, problems of syntax are minimized to a great extent. Word order, for instance, is not so crucial. However, Pāṇini does not miss to point out the peculiarities of word order wherever pertinent. He takes note of word sequences that are obligatory as also restrictions on their co-occurrences, etc. (cf. 81, 3423-24, etc.). One may expect some sort of favoured word order even in an inflected language. This is illustrated by Pāṇini in the construction of his sūtras, e.g. upasarjanam pūrvam (bhavati) (2230), (upasarjanam) rājadantādiṣu param (bhavati) (2231), bhūte pi (uṇādayaḥ) dṛśyante (332), tena proktam (43101) karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam (1432), antarddhau yenādarśanam icchati (1428), samāna-kartṛkeṣu tumun (bhavati) (33158), etc. etc.

His treatment of *kāraka* (1423-55, 23) illustrates syntactic relations between words or word groups in sentences.[1] Government, concord, etc. are dealt with fully.

1.3. *Inter-relationship between constructions* :

Pāṇini recognises that constructions are inter-related derivationally. It is demonstrated by him profusely in the treatment of primary (kṛt), secondary (taddhita), compound (samāsa) and many other types of constructions. One example may suffice here. The desiderative verbal stem is constituted of two elements, i.e. the verbal root (dhātu) and the desiderative suffix/san/(=sa). To derive jigamiṣa "to desire to go", for instance, we start with the string gam-san. Various morphophonemic operations are applied to it to finally give us the desired form given above. But what impresses us here in the description of such forms is his keen insight into the structure of the language in explicating for us the attendant conditions under which *san* is introduced. His formulation reads : The suffix *san* (=sa) is added optionally, in the meaning of "desire" to a verbal stem which is the object of *iṣ* "to desire" provided the agents

1. Singh, J. D., : Pāṇini's theory of kārakas; memiographed (unpublished). 1970.

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(kartā) of the two verbal stems are identical (317). Now also refer to 33158 which states that the suffix *tumun*=tum is attached to a verbal stem which is in construction with *iṣ* "to desire" provided the agents of the two are the same. Thus devadatto jigamiṣati and devadatto gantum icchati are synonyms, meaning "Devadatta wants to go". These are derived from the same underlying structure, namely, devadatta icchati (the matrix sentence) and devadatto gacchet (the complement sentence of icchati) where the kartā, devadatta, is the same.

1.4. *Ultimate underlying structure is semantic* :

Pāṇini seems to believe that speech as a system of communication par excellence is essentially based in man's psychological (mental) make-up. Speech thus as a sequence of noise at the physical level is nothing but concretization of speaker's intent. Linguistic mechanism is there to provide shape to what one wishes to express. Thus Pāṇini explains the formal structure of some constructions in terms of what the speaker intends to express (cf. 33132-34, 55, etc.).

1.5 *Rule-features* :

The rules of grammar are invested with certain inherent properties which in fact are derived from the nature of language as a system. Some of these features have been explicitly stated by Pāṇini while others are implicit in his treatment and brought out and codified by his commentators. These are available now in the works on paribhāṣās.[1]

Traditionally the sūtras in *aṣṭādhyāyi* are classified into six types, viz. adhikāra, saṁjñā, paribhāṣā, vidhi, niyama and atideśa. An *adhikāra* sūtra introduces a topic and prescribes its scope. A *saṁjñā* rule enunciates and defines a technical term. *paribhāṣās* are conventions for the interpretation of the rules of *aṣṭādhyāyī*. *Vidhi* rules are prescriptive while *niyama* and *atideśa* respectively restrict and extend the scope of application of vidhi rules. We shall here discuss only those properties of rules that relate to the nature of language and form integral part of Pāṇini's theory of language.

151. *Rules are ordered* :

It is assumed by Pāṇini that for the derivation of a construction from its underlying structure, the rules of grammar have to be

1. Singh, J. D.. : Phonological component in Pāṇini. To appear in the Proceedings of the Second All India Conference of Linguists, 1972.

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applied in a definite order. The arrangement of rules as given in *aṣṭādhyāyī* represents that order. Here a later rule overides an earlier one when both seek simultaneous application (142). The rules, thus, are arranged, in an ascending order of their potency. In other words, the language system is inherently simple and can be stated economically, as brought out by an orderly application of its rules.

In ordering the rules, there may be a unit in the sequence which may consist of a block of rules rather than of a single rule. The whole set of such rules may share a common feature as contrasted with the rest of the rules, or among themselves they may share a feature which distinguishes them as a unit from all other rules. For instance, we have a situation where in the derivation of linguistic forms from underlying constituents two rules are to be allowed to operate simultaneously on the same string if both find scope or one of these has to be deprived of the previlege of application even when it finds scope. How to take care of such situations ? Simple sequential arrangement does not work: To achieve this Pāṇini hits on a very ingeneous device. He arranges them in blocks. The rules of the last three sections of the eighth chapter illustrate it. The common feature enjoyed by rules in this group is that these will be considered not to have applied vis-a-vis the rules of the earlier sections. And further a later rule in this block will be deemed not to have taken effect with regard to the application of an earlier rule (821). The string asau ādityaḥ "the yonder sun" >asāv ādityaḥ (6177)>asā ādityaḥ (8319). Now application of 6186 (ā ā >ā) is prevented by assuming that 8319 has not taken place. This means that the stage prior to the application of 8319, i.e. asāv ādityaḥ is restored. The rule 6186 does not find scope on the string. Thus 6186 in this way has been blocked from applying on the output of 8319. Similarly the rules 6186-109 and 6423-129 form blocks for specific purposes pointed out there.

152. There are some other features of rules which have operational relevance in the derivation of linguistic constructions. These features are, however, shown neither in their formulation, nor in their arrangement nor by any other visible device. These are specific properties enjoyed by certain rules as contrasted with other rules. Thus each feature gives a binary division. These are being described below. An hierarchy of application is descernible there. A succeeding rule-feature blocks the application of any and every preceding one.

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1521 *nitya-anitya* : (*versatile-non-versatile*) :

Of two rules, say x and y, seeking application simultaneously, x finds the scope whether y has applied or not. While, on the other hand, application of x first blocks y altogether. x is thus more versatile than y. It is called nitya-(literally eternal) while the other one is anitya (literally non-eternal). A nitya rule has precedence (of application) over an anitya whatever be the order in the sequence.

1522 *antaraṅga-bahiraṅga* (*internal* : *external*) :

When two rules apply simultaneously, the rule for which the conditions of application are closer to the element affected, supersedes the other for which the conditions of application are further away. Thus proximity of the conditioning factors to the element affected determines the order of application. A dichotomy of internal and external cause rules is established.

1523 *utsarga-apavāda* : (General : specific) :

An apavāda, a specific rule is more powerful than an utsarga, a general one. It has precedence even over ordered, nitya and antaraṅga rules.

16. *Oddities* :

However rigorous the description of a language, a smaller number of facts not amenable to general statements, is always left out. These stick out, so to say, and mar the symmetry of description.

Nevertheless consummation of treatment demands that such forms be included and explicated. But "a rigorous statement may have practical disadvantages. It may take more discourse to describe a few eccentric forms than it would to cite them." (Bloomfield quoted by Hockett in "The State of Art", p. 27). Pāṇini is very practical in this respect. Rather than attempting to provide rules to account for such oddities he simply lists them. (cf. 3142, 41123, 31127-28, etc.)

2. 0 *Technique of description* :

Pāṇini's treatment clearly demonstrates his earnestness and anxiety to describe exhaustively the facts of the language. The description thus may appear to be data-bound. This is more than true. He has taken meticulous care to account for even unique forms. To take his description all comprehensive lists, open and close, have been appended. An extensive field-work and close scrutiny of

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literary compositions seem to have gone into this description. For a different reason though, he eschews all illustrations. These might have been supplied orally in the class. But explication and organization of data bespeak of a model or design of language that he has in view. Thus his description is aimed at presenting a comprehensive account of structure and use of Sanskrit language in a theoretical framework that encompasses nature of language in general and Sanskrit language specifically.

Above is a brief account of more basic of theoretical assumptions of Pāṇini. We now propose to delineate the formal framework he makes use of for presentation of his structural analysis of Sanskrit. The corner-stone of his technique of presentation is simplicity and economy. Below we shall talk of the strategy he employed to achieve this end.

21. *His style and formulation of rules* :

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is written in the sūtra style. A sūtra is charaterised as follows. "The experts observe that a sūtra contains the minimum number of syllables, it is unambiguous, pithy, faultless, all comprehensive and not composed in meter."[1] No wonder that sūtra style was so much favoured by scientific investigators at that time. It was most suited for purposes of exercising economy in statement which was very highly prized. "The saving of even half a mora was regarded as joyous as the birth of a son by the grammarian."[2] Thus the climate of the times and the nature of the subject prompted Pāṇini to opt for this style.

As pointed out earlier, the sūtras in *aṣṭādhyāyī* fall into six types. Of these the *adhikāra*, *saṁjñā* and some of the *paribhāṣā* sūtras relate to his technique of description and may be considered as meta-rules while the rest are concerned with the language data. To put it briefly, *adhikāra* sūtras announce the subject matter to be taken up next. The words of that sūtra are to be read in the following sūtras which constitute its scope. An adhikāra sūtra is distinguished by placement of svarita pitch (1311). For instance dhātoḥ (3191) "After a verbal stem (are added the suffixes that follow)." Simi-

1. Singh, J. D. : alpākṣaram asandigdhaṁ
sāravad viśvato-mukham |
astobham anavadyaṁ ca
sūtraṁ sūtravido viduḥ ||

2. ardha-mātrā-lāghavena putrotsavam manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ (Paribhāṣā 122, Abhyankar).

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larly, pratyayaḥ (311) would mean that from now onward we talk of pratyayas (affixes). *Saṁjñā* sūtras define technical terms which have diverse bases of definition in Pāṇini. We shall examine structural implications of some of his meta-rules here.

211. Simplest of these saṁjñās are those which are defined by enumeration. *vṛddhi* denotes, for instance, the speech sounds ā, ai and au (III); bhū and the rest are called *dhātus* (131). And more interesting from the point of view of his technique, are the terms defined on the basis of the wording of the sūtra, a characterization seemingly altogether whimsical. It will be clear from the examples given below. An *upasarjana* is a word occurring in the 1st vibhakti in a sūtra relating to compounds (1243). Similarly an *upapada* is defined as a word read with 7th vibhakti in the section dealing with kṛt (primary) suffixes (3192). This appears to be the most arbitrary and ad hoc way of defining a technical term. This is precisely equivalent to underscoring a word in red in a particular section of your grammar and calling it, say, *upasarjana*. Morever, in case of *upasarjana* Pāṇini would also subsume under this term all such words which occur in an invariant vibhakti form in the underlying structure (1244). For example, kauśāmbī in the phrases kauśāmbyā nirgatam, kauśāmbyā nirgatena, etc. Here kauśāmbī occurs in the 5th vibhakti form throughout. Now a question arises as to how far Pāṇini is justified, from the point of view of linguistic theory, in making use of terms defined in terms of formal features demonstrated in the wording of his statements, to explicate facts of structure. For instance, in determining the order of constituents in a compound the *upasarjana* occurs as prior member (2230). The vowels in *go* "cow" and stems ending in a feminine suffix are shortened if these are upasarjana-finals (1247)., e.g. citra-go>citra-gu- "one possessing variegated cows", etc. In such instances determination of order of constituents in a compound or shortening of a vowel in a construction is accounted for in terms of upasarjana, a term, as pointed out above characterized in terms of the wording of the rule also. The conditioning factor in the above examples has nothing to do with the elements of language. Nor is this a non-linguistic feature, semantic, social, biological, etc. Pāṇini is being simply eclectic here. There does not seem to be any justification on theoretical grounds to resort to such a technique. Let us have a second look at it.

To all appearances, it is no more than an ad hoc device to subsume under one designation all such diverse elements in the under-

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lying structure that are not capable of being characterized by any common feature but which *do* share some linguistic behaviour in the derived construction. To account for these facts in an adequate and generalized way he resorts to this device. It frees him from the obligation of providing any listing which in any case would have been an open one. Exceptions to general statements are also adjusted without any fuss. Consider a few illustrative examples : *avyaya* (216), *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, etc. vibhaktis (2124, 30, etc.), upamāna (2155), viśeṣaṇa (2157), etc. are read in the Ist vibhakti and by virtue of this all these bear the common label of *upasarjana*. prati (219), pari (2110), etc. do not conform to the general rule (216) and are thus exceptions to it. To indicate this fact all that he is to do is not to read them in the Ist vibhakti. Similarly constituents which are optionally upasarjana are read twice, once with 1st vibhakti and second time without it, e.g. prāpta and āpanna in 224 and 2124 respectively. Thus the overall economy in description offsets theoretical objects. Pāṇini, it seems, would approve a device, however artificial it may be, if it could make his description simpler and more economic.

212. Some of his *saṁjñās* are nothing short of fiction. He sets them up by a round about way. For instance, he does not recognize any vocative case (kāraka). Formally the Ist vibhakti (which does not represent any kāraka relation) and whatever forms represent the vocative are identical except mostly in the singular. Pāṇini grasps at this formal resemblance and coalesces the two together. But still he has to account for the formal difference in the singular. Here he creates a fiction. 2346 lists the uses of the 1st vibhakti. The next sūtra 2337 adds a rider that it is used to denote addressing (calling out) also. When employed in this sense the Ist vibhakti will be called *āmantrita* (2348). And further he adds that the singular form of āmantrita is called *sambuddhi* (2349). He has reached the end. Here the process is complete for him. He thus succeeds in setting up a technical term namely, *sambuddhi* for the singular of the first vibhakti viz. *āmantrita*, which is another technical term to designate the sense of calling for the use of prathamā vibhakti. Now he is well set to manipulate *sambuddhi* to account for such formal contrasts as davaḥ, deva; nadī, nadi; mātā, mātaḥ; agniḥ, agne; etc. Thus technically Pāṇini succeeds in eliminating what could have been called the *aṣṭamī* vibhakti and *sambodhana* kāraka by coalescing it together with the Ist and yet by a clever sleight of hand he manoeuvres to account for the formal differences in the two. To get vāyo

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"O wind," we start with the underlying string vāyu+su. By 2349 su is designated as *sambuddhi*. Before *sambuddhi* a short vowel of the stem is gunated (73108). Thus we get vāyo+su. Now by 6168 the consonant of sambuddhi, i.e. s and m in am, a substitute of su in neuter, is dropped after a stem final e, o and a short vowel. Thus vāyo+su>vāyo.

213. Some of the *paribhāṣā* rules are still more interesting from the point of view of illustrating his technique. Paribhāṣās represent conventions set up for the correct interpretation of rules of aṣṭādhyāyī. Interpretation of rules according to these conventions vouchsafe generation of correct forms. Besides, these enable him to capture generalizations and effect economy.

1162 lays down that an affix (*pratyaya*), though dropped, continues to effect its characteristic grammatical changes. (Exceptions to it are pointed out in 1163). This permits him to zero an affix and still realize all those changes which its physical presence would have ensured. Now consider another instance. The dictum laid down in 1156 that a substitute is like substituendum (with exceptions and counter-exceptions) plays a very significant and positive role in his system. The single linguistic form *tip*, for instance, is differentiated according as it is a substitute of laṭ, liṭ or loṭ, etc. By resorting to this strategy he need not set up *ninetynine* separate suffixes for *eleven* lakāras in *three* persons and *three* numbers. At one stage of their derivation *paṭhati* "he studies" and *paṭhet* "he may study", for instance, have identical underlying structure, namely, paṭh-śap-tip.

All this seems to be very arbitrary and artificial. Let us probe a little more into the working of Pāṇini's mind. Why does he resort to this stratagem ? Pāṇini recognizes a category which may be called *tense-mode* in contradistinction from nominal inflection. The label provided for this category is *la* ('a' here is for felicity of pronunciation) which is treated as a suffix. The structure of a verbal form is verb stem plus tense-mode suffix. Thus to derive a form denoting *tense-mode* category, *la* is attached to a verbal stem. In the process of derivation *la* is replaced by *one* of the eighteen suffixes. Further *la* may be specified as laṭ, loṭ, liṅ, etc. Once this has been determined, phonological changes in the underlying string are effeted in terms of laṭ, loṭ, etc. For instance, i occurring in loṭ is replaced by u (3486). Thus ti>tu and anti>antu (ant replaces initial jh of a suffix by 713). Pāṇini here takes advantage of the partial phonetic similarity in the inflectional suffixes of various tenses and modes. Instead of rigorously applying the principles of linguistic

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analysis and isolating them, as separate elements assigning meaning or functions to each one of them, he prefers to set up a base form from which all these variants can be derived. And this is made feasible by positing a category like *tense-mode*, i.e. *la*. This results in a much simpler description.

Thus by employing meta-linguistic devices stated explicitly by Pāṇini and quite a few more formulated and codified by his commentators from observations of the working of his rules, he succeeds in capturing generalizations of effecting economy in statement. We shall below discuss a few more ways of achieving these goals.

22. *Use of abbreviations* :

Use of abbreviations in Pāṇini results in more compact and precise statements. For instance, in the sūtra iko yaṇ aci, "yaṇ replaces ik if followed by ac (6176)", the terms ik, yaṇ and ac are all abbreviations. ik stands for short and long i u ṛ ḷ; yaṇ for the semi-vowels y v r l and ac for all the vowels. Similarly in the sūtra sup-tiṅ-antam padam, "A form ending in sup and tiṅ is called a pada (1414)", the terms sup and tiṅ are abbreviations respectively. Abbreviations are made variously.[1]

1. *Abbreviatory devices* :
   Pāṇini makes abbreviations by
   (i) attaching an *it* letter occurring in the śiva-sūtras to any letter (1171), e.g. ac, al, śar, jhal, ik.
   (ii) adding *u* to the unaspirated voiceless stop to stand for the whole series (1169), e.g. ku for velars; tu for dentals, etc.
   (iii) putting together the initial and final of a group to represent the whole group, e.g. sup (412) for nominal inflectional suffixes; tiṅ (33789) for verbal suffixes, taṅ (14100) for ātmane-pada suffixes, etc.
   (iv) extracting the common factor to designate the group, e.g. la (a is for ease of pronunciation) for laṭ, liṭ, luṭ, leṭ, etc.; āp for ṭāp, ḍāp, cāp, etc. etc.
   (v) reading in plural the first member of a group, e.g. dyutbhyaḥ (1391) "after dyut", etc. 22 roots are referred to here; ardharcāḥ (2431) refers to a big list read there in the form of gaṇa-pāṭha.
   (vi) adding ādi, prabhṛti, etc (beginning with) to the initial of a group; e.g. cādayaḥ (1457) stands for a long list of particles. Similarly tiṣṭhad-gu-prabhṛtīni (217) represents a long list of such compounds as tiṣṭhad-gu.
   (vii) definition e.g. gha (1122) denotes tarap and tamap, niṣṭhā (1126) kta, and ktavat, etc.
   (viii) use of homophonous stem, e.g. dā (1120) for dā I "give" *dā*2 "give", *do* "cut" and de "pity".

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23. *Use of it elements* :

Pāṇini's reading of certain speech sounds or features (which are ultimately dropped) into grammatical forms to indicate several types of grammatical functions or for purposes of classification or specification[1] contributes to brevity of statement. For instance, ś and p in śap are such segments, the real suffix being/a/. ś here indicates that śap belongs to a class of suffixes called sārvadhātuka (34113) and p denotes that it bears anudātta (low) pitch (314).

24. *Use of anuvṛtti* :

Pāṇini arranges the sūtras in such an ingeneous manner that common word (s) in a sūtra can be read in the following sūtra (s) from the preceding one (s). The following will make it clear.

(a) 143 yū strīyākhyau nadī.
144 neyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāv astrī (*yū strīyākhyau nadī*).
145 vāmi (*neyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāv astrī, yū strīyākhyau nadī*)
146 ṅiti hrasvas ca (*vā, neyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāv astrī, yū strīyākhyau nadī*).

(b) 3166 ciṇ bhāva-karmaṇoḥ
3167 sārva-dhātuke yak (*bhāva-karmaṇoḥ*)
3168 kartari śap (*sārvadhātuke*)
3169 divādibhyaḥ śyan (*kartari, sārvadhātuke*).

It is only through the oral tradition that we know what word or words are to be read in the following sūtra. Moreover, sometimes the anuvṛtti, i.e. the common word (s) to be read in the following sūtra (s) jumps over some intervening sūtra (s). For instance, reading of śap in the following sūtras is interrupted by 2474 and then read in 2475. In literature it is described as "frog-jump" maṇḍūka-pluti.

1. *it segments* :
It segments are utilized.
(i) for abbreviatory devices (see above).
(iii) to provide a covering term—a common label for a group, e.g. I (a) for all the tenses and modes. ṅi (411) for ṅīn, ṅīp and ṅīṣ.
(iii) to distinguish elements having the same realization e g. ṭ ḍ c in ṭāp, ḍāp and cāp which are realized as √ā/.
(iv) for classificatory purposes e.g. ś in śap etc. to include them in sārvadhātuka class (3413). ṅ or anudātta pitch in case of verbal roots indicates that these belong to the ātmane-pada (1312).
(v) for various grammatical operations such as placement of pitch, guṇa, vṛddhi, lopa, etc. (see Singh J. D. : "*Phonological Component in Pāṇini*).

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2472 adi-prabṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ (*luk*)
2473 bahulaṁ chandasi (*śapaḥ, luk*)
2474 yaño aci ca (*luk*).
2475 juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ (*śapaḥ*)

The sūtras linked through use of anuvṛtti constitute a block which usually relates to one topic. Incidentally the use of anuvṛtti brings out structural resemblances in the rules

25 *Use of elliptical sentences* :

A minor factor contributing to economy in statement is the use of elliptical constructions. Each sūtra in *aṣṭādhyāyī* is assumed to be a complete sentence But seldom do we come across a sūtra with all its constituents expressly stated. One or the other constituent is missing. However, all these are easily retrievable. Some of these, as explained earlier, are inducted from neighbouring sūtra (s) through the technique of anuvṛtti. However, a linguistic form thus transferred from a previous sūtra may have to be suitably modified grammatically keeping in view its syntax. For example, śeṣaḥ (from 1264) read into bhrātṛ-putrau svasṛ-duhitṛbhyām (1268) is changed to śiṣyete "are retained" to agree with the nominative dual bhrātṛputrau. Similarly samāsaḥ "compound" (from 213) is changed to samasyante "are compounded" to agree with the plural subject in akṣaśalākāsaṁkhyāḥ pariṇā (2110). The copula is never stated. The sentence structure will make it clear. For example, adeṅ guṇaḥ (bhavati) (112), karmaṇy aṇ [bhavati] (211). Usually it is the context that enables us to supply the correct form. A few examples may be given here.

svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā [grāhyam bhavati] (1168); aṇ-udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ [grāhako bhavati] (1169); ādir antyena sahetā (svaṁ rūpam) [madhya-patitān ca grāhayati] (1171) svaritenādhikāraḥ [veditavyaḥ] (1311); prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ] [veditavyaḥ] (213); saha supā (sup) [anuvartate] (214) dhātoḥ [iti anuvartate] (3191).

Sometimes the context demands much more to be read in a sūtra to complete the meaning. Here tradition alone comes to our rescue. For instance, to interpret iko guṇa-vṛddhī (113), the words guṇavṛddhī are read from the previous sūtra. These are changed to guṇa-vṛddhibhyām to suit the syntax and then [śiṣyamāṇe bhavataḥ] are to be supplied in the context. The sūtra thus will read : iko guṇa-vṛddhī (guṇa-vṛddhibhyāṁ) [śiṣyamāṇe bhavataḥ] "guṇa

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and vṛddhi substitutes are effected in place of ik when these are taught by use of the terms guṇa and vṛddhi."

Appendix : See Note 2) :

111 vṛddhir ādaic
1156 sthānivad ādeśo an-al-vidhau
1162 pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam
1243 prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṁ samāsa upasarjanam
1244 eka-vibhakti cāpūrva-nipāte
1247 hrasvo napuṁsake prātipadikasya
1248 go-striyor upasarjanasya
131 bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ
1311 svaritenādhikāraḥ
1414 sup-tiṅantam padam
216 avyayaṁ...vacaneṣu
219 sup pratinā mātrārthe
2110 akṣa-śalākā-saṁkhyāḥ pariṇā
2124 dvitīyā śritātīta-patita-gatātyasta-prāptāpannaiḥ
2130 tṛtīyā tat-kṛtārthena guṇa-vacanena
2155 upamānāni sāmānya-vacanaiḥ
2157 viśeṣaṇaṁ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam
2230 upasarjanam pūrvam
2346 prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā
2347 sambodhane ca
248 sāmantritam
2349 eka-vacanaṁ sambuddhiḥ
314 anudāttau sup-pitau
317 dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samāna-kartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā
3192 tatropapadaṁ saptmī-stham
33158 samāna-kartṛkeṣu tumun
3486 eruḥ
34113 tiṅ śit sārvadhātukam
6168 eṅ-hrasvāt sambuddheḥ
6177 eco ayavāyāvaḥ
6186 ād guṇaḥ
713 jho'ntaḥ
73108 hrasvasya guṇaḥ
821 pūrvatrāsiddham
8319 lopaḥ śākalyasya.

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VEDIC CONJUGATIONAL SYSTEM

D. N. Shastri

Contribution of European scholars to the Vedic studies is usually acknowledged, but its full significance is not fully appreciated by average students of Sanskrit. The spirit of scientific approach to problems of Sanskrit has especially suffered since the advent of Freedom owing to various factors, the chief of them being the chauvinistic tendencies and general fall in the standard of adherence to truth.

It is maintained that the Veda, especially the Saṁhitā part of it, represents the earliest genius of India, and is the fountain-head of our culture. Veda has been revered as a sacred book of Hindus, throughout the ages. But it is a strange phenomenon that there has been very little effort at the understanding of the Vedas in ancient India. During the long age of the development of Sanskrit literature there have been only two isolated efforts for the understanding of the meaning of Vedic Saṁhitās. Yāska living in the 5th or 6th century B.C. made the first attempt to discuss the meaning of some stray Vedic verses; and the method of the Vedic exegesis. Then, just after a gap of about 2000 years, Sāyaṇa, in the fourteenth century, wrote commentaries on the Vedic Saṁhitās.

In between there is no trace of any attempt for understanding the meaning of the Vedas, not even in the works which claim to be branches of the Vedas. For instance, in the monumental work of Pāṇini on grammar which is regarded a vedāṅga, Vedic grammar is treated in a just perfunctory manner as would be presently shown. Then, we have the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and Uttara-mīmāṁsā which both are concerned with the interpretation of the Vedas. But the former deals only with the ritualistic literature of the Brāhmaṇas, and the latter with the metaphysics of Upaniṣads. They are not in the least concerned with the verses of the Vedic Saṁhitās proper.

The reason for this strange phenomenon is not far to seek. Indians worshipped the Vedic Saṁhitās only in their physical aspect. They maintained that the recitation of the Vedic verses produces merit by itself. There is no attempt to understand their meaning, so much so that Yāska who made the first attempt at the

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Vedic exegesis quotes a school which maintained that the Vedic verses have no meaning. There will hardly be found a more flagrant instance of literary idolatory.

Study of Sanskrit towards the close of the 18th century led to the discovery of Indo-European family of languages which was regarded as the greatest cultural event after the Renaissance of the 16th century. A feeling that in the *Ṛgveda*, they had the earliest trace of the language allied to the one spoken by their forefathers, turned European scholars to the study of the Vedic texts which resulted in the development of a scientific method of Vedic exegesis. It is not proposed to deal here with the many-sided contribution of European scholars to the interpretation of the Vedas. The present paper aims at dealing with a particular aspect of the Vedic exegesis which has not received the pointed attention it deserves. It is the formulation of the Vedic conjugational system by European scholars. For instance, in Ghate's lectures on *Ṛgveda*, while a number of numerous aspects of European contribution to the Vedic studies are discussed, their contribution to the Vedic conjugation has not been fully appreciated.

I yield to none in my admiration for the great work of Pāṇini which in words of Stcherbatsky is "one of the greatest productions of human mind."[1] It is, however, true that Pāṇini's presentation of conjugational system is unrealistic. It is said that grammar is the art of language while comparative philology is the science of language. Grammar teaches just correct usage of language while science of philology gives correct facts about a language. Of course, Pāṇini's presentation of conjugation does ensure correct usage of Sanskrit. But it is not realistic as will be shown presently. So far as the Vedic language is concerned, Pāṇini's work wholly misses the variety and diversity of Vedic conjugational forms. In the system of Pāṇini, there are ten conjugational forms, called lakāras, in which tenses and moods are placed quite at par, none of the two varieties coming under the other. Western scholars have discovered three basic systems of conjugation based on the three tenses. Different kinds of moods which are more varied than those given by Pāṇini, are formed on the bases of these three tense systems which are the following :—

(i) Present System (लट्-प्रकृति).
(ii) Perfect System (लिट्-प्रकृति).

1. Stcherbatsky : Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 23.

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(iii) Aorist System (लुङ्-प्रकृति).

Besides these three, there is one more tense system viz. लृट्-प्रकृति on which two lakāras of Pāṇini लृट् and लृङ् are based. But as this system is not used for numerous moods like the above noted three systems, it is not included in the principal tense systems.

Now coming to the moods, there are in Pāṇini's system only two moods viz. Imperative (लोट्) and Optative (विधिलिङ्) so far as the classical Sanskrit is concerned. We take here no account of Benedictory mood which is not much in use. And the two moods in classical Sanskrit are formed only in the present system. But in the Vedic language, there are two more moods, namely, Subjunctive and Injunctive. Of these Pāṇini has noted only Subjunctive (लेट्) as used in the Vedic language only. But his treatment of लेट् is quite unrealistic, as will be clear presently. As far as the Injunctive mood is concerned, Pāṇini has shown it only with particle 'मा' (माङ्), used with लङ् and लुङ् in the instances as 'मा करोत्' or मा कार्षीत्. But he does not regard it as a separate mood, but only as लङ् and लुङ् tense used in a prohibitive sense. He does not take it as a separate लकार, as he does the other three moods called लोट्, विधिलिङ् and लेट्. There is therefore no Sanskrit name for the Injunctive mood in Pāṇini's system. But it is a separate mood widely used in the Vedic language.

It would thus appear that there are three tense systems and four moods in the Vedic language. All the four moods are conjugated on the bases of three tense systems which are also used for expressing tenses proper i.e. past, present and future time. Vast variety and richness of the Vedic conjugational system can be judged from the fact that while there are only two proper varieties of moods in the classical Sanskrit, there are in the Vedic the above-mentioned four moods conjugated in three tense systems. The number of mood forms is thus as many as twelve. Below is given a brief sketch of three tense-systems with illustrations of their tenses and four moods.

I *Present System* (लट् प्रकृति).

Besides present tense (as in भवति पठति etc.), this system is the base of all four moods as given below :—

(i) Imperative mood (लोट्) e.g. पठतु or भवतु. This is found in both the classical and the Vedic Sanskrit.

(ii) Optative mood (विधिलिङ्) e.g. पठेत्, भवेत्. This is also found both in the classical and the Vedic Sanskrit.

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(iii) Subjunctive mood (लेट्) e.g. भवाति, भवात्. This mood is found only in the vedic Sanskrit. It is, however, interesting to note that the forms of the first person of Imperative mood (लोट्), viz. पठानि पठाव पठाम have been borrowed from the Subjunctive mood (लेट्). Otherwise their formation cannot be rationally explained. This fact has been discovered by the Western scholars.

(iv) Injunctive mood :—There is no name for it in Pāṇini's grammar as already explained. It is used only in the vedic language (with the exception of its use with prohibitive particle 'मा' which was not treated by Pāṇini as a separate mood but only a form of लङ् or लुङ् as already noted). Its examples are : चरत्, चेतत्, तपत्, तरत्, जयत् etc. It may be pointed out that this mood which was missed by Pāṇini altogether, is abundantly used in the vedic Sanskrit especially in the present system.

Imperfect past tense 'लङ्' (अपठत्) is taken by some Western scholars as a separate system, but as it has no moods, and its base √पठ् is similar to लट् it should also be included in the present system (लट् प्रकृति) although it denotes past time. Pāṇini has included लङ् in सार्वधातुक class of lakāras, and सार्वधातुक of Pāṇini is equivalent to present system (लट् प्रकृति). It is thus clear that Pāṇini's present system or लट् प्रकृति includes two tenses, viz. लट् and लङ् and two moods, लोट् and विधिलिङ् which are termed as सार्वधातुक लकारs. In the classical Sanskrit, as already noted, these two moods are found only on the base of present system. But in the vedic language these two moods as well as two other moods Subjunctive (लेट्) and Injunctive are formed on the base of all the three, Present, Perfect and Aorist systems. We have shown above the formation of the four moods in the present system. Now we would show the same in the remaining two systems:—

II *Perfect System* (लिट् प्रकृति).

In the classical Sanskrit, perfect tense is used only as a past tense (e. g. पपाठ). But in the vedic language all the four moods are formed on the basis of perfect system (लिट् प्रकृति) as given below :—

(i) Imperative mood (लोट्) as बभूतु
(ii) Optative mood (विधिलिङ्) as बभूयात्
(iii) Subjunctive mood (लेट्) as बुबोधति
(iv) Injunctive mood (विधिलिङ्) as दूधोत् (from √धू to tremble)

III Aorist System (लुङ् प्रकृति).

In the classical Sanskrit this system is used only for past tense. But in the vedic language all the four moods are found as given below :—

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(i) Imperative mood (लोट्) as सदतु (from √सद्, to sit, which in लुङ् tense is असदत्).

(ii) Optative mood (विधिलिङ्) as विदेत् (from √विद् to know, the लुङ् tense form being अविदत्).

(iii) Subjunctive mood (लेट्) as स्तोषति (from √स्तु, to laud, the लुङ् tense form being अस्तौषीत्).

(iv) Injunctive mood as द्विक्षत् (from √द्विष् to hate, the लुङ् tense form being अद्विक्षत्).

The formation of four moods from the bases of the three systems is missing in the work of Pāṇini. Dealing with the vedic Subjunctive mood (लेट्), Pāṇini did not recognize the fact that it is formed from the bases of all the three systems.

It would appear that in Pāṇini's grammar the four सार्वधातुक lakāras लट्, लङ्, लोट्, विधिलिङ् are formed from the present system (लट् प्रकृति). From the perfect system (लिट् प्रकृति) only the perfect tense (लिट्) is formed. Two lakāras namely लृट् and लृङ् are formed from the लृट् system which, not being used for moods, has not been counted as a separate system. From the Aorist base past tense लुङ् (अपाठीत्) and benedictory mood आशीर्लिङ् (पठ्यात्) are formed. That आशीर्लिङ् is formed on the base of लुङ् becomes quite clear in the case of the root √भू, (अभूत्, भूयात्). That आशीर्लिङ् is akin to लुङ् has also been discovered by Western scholars.

From the above account of the vedic conjugation it is quite clear that variety of the vedic conjugation i.e., of the three basic systems and four moods is missing in Pāṇini's grammar. Even the presentation of conjugation of the classical Sanskrit, being devoid of the distinction of basic systems and their moods, is not quite scientific and is therefore unrealistic.

A question may naturally be asked : How Pāṇini, one of the greatest intellectual giants of mankind, failed to present the conjugational system in its scientific perspective which European scholars later on successfully did ? The answer is clear and simple. European scholars had the unique advantage of studying Sanskrit in comparison with allied languages of Indo-European family, especially the classical languages such as Greek and Latin. They could therefore, discover the real nature of Sanskrit, and especially the vedic conjugation.

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ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF *PARAMA-LAGHU-MAÑJŪṢĀ*

KAPIL DEVA SHASTRI

The *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* (PLM) which is attributed to Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, is a small treatise on the philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar. As a matter of fact, this celebrated author of the seventeenth century A.D. (c 1670—1750 A.D) produced a voluminous work discussing all the important problems and, as a critique of high order, he supported therein the standpoint of Pāṇinian school of Sanskrit grammarians, refuting and criticising others' opinions relating to the word, its meaning and their relation (*śabda*, *artha* and *sambandha*). This work, namely *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣā* (VSM), which is even now preserved only in manuscript form, was again reproduced by the same author in two other redactions, viz., *Laghu-mañjūṣā* (LM) and *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, the shorter and the shortest form respectively. Both the larger editions present enormous valuable informations on various topics and include a world of quotations therein from ancient works which have not come down to us. These two works are undoubtedly unique having no parallel, as they cover the complete subject-matter from the whole of Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣyam* and Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīyam*, the two great oceans of philosophical thinking in the domain of Sanskrit grammar. It is very unfortunate that all these three versions of VSM have not been even critically edited. as yet[1].

Though there seems little doubt that these three versions are by the same author, as there is very much resemblance in every respect, yet this assertion requires serious examination and comparative study of all the three versions.

A comparison of LM. and PLM. reveals that only some earlier chapters (from शक्तिनिरूपणम् to निपातार्थ-निर्णयः) are somewhat similar in nature and content, though the names of topics differ, the chapters of the latter half of the works (from दशलकारादेशार्थः to

1. An attempt is however being made to critically edit the *Laghu-mañjūṣā* by the present author. A critical study of PLM., by the same author is under print from Kurukshetra Univ. Kurukshetra.

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समासादिवृत्त्यर्थ-निरूपणम्) differ. These chapters of PLM. are in no way the abridged versions of those found in LM.

There are also a few places where these two hold different opinions and views relating to the same problem.[1] Moreover the LM. contains some statements which are contradictory to those of the PLM.

Two such examples are given below. The first one is about अधिकरणसप्तमी and the second one is about एकार्थीभाव and व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्य. At both these places PLM. rejects LM's views and vice versa.

I. PLM., K.P. Shukla edition, p. 188;

'उप' समीपे 'श्लेषः' सम्बन्धः उपश्लेषः। तत्कृतम् औपश्लेषिकम्। अत एव·····"यन्मासेऽतिक्रान्ते दीयते तस्य मास औपश्लेषिकम् अधिकरणं मासिकं धान्यम्" इत्युक्तं "तत्र च दीयते०" इति सूत्रे भाष्ये।

यत्तु 'कटे आस्ते' इत्यौपश्लेषिकम् उक्तं कैयटेन तद् अयुक्तम् उक्त-भाष्य-विरोधात्। एतद् द्वयातिरिक्तं वैषयिकम् अधिकरणम्—'कटे आस्ते' 'जले सन्ति मत्स्याः' इत्यादि।

Cf. LM., Madhava Shastri Bhandari edition, pp. 1325-27;

केचित्तु 'औपश्लेषिकम्' इत्यस्य 'उप' समीपे 'श्लेषः' सम्बन्धः, तत्कृतम् इत्यर्थः। "तत्र च दीयते कार्यम्०" इति सूत्रे भाष्ये "यन्मासेऽतिक्रान्ते दीयते तस्य मास औपश्लेषिकम् अधिकरणम्" इत्युक्तेः।

यत्किंचिद् अवयवावच्छेदेन आधारस्याधेयेन व्याप्तिर् अप्युपश्लेषः। यथा—'कटे आस्ते'।·····वैषयिकं तु अप्राप्तिपूर्वक-प्राप्तिरूप-संयोग-समवायैतद्भिन्न-सम्बन्धेन यद् अधिकरणं तत्। यथा—'खे शकुनयः' इत्यादि।

II. PLM., p. 264;

अत एव भाष्ये व्यपेक्षापक्षम् उद्भाव्य "अथैतस्मिन् व्यपेक्षायां सामर्थ्ये योऽसावेकार्थीभावकृतो विशेषः स वक्तव्यः" इत्युक्तम्। धवखदिरौ, निष्कौशाम्बिः, गोरथः, घृतघटः, गुडधानाः, केशचूडः सुवर्णालंकारः, द्विदशाः, सप्तपर्णाः—इत्यादौ साहित्य-क्रान्त-युक्त-पूर्ण-मिश्र-संघात-विकार-सुच्प्रत्यय-लोप-वीप्साद्यर्था वाचनिका वाच्या इति तद्भाष्याशयः।

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1. Vide : PLM., K. P. Shukla edition, p. 84.

ननु प्रकरणादीनां शक्ति-नियामकत्वे शक्त्यैव निर्वाहे किन्तात्पर्येणेति चेन्न। 'अस्मात् शब्दाद् अर्थ-द्वय-विशेष्यको बोधो जायते, अर्थ-द्वये शक्तिसत्त्वात्। तात्पर्यन्तु क्वेति न जानीमः' इत्यनुभवविरोधात्।

LM., Madhava Shastri Bhandari edition, p. 523;

किंच 'अस्माद् अर्थ-द्वय-विशेष्यको बोधो जायते, तात्पर्यं तु क्वेति न जानीमः' इति सर्व-जनानुभव-विरोधात् न तस्य (तात्पर्यस्य) हेतुत्वम्।

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Cf. LM., p. 1388;

निष्कौशाम्बिः, गोरथः, घृतघटः, गुडधानाः, केशचूडः, स्वर्णालंकारः, द्विदशाः, सप्तपर्णः गौरखरः—इत्यादिषु क्रान्त-युक्त-पूर्ण-मिश्र-संघात-विकार-सुच्प्रत्ययलोप-वीप्सा-जातिविशेषणाद्यभिधानम् एकार्थीभावकृतम् इत्युक्तम्, तन्न। भाष्यानुक्तत्वात्। 'निर्'- आदिपूर्वपदानां क्रान्ताद्यर्थवृत्तितया "उक्तार्थानाम्०" इति न्यायेन तदप्रयोगा-सिद्धेश्च।

Another point which also bears much importance, so far as the authenticity of PLM is concerned may be stated. At various places PLM. criticises and rejects the views of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his commentator Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, though it never mentions their names.[1] This attitude is very clear in the first half of the work (from शक्ति-निरूपणम् to निपातार्थ-निर्णयः). But in the second half this attitude is not only discernible, but also sometimes the author of PLM. supports the views of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, even contradicting his own statements made in previous sections.

For example in शक्ति-निरूपणम् the author, following the Naiyāyika's views, opines that it is the स्थानी which is meaningful and not the आदेश.[2] But in the chapter of दशलकारादेशार्थः the same author clearly supports the views propounded by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, which go against Naiyāyika's views. Here the author of PLM. says that the आदेश is meaningful and not the स्थानी.[3] Obviously these two contradictory views cannot go together by the same author.

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1. *Vide* : PLM., p. 116;

यदपि केचिच्छाब्दिकाः—निपातानां वाचकत्वे 'शोभनः समुच्चयः' इतिवत् 'शोभनश्च' इत्यापत्तिः 'घटस्य समुच्चयः' इतिवत् 'घटस्य च' इत्यापत्तिश्चेत्याहुः, तन्न। शब्द-शक्ति-स्वभावेन निपातैः स्वार्थस्य परविशेषणत्वेनैव बोधनेन विशेषणान्वयाप्रसंगात्।

Cf. Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-Sāra, Anandashram edition, pp. 374,376;

'शोभनः समुच्चयो द्रष्टव्यः' इतिवत् 'शोभनश्च द्रष्टव्यः' इत्यस्यापत्तेः ...'धव-खदिरयोः समुच्चयः' इतिवत् 'धवस्य च' 'खदिरस्य च' इत्येव स्याद् इति भावः।

2. *Vide* : PLM., p. 15;

तत्र ऋषिभिः स्थानिनां कल्पिता अर्थाः कण्ठ-रवेणैवोक्ताः। आदेशानां तु 'स्थान्यर्थाभिधान-समर्थस्यैवादेशता' इति भाष्यात् तेऽर्थाः।

3. *Vide* : p. 138;

यद्यपि लकाराणाम् (स्थानिनाम्) एवार्थ-निरूपणं तार्किकैः कृतम्, तथापि...तदादेश-तिङाम् अर्थो निरूप्यते। "वर्तमाने लट्" इत्यादि-विधायक "लः कर्मणि०" इति शक्ति-ग्राहक-सूत्राणाम् आदेशार्थं स्थानिन्यारोप्य प्रवृत्तिः।

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Besides, in the last portion of समासादि-वृत्यर्थ-निरूपणम् there are quoted some verses[1] from Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* (VBS). These verses are originally of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and they are explained by Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita and positively an earlier scholar than Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. This is also very strange that the author of PLM. should attribute these verses to Bhartṛhari or while explaining[2] them (as at some other places[3] also) he thoroughly copied out from Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa in

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1. *Vide* : p. 215;

हरिरप्याह—

समासे खलु भिन्नैव शक्तिः पङ्कजशब्दवत् ।
बहूनां वृत्ति-धर्माणां वचनैरेव साधने ।
स्यान्महद् गौरवं तस्माद् एकार्थीभाव आश्रितः ॥
.....व्यपेक्षायां दूषणान्तरम् आह (भर्तृहरिः)—
चकारादि-निषेधोऽथ बहु-व्युत्पत्ति-भञ्जनम् ।
कर्तव्यन्ते न्याय-सिद्धं त्वस्माकन्तदिति स्थितिः ॥

These verses are from VBS., *Samāsa-śakti-nirṇaya* (kārikās 4 and 5).

2. *Vide* : PLM., p. 216;

'प्राप्तोदकः' इत्यादौ पृथक् शक्ति-वादिनां मते प्राप्ति-कर्त्रभिन्नम उदकम् इत्यादि-बोधोत्तरं तत्सम्बन्धि-ग्राम-लक्षणायाम् अपि 'उदक-कर्तृक-प्राप्ति-कर्म-ग्रामः' इत्यर्थालाभे प्राप्ते प्राप्तेति 'क्त'-प्रत्ययस्य कर्त्रर्थकस्य कर्मार्थे लक्षणा । ततोऽपि 'समान-विभक्तिक-नामार्थयोरभेद एव संसर्गः' इति व्युत्पत्त्या उदकाभिन्नं प्राप्ति-कर्मेति स्यात् । उदकस्य कर्तृतया प्राप्तावन्वये तु नामार्थयोरभेदान्वय-व्युत्पत्ति-भञ्जनं स्यात् ।

Cf. VBS., p. 272;

नच तत्र लक्षणा । 'प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः' इत्यादौ तदसम्भवात् । प्राप्ति-कर्त्रभिन्नमुदकम् इत्यादि-बोधोत्तरं तत्सम्बन्धि-ग्राम-लक्षणायामप्युदक-कर्तृक-प्राप्ति-कर्म-ग्राम इत्यर्थालाभात् । प्राप्तेति 'क्त'-प्रत्ययस्यैव कर्त्रर्थकस्य कर्मणि लक्षणेति चेत् तर्हि समानाधिकरण-प्रातिपदिकार्थयोर् अभेदान्वय-व्युत्पत्तेर् उदकाभिन्न-प्राप्ति-कर्मेति स्यात् । अन्यथा समानाधिकरणप्रातिपदिकार्थयोर् अभेदान्वय-व्युत्पत्ति-भंगापत्तेः प्राप्तेर् धात्वर्थतया कर्तृता-सम्बन्धेन भेदेनोदकस्य तदन्वयासम्भवाच्च ।

3. For example, *vide* : PLM., pp. 206-208;

न च 'चित्रगुः' इत्यादौ लक्षणा-सम्भवेप्यषष्ठ्यर्थबहुव्रीहौ लक्षणाया असम्भवः, बहु-व्युत्पत्ति-भंजनापत्तेर् इति वाच्यम् । 'प्राप्तोदकः' इत्यादौ 'उदक' पदे एव लक्षणास्वीकारात् । पूर्वपदस्य यौगिकत्वेन तत्र लक्षणाया धातु-प्रत्यय-

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verbatim. Such copying is never expected from a genius of the standing of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa.

In the same way, imitating Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, in the chapter of नामार्थ-विचार PLM. quotes one of the very famous *kārikās* of Bhartṛhari with the remark इत्यभियुक्तोक्तेः,[1] while at the same place, again copying Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, this work quotes two other *kārikās* of Bhartṛhari mentioning the name of *Vākyapadīya* (VP.) इति वाक्यपदीयाच्च.[2] Here it seems that the author is not sure about the authorship of first verse which is from the *Brahmakāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīyam*.

तदर्थ-ज्ञान-साध्यतया विलम्बितत्वात्। प्रत्ययानां सन्निहित-पदार्थ-गत-स्वार्थ-बोधकत्व-व्युत्पत्त्यनुरोधाच्च। घटादि-पदे चातिरिक्ता शक्तिः कल्प्यमाना प्रत्येकं वर्णेषु बोधकत्वेऽपि विशिष्टे कल्प्यते, विशिष्टस्यैव संकेतितत्वात्। प्रकृते चात्यन्त-सन्निधानेन प्रत्ययान्वय-सौलभ्यायोत्तरपदे एव लक्षणा कल्प्यते इति विशेषः। स्वीकृतं च घटादि-पदेष्वपि चरम-वर्णस्यैव वाचकत्वं मीमांसकम्मन्यैर् इत्याहुः।

Cf. VBS. pp. 285-87;

नापि 'चित्रगुः' इत्यादौ लक्षणा-सम्भवेऽप्यषष्ठ्यर्थ-बहुव्रीहौ लक्षणाया असम्भवः। बहु-व्युत्पत्ति-भंजनापत्तेर् इति वाच्यम्। 'प्राप्तोदकः' इत्यादौ 'उदक'-पदे एव लक्षणा-स्वीकारात्। पूर्वपदस्य यौगिकत्वेन तल्लक्षणाया धातु-प्रत्यय-तदर्थ-ज्ञान-साध्यतया विलम्बितत्वात्। प्रत्ययानां सन्निहित-पदार्थ-गत-स्वार्थ-बोधकत्व-व्युत्पत्त्यनुरोधाच्च। घटादि-पदे चातिरिक्ता शक्तिः कल्प्यमाना विशिष्टे कल्प्यते, विशिष्टस्यैव संकेतितत्वात्। बोधकत्वस्यापि प्रत्येकं वर्णेष्वसत्त्वात्। प्रकृते चात्यन्तसन्निधानेन प्रत्ययार्थान्वय-सौलभ्यायोत्तरपदे एव सा कल्प्यते इति विशेषः। स्वीकृतं च घटादि-पदेष्वपि चरम वर्णस्यैव वाचकत्वं मीमांसकम्मन्यैर् इत्याहुः।

1. *Vide* : PLM., p. 200;

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमाद् ऋते। अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते॥ (VP. 1.123) इत्यभियुक्तोक्तेः।

Cf. VBS., p. 234;

"न सोऽस्ति·····भासते" इत्याद्यनुभविकोक्तेः।

2. *Vide* : PLM., p. 200;

ग्राह्यत्वं ग्राहकत्वं च द्वे शक्ती तेजसो यथा।
तथैव सर्वशब्दानामेते पृथगवस्थिते॥ (VP. 1.55)

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All this shows that at least these portions are not by the author of LM, or *Vyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-mañjūṣā*, who is so well-versed in every respect. Thus the authenticity of PLM. is much more doubtful.

विषयत्वमनादृत्य शब्दैर्नार्थः प्रकाश्यते । (V.P 1.56) इति वाक्यपदीयाच्च ।
Cf. VBS., pp. 242-43;
उक्तं च वाक्यपदीये—"ग्राह्यत्वं···प्रकाश्यते" इति ।

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ON PĀṆINI'S METALINGUISTIC USE OF CASES

GEORGE CARDONA

To the memory of Pt. Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya

prajñā vivekaṁ labhate bhinnair āgama-darśanaiḥ
kiyad vā śakyam unnetuṁ sva-tarkam anudhāvatā
tat tad utprekṣamāṇānāṁ purāṇair āgamair vinā
anupāsita-vṛddhānāṁ vidyā nātiprasīdati

§1. Pāṇini's[1] Aṣṭādhyāyī, the most complete of ancient Sanskrit grammars, of course includes rules for introducing case endings. For the present discussion it will suffice to consider some rules which serve to introduce the third (*tṛtīyā*), fifth (*pañcamī*), sixth (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and seventh (*saptamī*) triplet endings (see also *JOIB* 16.201-215 [1967], 21.22-40 [1971], *IIJ* 12.228-232 [1970]).

1. This is a very abbreviated version of considerably longer paper written in March of 1972, wherein many points discussed here only briefly or not at all (e.g., *maṇḍūka-gati*, see § *6.4*) were dealt with in full detail. I am painfully aware that nearly everything said in this paper is obvious to a well versed Pāṇinian paṇḍita. On the other hand, the subject treated here has been treated most superficially and with little deep understanding in a recent western work (H. Scharfe, *Pāṇini's Metalanguage*, Philadelphia, 1971; a review of this is to appear in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*) which has been highly praised by at least one western scholar (R. Rocher, *JAOS* 93.112-114 [1973]). Without wishing to enter into polemic, I nevertheless wish to set forth what I think are the acceptable conclusions. I trust Prof. Charu Deva Shastri, the recipient of this volume for whose superb work I have the greatest admiration, will find it acceptable that I dedicate this paper to the memory of a teacher for whom I have not only deep respect but also love and whose death has deprived Pāṇinian scholarship of a teacher who could make one understand fully *ācāryadevo bhava*.

References and abbreviations : *Bhāṣya* or *Bh.* : *Vyākaraṇa-mahā-bhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn); *Dīpikā* : Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā* (ed. Abhyankar-Limaye); *Kāśikā* : *Kāśikā-vṛtti* (ed. Aryendra Sharma, Khanderao Deshpande, D. G. Padhye); *Nyāsa* : *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (in *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, ed. D. D. Shastri, K. P. Shukla); *PM* : *Pada-mañjarī* (in *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, ed. D. D. Shastri, K. P. Shukla); *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (ed. K. V. Abhyankar); *Pr.* : *Pradīpa* (NSP ed.); *Śekhara*: *Laghu-śabdendu-śekhara* (ed. Guruprasad Shastri); *ŚK* : *Śabda-kaustubha* (ed. G. P. Nene); *SK* : *Siddhānta-kaumudī*; *Ud.* : *Pradīpoddyota* (NSP ed.).

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[1] 2.3.18 : *kartṛ-karaṇayos tṛtīyā*
[2] 2.3.28 : *apādāne pañcamī*
[3] 2.3.29 : *anyārād-itara-rte-dik-śabdāñcūttara-padāj-āhi-yukte*
[4] 2.3.65 : *kartṛ-karmaṇoḥ kṛti* (*ṣaṣṭhī* 50)
[5] 2.3.50 : *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
[6] 2.3.36 : *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*
[7] 2.3.37 : *yasya ca bhāvena bhāva-lakṣaṇam*

[1] 2.3.18 introduces third triplet endings when an agent (*kartṛ*) or instrument (*karaṇa*) of an action is to be denoted; e. g., *tena kṛtam* 'made by him,' *paraśunā chinatti* 'hews with an axe.' [2] 2.3.28 and [3] 2.3.29 introduce fifth-triplet endings. [2] lets these occur when an *apādāna* (for example, a point of departure) is to be signified; e. g., *grāmād āgacchati* 'is coming from the village.' [3] introduces these endings under cooccurrence conditions: if a nominal is construed with (*yukte*) 'when there is connection with') *anya* 'other', *ārāt* 'afar', *itara* 'other', *ṛte* 'without', a direction word (*dik-śabda*), a compound with *añc* as second member, an item containing *āc* or *āhi*; e. g., *anyo devadattāt* 'other than Devadatta', *ārād grāmāt* 'far from the village', *itaro devadattāt* 'other than D.', *ṛte devadattāt*, 'without D.' *uttaro grīṣmo vasantāt* 'the hot season is subsequent to (*uttara*) autumn,' *prāg grāmāt* 'before the village', *dakṣiṇā grāmāt*, *dakṣiṇāhi grāmāt* 'south of the village.' [4] 2.3.65 and [5] 2.3.50 introduce the sixth triplet. By [4] these endings occur when an agent (*kartṛ*) or object (*karman*) is to be denoted if the nominal in question is construed with an item terminating in a *kṛt* affix; e.g., *bhavata āsikā* 'your turn to sit', *apāṁ sraṣṭā* 'creator of the waters.' [5] introduces these endings to denote a nonverbal relation; e.g., *tasya putraḥ* 'his son.' [6] 2.3.36 provides for the use of seventh-triplet endings when a locus (*adhikaraṇa*) is to be signified; e.g., *grāme vasati* 'is staying in the village.' [7] 2.3.37 introduces these endings after a nominal whose denotandum is connected with an action which serves to characterize another action; e.g., *goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ* 'he left while the cows were being milked.'

§2. The rules of §1 account for actual Sanskrit usage. Pāṇini also uses case endings metalinguistically. Within the section of rules headed by 3.1.91 (*dhātoḥ*) there are rules containing locative forms such as *karmaṇi* (3.2.1 : *karmaṇy aṇ* etc.). Such locatives are used to assign items to the class called *upapada* (3.1.92 : *tatropapadaṁ saptamī-stham*). Similarly, an item stated in the nominative within rules providing for the formation of compounds

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(*samāsa*) is classed as *upasarjana* (1.2.43 : *prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṁ samāsa upasarjanam*).

§3. Pāṇini also uses case forms metalinguistically for purposes other than classification. An important example of such a use is rule.

[8] 1.1.49: *ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogā*

which assigns a metalinguistic value to the sixth-triplet (*ṣaṣṭhī*) endings. As noted in §1, [5]2.3.50 introduces genitive endings when there is to be denoted a non-verbal relation in general. There are of course many such relations, such as father-son, part-whole (e.g., *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of the tree') etc. [8] 1.1.49 states a particular relation to be understood when the genitive is used : the relation of being a substituend.[1] For example, in

[9] 6.1.77 : *iko yaṇ aci*

the genitive *ikaḥ* occurs. The vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* (denoted by *ik*) are substituends to be replaced by *y*, *v*, *r*, *l* (denoted by yaṇ) before a vowel) (*ac*); e.g., *dadhy*-udaka 'curds and water' (<*dadhi-udaka*).

§3.1. Before discussing [8] 1.1.49, let us consider some rules in which genitive forms are used, they do not denote substituends and where particular metarules other than [8] 1.1.49 apply.

[10] 7.2.35 : *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ val-ādeḥ*

[11] 6.1.71 : *hrasvasya p-iti kṛti tuk*

contain the genitives *ārdhadhātukasya*, *val-ādeḥ*, *hrasvasya*. These refer to operands. The rules provide operations to be performed on *ārdhadhātuka* affixes which begin with a consonant other than *y* and on the short vowel of a base followed by a *kṛt* affix marked with *p*. But these operations are not substitution. [10]7.2.35 lets the affix in question receive an augment *i* (*iṭ*) which then constitutes the initial of the affix; [11]6.1.71 provides that the vowel in question receives the final augment *t* (tuk). For example, the infinitive of *lū* 'cut' is *lav-itum*, with the augment *i* added to *tum*, and the absolutive of *upa-stu* 'invoke, praise' is *upa-stut-ya*, with the final augment *t* added to *ū* before the affix *lyp*. The proper interpretation of [10] 7.2.35 and [11]6 1.71 is made possible by

[12] 1.1.46 : *ādy-antāu ṭa-k-itau*

whereby augments marked with *t* and *k* are respectively the initial

1. It is not possible here to discuss details regarding the compound *sthāne-yogā* or the meaning of the term *sthāna*.

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(*ādi*) and final (*anta*) constituents of the items to which they are introduced[1].

§3.2. There are many rules containing genitive forms for the interpretation of which the only available meta rule is [8]1.1.49. Such rules require one to consider carefully the precise domain in which [8]1.1.49 should operate. Now, this metarule is immediately understandable as stating a restriction (*niyama*). The genitive is used in Sanskrit to denote many relations; [8]1.1.49 tells us, however that in grammatical rules the genitive is to be understood as denoting one particular relation only.[2] One has to consider two major possibilities regarding this restriction : (A) No genitive form in a Pāṇinian rule may be interpreted except by [8]1.1.49. (B) Some genitive forms are to be interpreted by]8]1.1.1.49, others not. Under (B) one has to state a criterion for determining the proper domain of the substituend genitive.

Alternative (A) is obviously too broad, since [8] 1.1.49 does not apply in rules such as [10] 7.2.35, [11] 6.1.71 (see §3). After excluding such rules, however, it is still apparent that (A) cannot be accepted if Pāṇini's rules are to yield correct results. Consider the following rules.

[13] 6.4.1 : *aṅgasya*

[14] 6.4.34 : *śāsa id aṅ-haloḥ* (*upadhāyāḥ k-ṅ-iti* 24)

[15] 6.4.89: *ūd upadhāyā gohaḥ* (*aci* 77)

[13]5.4.1 is a major heading, valid through the end of the seventh *adhyāya* whereby an operation stated in a subsequent rule applies to a presuffixal base (*aṅga*). [14] 6.4.34 and [15]6 4.89 state operations on the presuffixal bases *śās* 'command' and *goh* (*guh* 'hide'). Before the affix *aṅ* or an affix marked with *k* or *ṅ* and beginning with a consonant, the penultimate sound (*upadhā* of *śās* is replaced by *i*; e.g. aśiṣ-a-t (3rd sg. aor.), *śiṣ-ṭa* (past partic., < *śās-kta*). And before a vowel initial affix the penultimate sound of *goh* is replaced by *ū*; e.g., *gūh-aka* (agent noun).

The required results can be obtained only if the genitives *śāsaḥ*, *gohaḥ* are interpreted as partitive genitives (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*)

1. [12] 1.1.46 is considered to contravene [8] 1.1.49; *Nyāsa* on 1.1.46 (I.162) : *ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogety asyāḥ paribhāṣāyā ayam apavādaḥ*. I do not consider details discussed in *Bh.* on 1.1.46.
2. [8] 1.1.49 vt. 1 : *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ sthāne-yoga-vacanaṁ niyamārtham*; see also *Bh.* I.118. 10-13 (on 1.1.49 vt. 1).

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as opposed to *upadhāyāḥ*, interpreted by [8] 1.1.49 : For only thus do these rules state replacements for the penultimate sounds of bases. If [8] 1.1.49 is considered to preclude such an interpretation, serious problems result. Now *śāsaḥ*, *gohaḥ* denote substituends. And rule

[16] 1.1.52: *alo'ntyasya*

provides that substitution affects the last (*antya*) sound (*al*) of what is given in a rule as substituend. [14] 6.4.34 and [15] 6.4.89 together with [16] 1.1.52 will now provide that the last sounds of *śās*, *goh* are replaced respectively by *i*, *ū*. Moreover, the genitive *upadhāyāḥ* is now left dangling. One could, then consider that these rules also allow the penultimate sound of any presuffixal base to be replaced by the vowels given.[1] This is clearly undesirable.

§3.3. It is evident that [8] 1.1.49 should not be considered to preclude the interpretation of a genitive form in a rule as denoting something other than a substituend. One must, then, accept alternative (B) of §3.2 and, consequently, show under what conditions a genitive is to be interpreted by [8] 1.1.49 and when not.

Consider now the sequence *tasya puruṣasya*. This is ambiguous, susceptible of two interpretations according as the pronoun *tad* and the noun are coreferential or not: *tasya puruṣasya*$_1$ 'of that man' (nom. *sa puruṣaḥ*, acc. *taṁ puruṣam*); *tasya puruṣasya*$_2$ 'of his man' (nom. *tasya puruṣaḥ*, acc. *tasya puruṣam*). Let us deal first with *tasya puruṣasya*$_1$. This is obviously a partial (or elliptic) utterance : the man is spoken of as a relatum ([5]2.3.50), but the relation in question is not specified. This can be made explicit by adding various items; e.g., *tasya puruṣasya pitā* 'that man's father,' *tasya puruṣasya samīpe* 'near that man.' Now consider *tasya puruṣasya*.[2] Here again one can say *tasya puruṣasya pitā* 'the father of his man,'...*samīpe* 'near his man.' However, there is a difference. First, from *tasya puruṣasya*$_2$ alone one definite relation is already understood : the man is in some way a property of the person denoted by *tad*. Any further relation specified by using *pitā*, *samīpe* etc., then, has as relatum only the man (*puruṣa*). Let us call a genitive such as *tasya* in *tasya puruṣasya*$_2$ a bound genitive and one such as *tasya* in *tasya puruṣasya*$_1$ an unbound genitive.

If we now turn back to [9] 6.1.77, [14] 6.4.34, [15] 6.4.89,

1. [8] 1.1.49 vt. 2 : *avayava-ṣaṣṭhy-ādiṣv atiprasaṅgaḥ śāso goha iti. Bh.* I.118.16-17 : *śāsa id aṅ-halor iti śāseś cāntyasya syād upadhāmātrasya ca| ūd upadhāyā goha iti goheś cāntyasya syād upadhāmātrasya ca.*

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the criterion for determining when a genitive is to be interpreted by [8] 1. 1. 49 is clear. As in *tasya puruṣasya*$_2$, so also in *śāsa upadhāyāḥ, goha upadhāyāḥ* it is only the denotandum of the second genitive whose relation is not specified in the utterance. *śāsaḥ, gohaḥ* are bound genitives; moreover, a penultimate sound (*upadhā*) can be only a part of a unit to which it is related. [9] 6.1. 77. contains only one, unbound, genitive. All three statements require an addition in order to be understood precisely. [8] 1.1.49 applies to interpret the genitives *ikaḥ, upadhāyāḥ*, so that one understands : *śāsa upadhāyāḥ sthāne* 'in place of the penultimate sound of *śās*' *goha upadhāyāḥ sthāne*, and *ikaḥ sthāne*. [8] 1.1.49 does not, however, apply to interpret the bound genitives *śāsaḥ gohaḥ*.[1]

Rule [8] 1.1.49, then does not apply to interpret a bound genitive. It is a restriction which applies in a particular domain where a genitive form occurs such that a relation is not specified, one does not merely supply any relation word at all to complete the sense of the utterance; [8] 1.1.49 comes into play to specify 'in place of.' This is the way [8] 1.1.49 has been interpreted by all major Pāṇinīyas.[2]

§*3.4*. The heading [13] 6.4.1 is valid in [14] 6.4.34 (see §*3.2*). Thereby, the latter rule is understood to state *śāso'ṅgasya...*'...of presuffixal base *śās*.' The genitives *śāsaḥ* and *aṅgasya* are coreferential; like *śāsaḥ, aṅgasya* here is a bound genitive not interpreted by [8] 1.1.49. The same heading is valid in

[17] 6.4.35: *śā hau* (*śāsaḥ* 34)

This rule, however, provides that the entire root *śās* is replaced by *śā* before the second singular imperative ending *hi* [*śā-dhi*, see *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 1.49, 69 note 36 [1970]). Here, *aṅgasya* is thus coreferential with the genitive *śāsaḥ*, which is interpreted by [8] 1.1.49, so that it too functions here as a substituend genitive.[3]

1. Similarly, the genitives *bhasya, ṭeḥ* of 7.1.88 are not to be interpreted by [8] 1.1.49; this is discussed in my review of Scharfe's book mentioned in note 1 above.
2. *Kāśikā* on [8] 1.1.49: *paribhāṣeyaṁ yoga-niyamārthā| iha śāstre yā ṣaṣṭhy aniyata-yogā śrūyate sā sthāne-yogaiva bhavati nānya-yogā*. Similarly, *ŚK* I.191 (on [8] 1.1.49), *SK* 38 (=[13] 1.1.49). In vt. 3 on [8] 1.1.49 (*avayavādīnāṁ cāprāptir yogasyāsaṁdigdhatvāt*) Kātyāyana explains that the restrictive metarule does not apply in the case of partitive genitives etc., since there is no doubt here about what relation is involved. See also *Bh.* I.118.20-25, *Ud.* I.410a, *Dīpikā* II.290.17, and *Bh.* III.179.8-10 (on 6.4.1).
3. *Kāśikā* [17] 6.4.35 : *śāso hau parataḥ śā ity ayam ādeśo bhavati...upadhāyā iti nivṛttaṁ tataḥ śāsa iti sthāne-yogā ṣaṣṭhī bhavati.*

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§4. Pāṇinīyas accept not only that an item such as *aṅgasya* is susceptible of different interpretations according to context (§3.) but also that a context can determine the modification of a case form. For example, [13] 6.4.1 is valid in

[18] 7.1.9 *ato bhisa ais*

which provides for replacing *bhis* (instr. pl. ending) with *ais* after [21] 1.1.67) a presuffixal base which ends in *a* (e.g.,) *puruṣaiḥ* <*puruṣa-bhis*). The context of this rule determines the modification of the genitive *aṅgasya* to an ablative *aṅgāt*. For *at* (ablative *ataḥ*) to denote a unit ending in *a* (by 1.1.72), it has to be a qualifier of a larger unit. In the present context, this has to be a presuffixal base. Therefore, one understands *ad-antād aṅgāt* 'after a presuffixal base in *a*.'[1] Similarly, the nominative dual *aj ādī* 'vowel-initial (affixes)' of 5.3.58 is allowed to recur in

[19] 5.3.60: *praśasyasya śraḥ*

which provides that *praśasya* 'laudable' is replaced by *śra*. This replacement should previde for the bases *śreyas* 'better', *śreṣṭha* 'best', containing the affixes *īyas*, *iṣṭha*. Instead of having to state *tayoḥ* 'before those two (affixes, *īyas*, *iṣṭha*),' tells us Patañjali, one lets *aj-ādī* recur. The nominative is then contextually modified to a locative. This modification is prompted by the meaning (purpose) of the subsequent utterance. Such a contextual modification applies also in normal usage. For example, if one says *uccāni devadattasya gṛhāṇi* 'Devadatta's houses are high' and then *āmantrayasvainam* 'call him,' one understands *devadattam* in the second utterance[2].

§5. The following conclusions are to be drawn. The metarule [8] 1.1.49 does not introduce a value of the genitive totally different from the values this form has in normal Sanskrit usage. Nor does this rule preclude interpreting a genitive as partitive in given rules of the grammar. [8] 1.1.49 simply applies to provide a unique interpretation for genitive forms where no particular relation is specified (§*3.3.3*). The value which a single genitive

1. *Kāśikā* [18] 7.1.9 : *akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya bhisa ais ity ayam ādeśo bhavati.* Cf. *Nyāsa* on 7 3.120 (VI.124) : *āṅa iti sthāny-antara-nirdeśād arthād vibhakti-viparināmo bhavatīti ṣaṣṭhy-antaṁ yad gher iti prakṛtaṁ tad iha pañcamy-antam upajāyate.* I omit here a long Bhāṣya discussion on [13] 6.4.1.
2. Bh. II 417 21-418.4 : (*tayor iti*) *na vaktavyam prakṛtam aj-ādī-grahaṇam anuvartate...tad vai prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṁ saptamī-nirdiṣṭena cehārthaḥ| arthād vibhakti-viparināmo bhaviṣyati| tad yathā uccāni devadattasya gṛhāṇi| āmantrayasvainam| devadattam iti gamyate...evam ihāpi purastāt prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṁ sad arthāt saptamī-nirdiṣṭaṁ bhaviṣyati.* I omit other details of the Bhāṣya on [19]5.3.60.

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has in any one of several rules in which it is understood to recur is determined by the context of each rule (§*3.4*). Since genitive endings denote merely any relation which obtains between the denotata of two nominals ([15] 2.3.50), one must depend on context to know what precise relation is involved. Further, a form containing a given ending may be treated as contextually modified in a subsequent rule where it is understood to recur. This is simply real language usage (§4),

§*6*. These points are important for the consideration of two other major metarules :

[20] 1.1.66 : *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*

[21] 1.1.67 : *tasmād ity uttarasya*

The pronoun *tad* is here used as a variable; *tasminn iti*, *tasmād iti* refer to what is signified by a form stated (*nirdiṣṭa*) in the locative or or ablative respectively.[1] The locative and ablative forms *tasmin*, *tasmāt* are immediately interpretable by [6] 2.3.36, [3] 2.3.29.

Now, although Pāṇinīyas distinguish three types of loci, as Patañjali notes, there can be only one locatival relation between one linguistic item and another: they are contiguous.[2] Since [20] 1.1.66 states *pūrvasya* 'of the preceding' it is clear that *tasmin* refers to a locus of contiguity or contact (*aupaśleṣikam adhikaraṇam*).

Consider now again rule [9] 6.1.77. The rule contains the genitive *ikaḥ* to be interpreted by [8] 1.1.49. The lacative *aci* denotes vowels with which *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* are in contact. With no metarule to determine a more precise interpretation of [9] 6.1.77, this rule could be considered to state that a vowel denoted by *ik* is replaced by a semivowel when it is contiguous to a vowel, whether this vowel follows or precedes. The—*i* of *dadhi* and the *u*-of *udaka* are both vowels denoted by *ik*. Therefore, [9] 6.1.77 could allow alternate replacements : the *i* which is followed by *u* is replaced by *y* and the *u* following *i* is replaced by *v*. [20] 1.1.66 lets one arrive at a single interpretation : the locative of contiguity is used to denote an item which functions as right context conditioning an operation on what precedes it (*pūrva*).

1. A discussion is in order regarding the use of *iti* here, since Scharfe (*Pāṇini's Metalanguage*, p. 45a) misunderstands it. I plan to discuss this and other aspects regarding the use of *iti* in Pāṇini's rules on another occasion.
2. *Bh.* III.51.9-10 : *śabdasya ca śabdena ko'nyo'bhisambandho bhavitum arhaty anyad ata upaśleṣāt.* This statement is made in this context of claiming that 6.1.72 (*saṁhitāyām*) need not be stated. I cannot enter into a discussion here regarding the validity of this claim or details concerning the different types of loci recognized.

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A directional ablative ([3] 2.3.39) such as *grāmāt* can cooccur with items such as *pūrva* 'before', *para* 'after, beyond.' A rule such as

[22] 8.1.28 : *tiṅ atiṅaḥ* (*padāt* 17, *anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau* 18)

is not immediately interpretable in a single way. It requires a supplement to be understood. From his own knowledge of Sanskrit usage, the student of the grammar could, then, supply either *pūrva* or *para*. Consequently, the rule [22] 8.1.28 could, by itself, be understood to provide that a finite verb form (one terminating in an ending denoted by *tiṅ*) has no high pitched vowel when it occurs either preceding (*pūrva*) or following (*para*) a form terminating in a nonverbal ending. [21] 1.1.67 applies to stipulate a single interpretation : the directional ablative is used to denote a left context which conditions an operation on a following item (*uttara*).[1]

§6.1. The interpretation of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 noted in §6 requires that, like [8] 1.1.49, these rules also are restrictions (*niyama*) which apply in particular domains (cf. note 13). The locative is interpreted by [20] 1.1.66 only where the form in question allows of interpretation as a locative of contiguity (*upaśleṣa*), so that this metarule does not preclude the use of locative forms in other values which such forms have in normal Sanskrit.

Pāṇini commonly uses the locative in such values. Two illustrations will suffice. The locative of domain (*viṣaya-saptamī*) is common in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. For example,

[23] 3.4.117 : *chandasy ubhayathā*

provides that finite verb endings and affixes marked with *ś* are classed both as *sārvadhātuka*; and *ārdhadhātuka*; this classification applies in the domain (*viṣaya*) of sacred literature (*chandas*). The locative *chandasi* is a *viṣaya-saptamī* (*Kāśikā*: *chandasi viṣaye* ...); it is not to be interpreted by [20] 1.1.66. In rule

[24] 1.4.105 : *yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ* the locative forms represent the usage accounted for by [7] 2.3.37, what is called the *sat-saptamī*. The rule states conditions under which the verb endings called *madhyama* (2nd pers. endings in western terms) are used : when the ending to be used signifies the same thing (i.e., the same *kāraka*) as a potentially useable (*sthāniny api*) cooccurring item (*upapada*) *yuṣmad* (2nd pers. pronoun). *Kāśikā* paraphrases: *yuṣmady upapade sati*...

1. vt. 2 on [20] 1.1.66-[21]1.1.67 : *tasmiṁs tasmād iti pūrvottarayor yogayor aviśeṣāṇ niyamārthaṁ vacanaṁ dadhy-udakaṁ pacaty odanam.* See also *Bh* I.172 21-26.

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Examples of such uses of the locative in Pāṇinian rules are so frequent that the only reasonable explanation compatible with [20] 1.1.66 is that this metarule states a restriction which applies in a particular domain.[1] If, on the other hand, [20] 1.1.66 is considered to preclude other uses of the locative, the locative forms of rules such as [24]1.4.105 have to be viewed as slips, a strange situation in view of the frequent occurrence of such "slips".[2]

§6.2. In §6 I spoke of left and right contexts which condition operations on following and preceding elements. This is in accord with what Pāṇinīyas say regarding [20] I.1.66, [21] 1.1.67. For example, the *Kāśikā*'s paraphrases are : ... *pūrvasyaiva kāryaṁ bhavati nottarasya*; ... *uttarasyaiva kāryaṁ bhavati na pūrvasya*; similarly, *Bhāṣya* passim (e.g., 11.3.24), *Siddhānta-kaumudī* on [20] 1.1.66. [21] 1.1.67. According to Pāṇinīyas, *kārya* 'operation' is to be understood in both these rules.

This is proper, although the term *kārya* does not occur in a previous rule, hence cannot be considered to have carried into [20] 1. .66, [21] 1.1.67. For these are metarules and as such do not operate independently. They are ancillaries to operational rules. A metarule applies in conjunction with the operational rules it serves to interpret (cf. *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* 3:...*pradeśaika-vākyatāyā itaḥ pratīteḥ*). Now, the genitives *pūrvasya*, *uttarasya* of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 require complements if one is to know what is provided relative to preceding and following items. Since these are metarules, one has to understand *kāryam* : what are provided for such items are operations stated in operational rules.[3]

§6.3. There are several rules in which both a locative inter-

1. On ablatives not to be interpreted by [21]1.1.67 see §§*7-7 2*.
2. Scharfe *(Pāṇini's Metalanguage)* does consider the locative *yuṣmadi of* [24] 1.4.105 a slip. Concerning the genitives *bhasya* of 7.1.83 (see above, note 6) and *kṛpaḥ* of 8.2.18, he says (p 34b), "These few non-technical cases of metalinguistic terms are best regarded as slips, violating the style and system of the metalanguage". He continues, "Slips are also the two locatives singular in I.4.105 *yuṣmady upapade*...and I.4.107 *asmady...*; both do not have the metalinguistic notion of 'before'." Scharfe states this because he assumes that genitives and locatives of metalinguistic terms should always be interpretable by [8]1.1.49, [20]1.1.66 Unfortunately, Scharfe makes assertions like those cited here without considering in sufficient detail either the domain of these matarules or what Pāṇinīyas have said about them.
3. Scharfe (op. cit., p. 38) considers, without justification, that understanding *kāryam* is arbitrary. For a discussion see the review alluded to in note 1. above. See also *Śekhara* I.199.

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pretable by [20] 1.1.66 and an ablative interpretable by [21] 1.1.67 occur, so that one must decide which metarule applies preferentially. For example,

[25] 7.2.82 : *āne muk* (*aṭaḥ* 80)

[26] 7.2.83 : *īd āsaḥ* (*āne* 82)

The first rule states that the final *a* of a presuffixal base ([13] 6.4.1) ending in this vowel receives the final augment ([12] 1.1.46) *m* (*m*uk) when it is followed by [(20] 1.1.66) *āna* (*participial* affix); e.g., *pacam-āna*)(<*paca-āna*) 'cooking'. The term *āne* carries into[26] 7.2.83, which also contains the ablative *āsaḥ* 'after *ās* ('*be* seated')'. This rule should provide that the *ā* of *āna* is replaced by *ī* after *ās*: *ās-īna* 'seated.' This interpretation supposes that [21] 1.1.67 applies preferentially: the ablative *āsaḥ* denotes the context for replacing the initial sound (1.1.54) of *āna*, and the locativc *āne* is now not considered to denote a context for an operation on *ās*. In vt. 3 on [20]1.1.66-[21]1.1.67, Kātyāyana formulates the following principle: when both an ablative and a locative are stated, so that there is conflict, the former takes preference (*ubhaya-nirdeśe vipratiṣedhāt pañcamī-nirdeśaḥ*). Subsequently, however, Kātyāyana suggests another solution. Two rules conflict only if each has an independent domain of application in addition to the common domain. It is assumed, further, that no rule stated should be without a domain of application (*niravakāśa*), hence vacuous. The same principles apply with respect to *āsaḥ* and *āne* in [26] 7.2.83. The ablative *āsaḥ* does not really conflict with the ablative *āne*. For, though *āne* does have an independent domain where it is valid ([25] 7.2.82), *āsaḥ* applies only in [26] 7.2.83. If this ablative is not to be without a domain, it must take preference over the locativc *āne*, which has already served its purpose in the previous rule.[1] Since *āsaḥ* denotes a left context, *āne* can be considered contextually modified to a genitive denoting a substituend (cf. §4 and see note 17).

In vt. 4 on [20] 1.1.66-[21] 1.1.67, Kātyāyana suggests still another solution. A genitive should be stated in rules such as [26] 7.2.83 (*yathārtham vā ṣaṣṭhī-nirdeśaḥ*). This of course involves prolixity

1. vt. 13 on [20]1.1.66-[21]1.1.67 : *vibhakti-viśeṣa-nirdeśānavakāśatvād avipratiṣedhaḥ*. See also *Bh.* I.174.4-5 and *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 1.46-47 (1970). Note that Nāgeśa considers that the locative form *āne* is retained, but with the meaning of a genitive (*Ud.* I.543b : *saptamī tu ṣaṣṭhy-artha iti bhāvaḥ*). I differ below by assuming contextual modification.

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(*gaurava*) : in addition to *āne* in [25] 7.2.82, one must now state *ānasya* in [27] 7.2.83 and similarly provide a substituend genitive in other comparable rules. Nāgeśa directly characterizes this suggestion as the statement of an *ekadeśin* (*Ud.* 1.543b : *bhāṣya ekad śi prauḍhyāha yathārtham veti; evaṁ cobhayoccāraṇe gauravam ity ekadeśyuktir iyam*).

The Bhāṣya goes on to make an even trickier proposal, which Nāgeśa again characterizes as emanating from an *ekadeśin* (*Ud.* I.543b: *ekadeśī prauḍhyāha* ...). One need not add genitive forms to rules such as [26] 7.2.83. [20] 1.1.66 is considered to state the following : an item X in the locative lets an item Y preceding it (and denoting that which precedes what is signified by X) receive the genitive endings. Similarly, if X is an ablative, a following Y is converted to a genitive. In order to allow this interpretation, the term *ṣaṣṭhī* of [8]1.1.49 is made to carry into [20]1.1.66, [21]1.1.67, which now state *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya ṣaṣṭhī, tasmād ity uttarasya ṣaṣṭhī*.[1] In [26] 7.2.83, then, *āḥ* serves, by [21] 1.1.67, to convert *āne* to the genitive *ānasya*, which denotes an operand in the left context *ās*. Let us call this the *prakalpaka* interpretation of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67.

§ 4. The *prakalpaka* view is demonstrably unacceptable. In order to have *ṣaṣṭhī* recur as required, one must have recourse to the frog's gait (*maṇḍūka gati*) procedure whereby an element of one rule skips over some rules to recur in a later rule. In the present instance this is not justified. This can be demonstrated in detail from Bhāṣya discussions. However, limitations of space here preclude a full discussion, which I reserve for another occasion.

The adherent of the *prakalpa* view might claim that, despite the dubious validity of using *maṇḍūka-gati* here, one must interpret [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67] as he does in order that Pāṇini's rules apply correctly. This claim cannot be supported. Were it true, for example, that the *prakalpaka* interpretation accomplished noth-

1. *Bh.* I.174 8-11 : *sa tarhi tathā nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ/ na kartavyaḥ/ anenaiva prakḷptir bhaviṣyati/ tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya ṣaṣṭhī/ tasmād ity uttarasya ṣaṣṭhī/ tat tarhi ṣaṣṭhī-grahaṇaṁ kartavyam/ na kartavyam/ prakṛtam anuvartate/ kva prakṛtam/ ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogeti.* The procedure suggested is even trickier than this. It supposes that a genitive form will be provided by [20]1.1.66 for an item which denotes an operand in a right context; similarly for [21]1.1.67. *Ud.* I.543b : *pūrvasya kāryitva-pratipādana-yogyā ṣaṣṭhī tad-bodhaka-pade bhavatīty arthaḥ/ evaṁ uttarasyeti.* See §6.4.1.

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ing more or less than what contextual modification provides (see §§*3*, *6.3*), one might wish to consider accepting the former. However, the *prakalpaka* interpretation actually accomplishes less than contextual modification. For it serves only to provide genitive forms. This is not all. The *prakalpaka* interpretation also gives rise to a series of problems which are overcome only with dubious arguments.

§*6.4.1*. The first problem which comes up (vt. 15: *prakalpakam iti cen niyamābhāvaḥ*) involves the very essence of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67. If these rules now serve merely to convert forms to genitives, they cannot also be restrictions (see §*6* with note 13). Assuming that the proper domain of the metarules in question is rules of the type [26] 7.2.83, they cannot also function as restrictive metarules in rules such as [9] 6.1.77, where a genitive has already been stated.[1] And if no restriction is provided, [9] 6.1.77 could allow vowels *i*, *u* etc. to be replaced by semivowels both before and after vowels.

This objection is answered as follows. Let [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 not state restrictions directly. These rules will serve a double purpose. They provide genitive forms for items preceding and following locative and ablative forms respectively. As a result of this conversion procedure, what is denoted by a locative cannot condition an operation on what follows it; nor can what is denoted by an ablative condition an operation on what precedes it. The objection posed is met, but at the cost of a concession [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 do indeed provide restrictions for some rules, those in which a genitive denoting an operand is already stated. For example, by applying in [9] 6.1.77, the former metarule provides that only that item denoting what precedes the vowels denoted by *ac* is in the genitive, hence signifies an operand.[2] But the argument is not really cogent. For it presupposes that one in fact already knows that *ikaḥ* of [9] 6.1.77 denotes vowels which undergo an operation in a right context.

1. *Pr.* I.544a: *yatra ṣaṣṭhī nāsti tatra tasyāḥ kḷptiḥ kriyate| yatra tu ṣaṣṭhy asti—iko yaṇ acity ādau—tatrānena na niyamaḥ kriyate....*
2. *Bh.* I.175.1-4: *...mā bhūn niyamaḥ| saptamī-nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya ṣaṣṭhī prakalpyate pañcamī-nirdiṣṭe parasya| yāvatā saptamī-nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya ṣaṣṭhī prakalpyate evaṁ pañcamī-nirdiṣṭe parasya notsahate saptamī-nirdiṣṭe parasya kāryaṁ bhavituṁ nāpi pañcamī-nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya.* Pr. I.544b: *ṣaṣṭhī prakḷptyaiva tat-phalasya saṁpannatvād iti bhāvaḥ| yatra ṣaṣṭhī nāsti tatrāsau prakalpyate| yatra tv asti... tatrāpi pūrvasyaiva ṣaṣṭhī na parasyeti prakalpyate.* *Ud.* I.545a: *...kvacit...vidhi-paraṁ kvacin niyama-param ity arthaḥ.* See also note 18.

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§*6.4.2.* Should one maintain that [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 serve only to convert forms to genitives, another problem arises. [9] 6.1.77 contains the nominative *yaṇ*. [20] 1.1.66 can apply to convert this to the genitive *yaṇaḥ*, so that the rule can state *iko yaṇo'ci*, with two substituend genitives. The result of applying [20] 1.1.66, then, is that one does not know what is the substituend and what is the replacement (vt. 16: *prakṛti-vikārāvyavasthā ca*).

The defender of the *prakalpaka* view has two answers to this objection. First, conversion of forms to genitives applies only in rules which do not already contain genitives. [9] 6.1.77 contains the genitive *ikaḥ* denoting substituends and the nominative *yaṇ* denoting substitutes, so that no conversion applies here. Even if [20] 1.1.66 is allowed to apply, moreover, no fault results. No other replacement is stated in [9] 6.1.77, so that *yaṇ* sounds can be replaced only by themselves.[1]

Neither of these answers is cogent. If [20] 1.1.66 does not apply to supply a restriction, [9] 6.1.77 could allow semivowel replacemet both before and after a vowel (see §*6*). If [20] 1.1.66 does not apply in [9] 6.1.77, this fault results. And if the metarule applies only to convert *yaṇ* to a genitive, the fault again results.

§*6.4.3.* [21] 1.1.67 under the *prakalpaka* interpretation also causes problems with regard to affixation rules such as

[27] 3.1.5: *gup-tij-kıdbhyaḥ san*

This introduces the affix *san* after the roots *gup*, *tij*, *kit* to form derived roots (3rd sg. pres. *jugupsate* 'shrinks from, abhors,' *titikṣate* 'bears,' *cikitsati* 'counteracts, remedies'). The question now to be considered is whether [21] 1.1.67 should apply in [27] 3.1.5. If it does, the nominative *san* is converted to the genitive *sanaḥ*, interpretable only by [8] 1.1.49. One can argue that, no other replacement of *san* being given, it will replace itself. However, this is open to objection. The *-n* of san should be an appended marker ((*it*); the actual affix is *sa*. Sounds classed as *it* (1.3.2-8) are deleted (1.3.9) before the items to which they are attached undergo operations. Now, the final consonant of a unit when the unit is taught (*upadeśe*) is classed as *it* and therefore deleted. For a sound of an item to be so classed, then, the item itself must be directly taught. But the

1. *Bh.* I.175.11-13 : *...yatra nāma sautrī ṣaṣṭhī nāsti tatra prakḷptyā bhavitavyam,* 13-16 : *athavāstu tāvad...yatra sautrī ṣaṣṭhī...na kaścid anya ādeśaḥ pratinirdiśyate tatrāntaryato* (1.1.50) *yaṇo yaṇ eva bhaviṣyati.*

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replacement of *san* by [27] 3.1.5 is not actually taught in this rule. One has to infer that the replacement of *san* is a unit homophonous with it. This can be inferred because another metarule (1.1.50 : *sthāne'ntaratamaḥ*) provides that, given a choice of replacements for a single substituend, that one is chosen which is most similar to the original. Therefore, if *san* is replaced by *san*, the *-n* of the inferred replacement cannot be classed as *it* and deleted.[1]

This objection is met as follows. The fault would result if classification of the *-n* of *san* depended on the replacement. One does not, however, let *san* be replaced and then try to class the final sound of the substitute as *it*. The *-n* of *san* stated in [27] 3.1.5 is classed as *it* and deleted before the replacement applies. Thereby, [27] 3.1.5 provides for replacing *sa* with *sa*.[2]

The answer given is not satisfactory. For the application of [27] 3.1.5 (and all such rules introducing affixes) is made needlessly complex : first *san* is introduced by [27] 3.1.5; then *-n* is classed as *it* and deleted; then [27] 3.1.5 together with [21] 1.1.67 lets *sa* be replaced by *sa*. The adherent of the *prakalpaka* view therefore wisely gives up his attempt to have [21] 1.1.67 apply in such rules. He reasons as follows. [21]1.1.67 applies to convert to the genitive only a form denoting a unit which actually occurs. By the time *san* has been introduced, the ablative in [27]3.1.5 has served its purpose by denoting units after which *san* occurs. This ablative is not made to serve the additional purpose of letting *san* be converted to *sanaḥ*.[3]

§*6.4.4*. The last problem to be considered brings us back to the starting point of this discussion. In [26]7.2.83 (and all such rules with a locative and an ablative), [20]1.1.66 and [21]1.1.67 can both apply, so that both the ablative and the genitive are converted to genitives. Consequently, the items denoted by these genitives will both be subject to the operation (vt. 17 : *saptamī-*

1. *Bh.* I.174.13-17 : *pratyaya-vidhau khalv api pañcamyaḥ prakalpikāḥ syuḥ...gup-tij-kidbhya ity eṣā pañcamī sann iti prathamāyāḥ ṣaṣṭhīm prakalpayet...na kaścid anya ādeśaḥ pratinirdiśyate tatrānlaryataḥ sanaḥ sann eva bhavisyati| naivaṁ śakyam| it-saṁjñā noprakalpeta| upadeśa itit saṁjñocyate. Pr.* 1.544a : *ādeśasyopadeśābhāvāt tasyet-saṁjñā na sidhyatīty arthaḥ.* I omit other details discussed by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa here.
2. *Bh.* I.175 4-9 : *...syād eṣa doṣo yadit-saṁjñādeśaṁ pratikṣeta| tatra khalu kṛtāyām it-saṁjñāyāṁ lope ca kṛta ādeśo bhavisyati....*
3. *Bh.* I.175.10-11 : *athavā nānutpanne sati prakḷptyā bhavitavyam| yadā cotpannaḥ saṁs tadā k;ta-sāmarthyā pañcamīti kṛtvā prakḷptir na bhavisyati.*

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pañcamyoś ca bhāvād ubhayatra ṣaṣṭhī-prakḷptis tatrobhaya-kārya-prasaṅgaḥ).

To meet this objection, the adherent of the *prakalpaka* interpretation claims that one of Pāṇini's rules (6.1.84) indicates (*jñāpayati* 'makes known') that locatives and ablatives do not conjointly serve to convert forms to genitives.[1]

The objection could have been met more directly. A single unit cannot at once be both the context for an operation on another item and an operand in the context of that other unit. However, the adherent of the *prakalpaka* view cannot take this way out. It is precisely for rules such as [26] 7.2.83 that he has adopted his view in the first place (§*6.3*). Once [20] 1.1.66, [21]1.1.67 have been interpreted as serving to convert forms to genitives, if these rules are to be authoritative, one must accept that they can both apply concurrently. To avoid the problems which then arise, another rule has to be considered useless except as indicating that concurrent conversion does not apply. This is not all. In order to let [26]7.2.83 apply correctly, the *prakalpaka* adherent still has to use the principle of vacuity noted in §*6.3*.[2]

§*6.5*. The arguments invoked to salvage the *prakalpaka* interpretation are transparently those of an *ekadeśin*. I think we have to agree with Nāgeśa on this point and reject this view as unacceptable. This conclusion is reenforced when we consider other passages in which the *prakalpaka* interpretation is used. For this interpretation is resorted to as a counsel of desperation. Consider one such discussion.

This involves rules which introduce postradical affixes called *vikaraṇas* by Pāṇinīyas. The following rules are pertinent to the discussion :

[28] 3.1.67 : *sārvadhātuke yak* (*bhāva-karmaṇoḥ* 66)

1. *Bh.* I.175 16-18 : *ācārya-pravṛttir jñāpayati nobhe yugapat pakalpike bhavata iti yad ayam ekaḥ pūrva-parayoḥ* (6.1.84) *iti pūrva para-grahaṇaṁ karoti.* Further details cannot be discussed here. I also omit a discussion of the Bhāṣya on vt. 17 ad [20]1.1.66-[21]1.1.67.
2. *Ud.* v. 85b (ad 6.1.84) : *jñāpakena cobhayoḥ prakalpane niraste paratvānavakāśatvābhyāṁ vyavasthā...*; cf. *PM* I.237 (ad [21]1.1.67). *Pr.* v.85b (ad 6.1.84) cites a verse supporting the position that, since both [25]7.2.82 and [26]7.2.83 are authoritative, the ablative and locative forms in them both serve to convert others to genitives : *na cobhayoḥ prakalpanaṁ viruddhaṁ yato virodhān na bhavet/sūtra-dvaya-pramāṇatvād dve bhavetāṁ prakalpike*...See also *Ud.* I 544b (on *Bh.* ad vt. 17).

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[29] 3.1.68 : *kartari śap* (*sārvadhātuke* 67)
[30] 3.1.69 : *div-ādibhyaḥ śyan*
[31] 3.1.78 : *rudh-ādibhyaḥ śnam*
[32] 3.1.33 : *sya-tāsī lṛ-luṭoḥ*

[28]3.1.67-[31]3.1.78 introduce *vikaraṇas* after roots if these are followed by affixes called *sārvadhātuka* (including finite endings). If the *sārvadhātuka* denotes an object (*karman*) or is used when only an action in progress (*bhāva*) is to be denoted, [28] 3:1.67 introduces *yak* after the root (e.g., *stū-ya-te* 'is being praised'). If the *sārvadhātuka* denotes an agent, *śap* is introduced after the root by [29] 3.1.68 (e.g., *pac-a-ti* 'is cooking'). These two rules are complementary. Both introduce affixes when *sārvadhātuka* affixes are used, but they do this under distinct semantic conditions. [29] 3.1.68, however covers the domain of [30] 3.1.69, [31] 3.1.78. These rules also introduce *vikaraṇas* after roots when *sārvadhātuka* affixes occur which denote agents. They apply, however, to particular sets of roots : *śyan* occurs after roots of the set *div* etc. (*dīv-ya-ti* 'gambles') and *śnam* is infixed to roots of the set *rudh* etc. (*ru-ṇa-d-dhi* 'checks, obstructs'). [28] 3.1.67, which introduces *śap* after any root, is the general rule (*utsarga*). [30] 3.1.69, [31] 3.1.78 are particular rules, exceptions (*apavāda*). In accord with Pāṇini's general procedure, these particular rules block the application of the general rule related to them. [32] 3.1.33 introduces two *vikaraṇas* under particular conditions : *sya* occurs if a root is followed by endings which have replaced the abstract L-members *lṛṭ*, *lṛṅ*; *tāsi* is introduced if a root is followed by endings which derive from *luṭ*; e.g., *pak-ṣya-ti* (3rd sg. fut.<*pac-lṛṭ*), *apak-ṣya-t* (3rd sg. cond. <*pac-lṛṅ*), *pak-tās-mi* (1st sg. fut < *pac-luṭ*), *pak-ṣya-te* (3rd sg. fut. pass.) The total domain of [28]3.1.67-[31] 3.1.78 includes the domain of [32]3.1.33, so that this last rule is an *apavāda* relative to the set of the previously listed rules. Once one has segregated in this way the groups of endings and the *vikaraṇas* they condition, all the rules apply to produce only correct forms.

The *prakalpaka* interpretation of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67 is invoked to defend the view that rules [28] 3.1.67 ff. are differently related. It is suggested that [28] 3.1.67, [29] 3.1.69 be considered general rules, the remaining rules particular rules relative to them.[27] This gives rise to a problem. Only [30] 3.1.69 can apply

7. *Bh* II.42.21 : *evaṁ tarhi yak-śapāv utsargāv apavādāḥ śyan-ādayaḥ syādayaś ca.* I have passed over the immediately preceding Bhāṣya discussion.

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in deriving *div-ya-ti*, where *ti* denotes an agent and *śyan* affixation blocks the introduction of *śap* ([29] 3.1.68); similarly, only [32] 3.1.33) can apply to derive *pak-śya-ti*, where *ti* denotes an agent and *śya* blocks *śap*. The form *div-ti*, with *ti*, replacing *lṛṭ*, however, is now subject to both [30] 3.1.69 and [32] 3.1.33, since both these rules block [29] 3.1.68. Further, [30] 3.1.69 is stated later in the grammar than [32] 3.1.33. Hence, only the former will apply in this case of conflict, so that *dīv-ya-ti* will be formed instead of *dev-iṣya-ti*. It is to avoid this fault while retaining the above mentioned relation of [28] 3.1.67 ff. that the *prakalpaka* interpretation of [21] 1.1.67 is invoked. *śyan* etc. ([30]3.1.69 f.) will now be made replacements of *śap*. Given *div-ti* (< *div-lṛṭ*), *śya* is introduced, since [32] 3.1.33 blocks [29] 3.1.68. There is no way in which *śyan* could now occur here, since this is now a replacement of *śap*, which has not been introduced in the first place. This proposal requires that [30] 3.1.69 state *div-ādibhyaḥ śyan śapaḥ* 'after *div* etc., *śyan* (occurs as a replacement) of *śap*'. To provide this, the nominative *śap* of [29]3.1.68 is allowed to recur in [30] 3.1.69, where the ablative *div-ādibhyaḥ* serves, by [21] 1.1.67, to convert the form to a genitive. Moreover, since such conversion is not considered to apply in affixation rules (see §*6.4.3*), [30] 3.1.69 is not now considered an affixation rule. Only [29] 3.1.68 is an affixation rule in this context; subsequent rules [30] 3.1.69, [31] 3.1.78 merely provide replacements for *śap*.[1]

I think it is clear that this entire procedure is unnecessary. Nor is it justified in any way. Consider that *śyan* is marked with *ś*. This can only have the purpose of letting *śyan* belong to the *sārvadhātuka* class (by 3.4.113; cf. *Kāśikā* 3.1.69: *śakāraḥ sārvadhātukārthaḥ*). Further, unlike *śap*, this affix is not marked with *p*. A *sārvadhātuka* not

1. *Bh.* II.42.22-43.5 : *...apavāda-vipratiṣedhāc śyan-ādibhiḥ syādīnāṁ bādhanaṁ prāpnoti...ihobhayaṁ prāpnoti| deviṣyati...paratvāc śyan-ādayaḥ prāpnuvanti| naiṣa doṣaḥ| śab-ādeśāḥ śyan-ādayaḥ kariṣyante śap ca syādibhir bādhyate| tatra div-ādibhyaḥ syādi-viṣaye śab eva nāsti kutaḥ śyan-ādayaḥ| tat tarhi śapo grahaṇaṁ kartavyam| na kartavyam| prakṛtam anuvartate...kartari śab iti...div-ādibhya ity eṣā pañcamī śab iti prathamāyāḥ saṣṭhīṁ prakalpayiṣyati tasmād ity uttarasyeti... nāyaṁ pratyaya-vidhiḥ| vihitaḥ pratyayaḥ prakṛtaś cānuvartate.* On *paratva* see *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 1.40-63 (1970). Note that the Bhāṣya states *śab-ādeśāḥ...kariṣyante* 'will be made replacements of *śap*,' not *śab-ādeśāḥ..... bhavanti* 'are...' The latter would be in order if the view espoused were the finally acceptable conclusion (*siddhānta*); the former is in order here, since an unacceptable view is adopted. For similar discussions on this subject see *Bh.* 3.1.67, 1.1.27.

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marked with *p* is treated as marked with *ṅ* (1.2.4). Now, a *sārvadhātuka* marked with *ṅ* or *k* does not condition guṇa replacement in a preceding base (1.1.5). Hence, *div ya-ti* yields *dīv-ya-ti* (with *ī* by 8.2.77), not **dev-ya-ti*, which would result if *śyan* were not treated as marked with *ṅ*. If, however, *śyan* is treated as a replacement of the *p*-marked affix *śap*, it too has to be considered marked with *p* (1.1.56). Hence, *div-ya*-ti must now yield **dev-ya-ti* (7.3.86), precisely the wrong result which is avoided if *śyan* is not a replacement of *śap*.[1]

There is, then, nothing to recommend accepting the *prakalpaka* interpretation of [20] 1.1.66, [21] 1.1.67.

§7. I have already noted (§*6.4.3*) that the adherent of the *prakalpaka* interpretation has to admit that conversion by [21] 1.1.67 does not apply in affixation rules. There remains to consider whether [21] 1.1 67 interpreted as a restrictive metarule (§§*6.6.1*) can apply correctly in such rules.

Items classed as affixes (3.1.1 : *pratyayaḥ*) are introduced by rules in the third to fifth adhyāyas of the grammar. A heading which applies in this section is

[33] 3.1.2 : *paraś ca*

Affixes introduced by these rules occur after (*para* 'subsequent') the items to which they are introduced. The most straightforward way to understand [33] 3.1.2 is as follows. An affixation rule such as [27] 3.1.5 contains an ablative (*gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ*). The rule itself is not immediately understandable without a supplement. From one's knowledge of Sanskrit, then, one could supply a directional word such as *pūrva* 'preceding' or *para* 'following' [33] 3.1.2 supplies a single supplement, thereby providing a unique interpretation of [27] 3.1.5: the affix *san* occurs after the roots *gup* etc.[2] The ablative *gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ* is construed with *paraḥ* according to the syntax

1. In his comments on *Bh.* ad 1.1.27, Kaiyaṭa (*Pr.* I.221a) discusses some other problems which arise if one insists that *śyan* etc. replace *śap*. Scharfe (*Pāṇini's Metalanguage*) cites and translates (p. 36b) a small part of the Bhāsya discussion noted above (see note 28) : the part beginning with the claim that *śap* must be stated in [3]3.1.69 and ending with the *prakalpaka* use of [21]1.1.67 (*Bh.* I.86.20-23=II.42.26 43.3=II.59.21-24). Scharfe accepts the argument presented as valid. However, he does not consider the full context or the consequences.
2. *PM* on [33]3.1.2 (II.336-337) : *iha guh-tij-kidbhyaḥ sann ity ādau dig-yoga-lakṣaṇā pañcamī tatra pūrvaḥ para iti vā dik-śabdāśravaṇād aniyamenādhyāhāre saty aniyamena prayoga-prasaṅge niyamārtham idaṁ para eva pratyayo na pūrva iti*; similarly, *ŚK* II.303.

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accounted for by [3] 2.3.29. Similarly for other affixation rules.

It follows from the above that [21]1.1.67 does not apply in affixation rules. This is as it should be. [21] 1.1.67 provides that an operation (*kārya*) affects an item in a left context. If one attempts to let this metarule apply with rules which introduce affixes, a problem immediately arises. At the time [21] 1.1.67 is to apply conjointly with an affixation rule such as [27] 3.1.5, there is no element after the left context in question which could be subject to the operation stated. This element, occurs only after the affixation rule has taken effect.

§7.1. Kātyāyana and Patañjali actually present the claim that [21] 1.1.67 does apply to affixation rules, so that [33] 3.1.2 serves merely to provide that bases occur only followed by affixes and affixes occur only following bases ([33] 3.1.2. vt 4 : *prayoga-niyamārtham vā*, vt. ll : *siddham tūbhaya-niyamāt*). A full exposition of the subtle arguments presented in the Bhāṣya on [33] 3.1.2 is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a brief discussion of part of this is in order. Patañjali confronts the problem mentioned at the end of §7 (*Bh.* II.4.1-2 : *satas tatra parasya kāryam ucyata ihedānīṁ kasya sataḥ parasya kāryaṁ bhavitum arhati*]. The following argument is given. Assuming that grammatical rules introduce affixes, [21]1.1.67 applies in such rules. The affix introduced is the operand, and the operation it undergoes is occurring after a base (*Bh.* II.4.4: *vācanike ca nārthaḥ| etad dhi tat parasya kāryaṁ yad asau paraḥ syāt*). Justifying this requires some effort. An operand is normally stated in the genitive (cf. [9]6.1.77, [18] 7.1.9), in accord with [20]1.1.66, [21]1.1.67 (*pūrvasya, uttarasya*. Since [21]1.1.67 applies together with [18]7.1.9, one unde stands *ad-antād aṅgād uttarasya bhisaḥ* '(for)*bhis* after a presuffixal base ending in *a*.' However, the supposed operand *san* in [27] 3.1.5 is denoted by a nominative (*san*), not a genitive. In order to let [21] 1.1.67 apply in such a rule two things have to be done. First, the metarule has to be interpreted in two ways. When it applies in an operational rule such as [18] 7.1.9, one understands that the genitive *uttarasya* is construed with *kāryam* (see §6.2): *uttarasya* is now a relational genitive ([5] 2.3.50). On the other hand, when [21]1.1.67 applies in an affixation rule like [27]3.1.5. *uttarasya* is understood to be construed with *bhāvaḥ* 'coming into being.' Now *uttarasya* is an agential genitive ([4] 2.3.65). Together with [21]1.1.67, then, [27] 3.1.5 now states *gup-tij-kidbhya uttarasya sano bhāvaḥ* 'After *gup*..., (there is) the occurrence of a subsequent *san*.' Further, the actual nominative form *san* given in [27] 3.1.5 has to be

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construed in a sentence which is a paraphrase of the one gotten by applying [21] 1.1.67, viz., *gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ sann uttaro bhavati*.[1]

The remaining arguments are as subtle. One might wish to accept some of these proposals if indeed Pāṇini has not formulated [33] 3.1.2. For these suggestions are predicated on eliminating this rule except as indicating that bases and affixes must occur together (see above). However, since, pāṇini did state [33] 3.1.2, the only reasonable interpretation is the one noted in §7.

§7.2. The Bhāṣya discussion on [33] 3.1.2 is remarkable not only for its interpretational inventiveness but also for a glaring omission. The possibility is not mentioned that [21] 1.1.67 might apply in an affixation rule such as [27[3.1.5 in such a way that this becomes a replacement rule. For example, instead of saying that the affix introduced is the operand, one might view zero as the operand replaced by the affix: *san* occurs in the place of the zero which occurs after *gup* etc.

Pāṇinīyas had good reason not to suggest this. Consider the derivation of the nominative singular *anaḍvān* 'draught ox.' This proceeds as follows (slightly abbreviated) : *anaḍuh*-s→*anaḍuh*-ϕ (6.1.68) —*anaḍuāṅh* (7.1.98, 82)→*anaḍvān* ([9] 6.1.77, 8.4.23). Once the nominative singular ending *su* has been replaced by zero (*lopa*), the operations which it would condition were it present still apply 1.1 62: *pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam*, cf. 1.1.62 vt. 14): rules 7.1.98, 82, which introduce the augments *ā*, *n*, stipulate the right context *sarvanāmasthāna* (certain endings including *su*) as a condition. Further, after-*s* has been deleted, the resultant item is still treated as though it terminated in a nominal ending; it is a *pada* (1.4.14). Therefore, 8.4.23 can apply to delete *h*; this rule provides for the deletion of the final sound of a *pada* which ends in a cluster. Consider now what would happen if the affix *su* were introduced after *anaḍuh* as a replacement of zero. A replacement is treated as though it were the original except with respect to operations which would thereby be conditioned by a sound (*al*, 1.1.56). Zero is not a sound, so that *su* replacing it has the value of its original. Conse-

1. *Pr* III. 9a : *...yatra sad eva kāryitvenopādīyate tatrottarasya kāryaṁ bhavatīti kāryāpekṣā saṁbandhe ṣaṣṭhī| yatra tv asata evotpattiḥ kriyate tatrottarasya bhāvo bhavatīti bhāvāpekṣayā kartuḥ ṣaṣṭhī vijñāyata ity arthaḥ*. See also *Ud*. III 9b.
2. Scharfe, *Pāṇini's Metalanguage*, p. 38b note 40, after noting that the *prakalpaka* interpretation involves difficulties in affixation rules, claims that [21]1.1.67 applies correctly in such rules and that an affix is a replacement of zero. He does not, however, discuss any of the resultant problems.

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quently, *anaḍuh*-s can be treated as though it were not a *pada*, so that the *h* of *anaḍvānh* cannot be deleted. One can claim, of course, that, since Pāṇini introduces *su* and then deletes it, 1.1.62 applies to let *anaḍuh-ϕ* be a *pada*. This is possible, but not without adding complexity to the application of rules: In order to counter the possibility that *anaḍvānh* not be a *pada*, one has now to infer that Pāṇini's introducing *su* and then deleting it shows he did not intend to let the ending have the value of the original zero. This is needlessly complex. If *su* is simply introduced by an affixation rule and then deleted, all is in order.[1]

§8. *Summary*. Pāṇini's rules 1.1.49, 66, 67 are properly interpreted only as restrictive metarules. As such, they presuppose no radical departure in Pāṇini's metalanguage from the syntax of normal Sanskrit for which the rules of the grammar account. Nor does rule 1.1.67 apply in affixation rules, where 3.1.2 applies properly. Attempts to show that Pāṇini's metalinguistic use of the genitive, locative, and ablative represents an essential departure from normal Sanskrit syntax and that 1.1.67 correctly applies in affixation rules are the result of misunderstanding and find no justification either in Pāṇini's rules themselves or in the literature of Pāṇinīyas.[1]

1. The original version of this paper was written while I was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, to the director of which, O. Meredith Wilson, I express my sincere thanks.

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RELIGION
AND
PHILOSOPHY

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CONTEMPORARY BUDDHISM AS A MAJOR FACTOR OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE[1]

HEINZ BECHERT

Students of canonical Theravāda Buddhism have emphasized the non-political nature of the Buddha's teachings. Thus, Max Weber has described Buddhism as a "specifically non-political and anti-political religion of a social class". No doubt, there are many characteristic elements in early Buddhism to support this statement. On the other hand, the religious factor as an important force within the political and social upheaval in the Theravāda Buddhist countries of South and Southeast Asia in the recent past cannot be overlooked or disregarded. The question, however, remains, how far the religious momenta in this development can be described as genuinely religious factors or else as religious on its face only. It is proposed to deal with this particular problem here.

There can be no doubt that the political role of religious factors depends to a large degree on the general political and social situation of the countries in question. To make out which peculiar influences are due to a particular religious situation is extremely difficult as nowhere the religious factors exist isolated from other factors. In this context, a comparative study of societies with similar religious background can serve our purpose.

At glance, it seems that the religious background of the Theravāda Buddhist countries is almost identical. We find the same religious literature in Pāli. Even minute points of the interpretation of the teachings of Buddhism are discussed in these books. The life of the Buddhist monks is governed by one and the same canonical law-book, i.e. the Vinaya-piṭaka and by a number of later books of Vinaya literature in Pali which are accepted by all Theravāda communities. In order to correctly understand the situation we

1. This is the revised text of a paper read in the History Section of the 24th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Varanasi.

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must, however, recall the basic differences of popular religion prevailing in each particular country of Theravāda Buddhism. There are two forms of popular religion which exist side by side, viz. popular Buddhism and non-Buddhist cults. "Popular Buddhism" consists of the religious practices of the peasant population based on the so-called "Great Tradition" of literary Buddhism, but not identical with the original understanding of the ideas incorporated. Half-magical practices as described in the popular Ceylonese Pāli book Rasavāhinī written by Vedeha Thera in the 13th century can serve as typical examples for elements of popular Buddhism. Whereas "canonical" Buddhism is practically the same in the five Theravāda countries, popular Buddhism shows similarities only. The second form of popular religion is entirely different in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. This aspect of popular religion consists of the non-Buddhist and pre-Buddhist religious cults. All these aspects have to be considered for an examination of the importance of the religious factor in regard to social and political change. Buddhism has never influenced political and social developments as a purely religious theory, but always in its actual manifestation, i. e. in an integrated religious system including popular and common beliefs.

The social position of the Bhikkhus and ex-Bhikkhus can serve as an example. The monks have developed into a compact class of priests in Ceylon. He, who leaves the Order returning to worldly life, is not thought highly of, though such a step is allowable according to canonical Buddhist law. On the other hand, being a member of the Sangha for limited periods of time is an accepted custom in Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. It is followed by almost every male Buddhist. It is clear that the relationship between Sangha and laity as well as the extent of knowledge in religious matters among laymen, etc. are different in these countries in consequence of this basic difference of attitude towards the problem of membership in the Sangha.

For these reasons, we should agree to use the term "Buddhism" in our context not in order to designate canonical Buddhism only, but the totality of all forms of beliefs and practices related to Buddhism including the specific system of relations of this tradition to the "Little Tradition", i.e. to the non-Buddhist popular religion. In practice, all religious beliefs and systems including Buddhism and "Little Tradition" interact with the social and political force of the country. For details, I refer to my contribution "Einige Fragen der Religionssoziologie and Struktur des südasia-

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tischen Buddhism," in International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religions, vol. 4 (1968), pp. 251-295.

It is fascinating to trace the growth of political influence of Buddhism in Ceylon in the modern period. Even before 1955, there was a number of early signs and symptoms to show that the placid surface of Ceylon politics was misleading and that the general impression of the non-involvement of religious issues in Ceylon politics was wrong. In 1883, the so-called "Catholic riots" in Kotahena, a suburb of Colombo, were symptomatic of the mounting antagonism between Catholics and the beginning Buddhist modernism. The fact that a great number of Buddhist children had to receive at least part of their education in Christian schools led to growing dissatisfaction amongst Buddhist leaders. The anti-Muslim Riots of 1915—again with religious background—were another symptom of communal rivalries which were enflamed by the violation of religious feelings. There were predominantly non-religious reasons for these upheavals, but they were a symptom for the preparedness of the majority group to act when their religious feelings were called at.

From 1945 to 1947 there was a period of intense political activity of Bhikkhus. Some of the basic principles of the ideology of the political Bhikkhus in Ceylon have been formulated in documents written and published in these years. A Mahānāyaka of Malvatta, one of the two main monasteries in Kandy, who died in 1945, had written a justification for the political activity of the Sangha which was published later on in "The Revolt in the Temple" (Colombo 1953). Valpala (Walpola) Rahula published his "Bhikṣuva-gē urumaya" Colombo (1946). The famous declaration "Bhikṣūn hā deśapālanaya" (Monks and politics") and the "Kelaniya Declaration of Independence" were promulgated in December 1946 and January, 1947.

It was the political genius D. S. Senanayaka who succeeded in getting these developments under control again for a number of years. It is well known how Sir John Kotelawala alienated most sections of the population and lost the 1956 elections as a consequence of an unrealistic language policy, not paying attention to the dissatisfaction of the powerful "lower middle class" section of the Sinhalese as well as of other communities. The coalition led by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike made use of two main issues for its agitation : language and religion. Both issues were closely interrelated. The so-called "Buddhist Commission Report" was the

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sharp weapon in the political fight which preceded the 1956 election. I need not repeat here the well-known details of this development.

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike did not succeed to harmonize the aims of his policy and the actual situation of the country. The so-called B—C pact, the 1958 Riots and a number of other developments indicated that his government had lost political control over Ceylon. One of the political Bhikkhus who had helped to bring Bandaranaike into power by the activities of the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna ("United Monks' Front"), Māpiṭigama Buddharakkhita, conspired to murder Bandaranaike. In spite of this, political Buddhism continued to wield considerable influence in Ceylon politics. I need only recall here the importance of "Buddhist" issues in the 1960 elections, the activity of nationalist Buddhist pressure groups and the impartant part played by Buddhist organisations in the overthrow of the SLFP-LSSP coalition government in 1964 and during the election campaign in spring 1965. A detailed study of these developments is found in the first volume of my book "Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Laendern des Theravāda-Buddhismus" (Frankfurt 1966).

A question here might well be asked regarding the synonymous usage of the terms "Buddhism" and "Sinhalese nationalism" in these developments. Certainly it is difficult to separate nationalist and religious issues in a surrounding where a national group, viz. the Sinhalese is practically identical with a religious group, viz. the Buddhists of the island. There is no non-Sinhalese Buddhist community of any importance in Ceylon and the non-Buddhist Sinhalese communities have political interests which are quite different from those of the Buddhist majority. It was easy, therefore, to make use of religious feelings of the Buddhists for purely political, social and economic ends and for actions which are directly opposed to the basic principles accepted by the Buddhists of all times. There are enough examples of this kind.

However, we cannot evade the fact that certain inherent factors forced Buddhists into political activity in the interests of their religion. When Buddhism had spread to Ceylon and Southeast Asia many centuries ago, a number of connections of religion and state were developed. The state, i.e. the king and his administration accepted the responsibility for the survival and inner stability of the Sangha. So-called "Sāsana reforms" were carried out with

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the authority of the state. The connections of state and religion in Ceylon, however, were different from those in Southeast Asia : Whereas in Southeast Asia basic differences had developed between court religion, and peasant religion, there was no similar antagonism in Ceylon. Here, court religion and popular cults were both of Indian origin. Official and popular religion had merged a more or less integrated system quite from the beginning.

In this hierarchy, relations of the Sangha and the State are regulated by the principle that the Buddhist Sāsana is in its conception directed towards detachment from worldly affairs, it is "supra-mundane" (lokuttara). The cult of the gods, on the other hand, serves worldly purposes. The Sāsana, though being supra-mundane in principle, has its basis of existence in this world in an organization with social implications, viz. the Sangha. The development of mundane activities within the Sangha was condemned, because it was a deviation from these basic principles which were enforced by the state by means of "Sāsana reforms". The Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions were incorporated into the state in this way. So-called Katikāvatas were promulgated in Ceylon from time to time as law-books regulating all aspects of State-Sangha relations, the practical enforcement of the Vinaya rules and the hierarchical order within the Sangha.

When the Buddhist kingdom of Ceylon had ceased to exist in 1815, the situation of the Sangha had entirely changed. The colonial administration did not take any interest in the welfare of the Sāsana, and the Buddhist laymen as a community did not have the means nor the experience to protect the Sāsana from both "types of enemies, from those outside and those within" as Sir Arthur Gordon had put it in his famous speech of 1889.

The movement of resurgent Buddhism was, therefore, in a contradictory ideological position. The first phase of the reform movement, that of the foundation of reformist groups in the Sangha did not succeed to produce a general Sāsana reform, on account of the economic interests and the structural rigidity of the richly endowed monasteries and their intrinsic connection with the Sinhalese social system. "Monastic landlordism" had developed as a characteristic of Sinhalese Buddhism, but under the old system it had been controlled by the State. Under the colonial regime, these institutions were private ones. The hopes of Christian missionaries that the decay of these institutions would lead to a gradual disappearance of Buddhist influence did not, however, materialize. On

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the contrary, the Buddhist cause was taken charge of by reformist forces who entered the political arena by linking Sinhalese nationalism and Buddhist resurgence. This seemed justified because only an intervention of the state could achieve a reform of the Sāsana along traditional lines. In the course of development, the colonial government handed over the control of the Buddhist temporalities to the general Buddhist public in a nearly democratic conception of administration under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889. Such a system was theoretically in the interests of the Buddhist cause, but it did not work, because the necessary infra-structure for such a system did not exist. Furthermore, the legislation did not provide any system to prevent misuse of the authority given to the trustees. The new ordinance of 1931 did not serve better the Buddhist interests either.

The issue of Sāsana reform was naturally closely linked with the reassertion of Buddhism in general and particularly with the issue of giving Buddhism its "due place" in state and society again. If, on the one hand, in absence of an appropriate organisation of the Buddhist laity only the state had the means for a reform of the Buddhist institutions and, on the other hand, only Buddhists had the right to do anything for the cause of Buddhism, the issue to make Ceylon a Buddhist state or to make Buddhism the state-religion seemed to be justified. It was, of course, not practicable. Ceylon has a multi-religious society where a state-religion is out of place.

Due to these contradictions, the problem of Sāsana reform has been a political one in Ceylon for a century, and it has not been solved until today, mainly as a consequence of its interrelations with the economic interests of monastic landlordism. The basic differences of approach which exist within the Buddhist establishment and the inner inconsistency of the Buddhist position in this matter have proved to be some of the major factors of political change and crisis in present-day Ceylon.

I should also point out another particular feature of modern Ceylon Buddhism, viz. the great importance of historical argument in its ideology. Take, e.g., the already mentioned documents of rising political Buddhism in 1945-1947. There is no systematical approach or answer to the questions of Buddhism today. The declarations concentrate on the claim that in the past also the Sangha had been the leader of the social, political and economic progress of the Sinhalese and had guided the politics of the State. This

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"rewriting of history," as Dr. G.C. Mendis has called it, is a main feature of modern Buddhist writing in Ceylon; it is found already in many of the articles of the Anagārika Dharmapāla. It has, however, its antecedents in Ceylonese tradition. A close interrelation of Buddhism and national identity of the Sinhalese can be traced back to the early centuries of Sinhalese history.

It is remarkable that, in matters of theory, modern Ceylon Buddhism has not produced anything comparable to the ideology of modern Burmese Buddhism. Basically, the amalgamation of religious and political theory in Ceylon was never pushed so far as in Burma. The Indian background of the political order with the surviving caste-system and the tradition of non-religious Indian political theory did not favour in Ceylon a development similar to that in Burma. In this sense a popular saying well-known in all Buddhist countries may be quoted : "Burmese Buddhists concentrate on Abhidhamma, those of Ceylon on Vinaya". The emphasis on practical politics as opposed to the theoretical interests in Burma explains the fact why an analysis of Ceylon political Buddhism presents a picture which is quite different from that of modern Buddhism in Burma as described and analysed in an excellent monograph by E. Sarkisyanz (*Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution*, The Hague 1965).

Though Theravāda Buddhism originated in India, representing an important phenomenon in the history of religion as well as a living force in South and Southeast Asia, maintaining close relations with India for many centuries, its study is underrepresented in the academic world of the country of its original home. My short remarks, sketchy as they necessarily are in a short contribution like the present one, are meant to draw a more attention to this field of studies.[1]

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THE CONCEPT OF *PAKṢATĀ* IN NAVYANYĀYA

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

The definition of *anumāna* (inference) formulated by Gaṅgeśa[1] (C. 1300-1360 A.D.) involves basically two notions, viz, *vyāpti* (relation of pervasion)and *pakṣadharmatā* (notion of being a property of the subject). The latter involves the notion of a logical subject (*pakṣatā*). After devoting a considerable portion of his Tattvacintāmaṇi (TC) to the notion of *vyāpti*, Gaṅgeśa discusses the nature of a subject of inference (*pakṣa*), i.e., where a property is sought to be proved on the basis of logical reason (*hetu*). This is a psychological condition of inference. Before we proceed to infer we must be sure of the conditions under which inference is possible.[2]

On an analysis of the text of TC we find Gaṅgeśa rejecting three definitions of *pakṣatā* proposed by his predecessors and then formulating his own definition.

Let us review the definitions on the line of Gaṅgeśa : DI. *sandigdhasādhyadharmatvam*[3] ("that which is possessed of doubtful inferable property"). Although *pakṣatā*, as evident from the above definition, is a property of the subject on which the inferable property (*sādhya*) is doubted, Gaṅgeśa's critique shows that he wants to lay stress on the qualifier part (*viśeṣaṇa*) and understands the definition as signifying the doubt of the *sādhya* (*sādhyasaṁśaya*), and not the occurrence of the doubtful property, as the psychological condition of inference.

1. *Vyāptiviśiṣṭapakṣadharmatājñānajanyaṁ jñānam*. TC. p. 20. (Chowkhamba edn. 1970).
2. It should be noted in this connection that although both the notions of *vyāpti* and *pakṣatā* determine the emergence of inference, the former can do so only through the mediacy of a synthetic judgment (known as *parāmarśa*) arising out of it, the latter is directly responsible for the emergence of inferential knowledge.
3. This definition is associated with the early Naiyāyikas before Uddyotakara. cf. *nā'nupalabdhe na nirṇīte'rthe nyāyaḥ pravartate kiṁtarhi saṁśayite* (*Nyāyabhāṣya* on 1 1. 1) Sivāditya in Navyanyāya circle before Gaṅgeśa, upholds this view. *sandigdhasādhyatvenopāttatvam pakṣatvam* (*Saptapadārthī*, p. 71. (ed. J. S. Jetly, Ahmedabad, 1963).

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Gaṅgeśa outright rejects the definition on the ground that doubt cannot have any direct bearing on the emergence of inference, since the perception of the mark (*liṅga*), memory-knowledge of the relation of pervasion etc. occur in the wake of doubt about the inferable property and then and then only inference arises. So inference is least dependent on doubt A cause is held to be immediate antecedent to the effect and the cause and effect in order to be related do not admit of any timegap. Moreover, doubt ceases to exist at the moment prior to inference, since it has to make room for other psychical events contributory to inference, constituting the synthetic judgment (*parāmarśa*).

Next definition cited by Gaṅgeśa is as follows :

D 2. *sādhakabādhakapramāṇābhāva*. Raghunātha explains it as the absence of the assertion (*siddhi*) of the *sādhya* and contradiction (*bādha*). In fact till the ascertainment of inferable property or ascertainment of its absence on the subject, potency (*yogyatā*) of doubt continues to exist and such potency may well serve as a determinant to inference. Gaṅgeśa retorts that the absence of *siddhi* and *bādha* both are redundant, in view of the fact that any one of the two is sufficient enough to make inference possible. Moreover, prior assertion of the inferable property does not retard its inference. We can infer the same entity once perceived or known through a different reason.

The third definition referred to by Gaṅgeśa is :

D 3. *siṣādhayiṣita-sādhyadharmādharmī pakṣaḥ*. The first two definitions are nicknamed as the standpoint of *saṁśaya-pakṣatā* in Navya-Nyāya circle, whereas this definition which is believed to have been formulated by Vācaspati is termed as *icchāpakṣatā*.[1] A person seeking release from bondage, although knows the nature of self through scriptures but still infers its existence. Hence Vācaspati claims that one may infer the existence of something already known if and only if he has the desire to infer *siṣādhayiṣā*). Gaṅgeśa while rejecting this definition follows the same line of argument that 'desire to infer' is separated by time-gap and hence a remote condition, which cannot be regarded as a cause. Nor it is easy to ascertain that 'potency of desire' continues to exist. On the contrary, it is a fact of our experience that we infer cloud by its

1. In early Nyāya Uddyotakara and following him Vācaspati uphold the theory of *icchāpakṣatā*. cf. *bubhutsāvato dvitīyāt liṅgadarśanāt anumānam bhavati*. NV. p. 44, 2-6 (Chowkhamba edn. 1916).

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roar, even in the absence of any desire as such. Such inference for one's own sake (*svārthānumāna*) is not preceded by any desire to infer.

Pointing out the defects in opponent's definitions Gaṅgeśa formulates his own : *siṣādhayiṣāvirahasahakṛtasādhakapramāṇābhāvo yatra asti sa pakṣaḥ* (T. C. p. 1092) ("which possesses absence of causal factors of perception) coupled with the absence of desire to infer"). This definition has the advantage of explaining the occurrence of inference in such cases where causal factors of perception are present, of course, attended by a desire to infer. This leads to fourfold possibilities : a) Presence of causal factors of perception coupled with desire to infer, b) Absence of causal factors coupled with absence of desire and c) Absence of causal factors, coupled with desire to infer In the above three cases inference will arise. But if the presence of causal factor is not attended by a desire to infer, inference would not be possible. To take Nyāya dictum : A qualificative absence (*viśiṣṭābhāva*) is conditioned by three possible alternatives : i) due to the absence of the qualific and (*viśeṣya*), or ii) of the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), or iii) of both. The final definition formulated by Gaṅgeśa involves a qualificative absence, i.e., *absence* of causal factor coupled with the absence of desire (to infer). Alternative (a) is covered by (ii), (b) by (i) and (c) by (iii). So far is Gaṅgeśa's treatment.

Gaṅgeśa's definition was further developed by his commentators Yajñapati Upādhyāya (C. 1410-1470 A. D), Jayadeva *alias* Pakṣadhara Miśra (C. 1430-1490), Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (C. 1430-1540 A.D.) and the famous Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (C. 1460—1520), although final development of the notion of *pakṣatā* is to be found in Jagadiśa's (C. 1550-1610) commentary on TC Dīdhiti. Narahari, Yajñapati's son, in his *Dūṣaṇoddhāra*, defended Yajñapati against the attack of Jayadeva. We shall concentrate here on the early commentators of Gaṅgeśa to find out the course of development.

Yajñapati in his TC prabhā,[1] the earliest available commentary on TC, concentrates firstly on the hostile elements (*pratibandhaka*) which check the emergence of inference. In doing so, he sees in Gaṅgeśa's expression *sādhakamāna* two distinct factors : i) causal factors of perception and ii) assertion of the inferable property—both of which stand in the way of inference. As such the

1. Darbhanga Raj Library, Mithila, Ms.

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absence of either of the two would facilitate the operation of inference.[1] The next point raised by Yajñapati is that of a *pūrvapakṣin* who points out as follows : Well, if there is desire to infer, assertion of inferable property through other means of knowing would not check the operation of inference. But if after desire we see the mark (*liṅgadarśana*), remember the invariable relation between the mark and the inferable property (*vyāptismṛti*) and then synthetic judgment (*parāmarśa*) arises, in such cases by the time synthetic judgment arises, desire ceases to exist, which obviously would fail to determine emergence of inference. Yajñapati avoids the difficulty by positing that a distinct desire would again emerge in the wake of synthetic judgment and this desire would give rise to another judgment involving the memory knowledge of the relation of pervasion which will immediately precede inference. In this solution indicated by Yajñapati the charge of time-gap between desire and inference has been met, but Yajñapati himself seems to be least satisfied with this solution, since he puts forward an alternative solution. He suggests that in the series first comes the remembrance of the relation of pervasion followed by the emergence of desire, which in its turn gives rise to synthetic judgment involving the memory knowledge of *vyāpti*, which is on the verge of decline. This leads finally to inference. In this theory desire can well play its role in the emergence of inference. (Yaj. 47. 2-48. 1=Narahari[2] f. 73).

Narahari records a *pūrvapakṣin* who seeks to resolve the problem of time-gap by resorting to the interpretation of the term *siṣādhayiṣā* as *siṣādhayiṣā-yogyatā*, i.e. to say, 'the potency of desire to infer' which obviously continues to exist even if desire as such ceases to exist and this potency may well determine the emergence of inference. By 'potency' is here meant the span of time required for

1. Yaj. f. 46. 2. *tathā ca siṣādhayiṣāvirahasahakṛtasya siddhyanumānātiriktatatsiddhikaraṇānyasya vā sāmānyābhāvo yatra sa pakṣa ityarthaḥ paryavasyati.* cf. also Tcd. p. 1155.
2. Narahari in his *Dūṣaṇoddhāra* seeks to defend his father Yajñapati at every step against the onslaught of Jayadeva, his teacher. In doing so he quotes in verbatim passages after passages from Yajñapati's TC prabhā. On the other hand, a comparison of Yajñapati's text on the problem with that of Raghunātha's *Dīdhiti* (Tcd.) where he refers to Yajñapati's solution by name (*iti Upādhyāyāḥ*. Tcd. p. 1123, Gādādharī, p. 1124, *Yajñapatisamādhānam āha*) shows that Raghunātha in rephrasing Yajñapati's solution totally changes its character and leaves out altogether the alternative solution advanced by Yajñapati.
Ref. to Narahari Ms. Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library.

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the emergence of synthetic judgment. It is to be noted that this interpretation of *siṣādhayiṣā* referred to by Narahari (folio 72) and Raghunātha has been attributed by Gadādhara to Jayadeva (*Miśramatam āha.* Gādādharī, p. 1124). Had it originated from Jayadeva his pupil Narahari would have cited it as *asmad-gurucaraṇāḥ*, as he has done in almost all cases where he refers to his teacher. On the other hand, he simply says *atra kecit.* Raghunātha also is silent in mentioning by name, whom he refers to as *anye vadanti* (TCd. 1124-26). I am tempted to think that this solution might have originated with some Naiyāyika prior to Jayadeva and Jayadeva simply records it.

On the other hand, we have it on the authority of Narahari that Jayadeva interprets *pakṣatā* as the 'absence of (prior) assertion' (*siddhyabhāva*),[1] which comes closer to the definition rejected by Gaṅgeśa, although at the same time he admits that the two absences, viz., a) absence of 'assertion attended by the absence of desire' and b) absence of causal factors of perception, which in Yajñapati's opinion constitute *pakṣatā*, have causal potency (*karaṇa*) in relation to inference. Jayadeva's argument in support of his definition is based on the logic of simplicity (*lāghava*). The opponent's definition involves absence of both assertion and means of assertion and hence based on the assumption of greater number of notions, over which Jayadeva's definition enjoys preference.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a junior contemporary of Jayadeva, develops the theory further. He sees no reason behind Yajñapati's theory that a distinct desire would emerge, nor is the hypothesis of continued potency of desire is acceptable to him. So he improves upon the preceding definitions as follows : *siṣādhayiṣāvirahaniṣṭhasvādhikaraṇa-kṣaṇāvyavahitottarakṣaṇavartiprakṛtānumitika-samānaviṣayaprakāraka-samānasiddhitvābhāvavat-samānaviṣayaprakārakasiddhir eva siṣādhayiṣāvirahaviśiṣṭāyāḥ tasyābhāvasya vivakṣitatvāt*[2] (Vās. folio 117. 5-7). In short ("*pakṣatā* consists in the) absence of assertion, coupled with the absence of desire, which (assertion) is different from that (i.e. *siddhi*), after the next moment of which inference is caused and (which moment is) characterised by the absence of desire."

1. *atra gurucaraṇāḥ, niruktābhāvadvayaṁ kāraṇam iti avivādam. pakṣatā tu siddhyabhāva eva.* Nar. folio 70.
2. Raghunātha cites this definition in his own inimitable way (vide TCd. p. 1131). Gadādhara ascribes it to Sārvabhauma. (*Sārvabhaumasya matam āha.* p. 1131). Ref. to Vāsudeva Ms. No. Skt. 185, Saraswati Bhavan Library, Banaras.

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Obviously this definition has the preference over the other. The problem centred round assertion as an hostile element to inference and to make it inefficient the notion of *siṣādhayiṣā* was brought in. Now even if in the absence of *siṣādhayiṣā* (since hypothetically it ceases to exist) and presence of assertion inference arises, Vāsudeva sees no harm in it, since such assertion is followed by inference and the absence of an assertion distinct from this is looked upon as constituting *pakṣatā*. To Vāsudeva such an assertion, which is coupled with the absence of desire, and at the next moment of which inference arises, cannot be regarded as an hostile element, since he considers *that* assertion as an hostile element which is distinct from the one referred to above and absence of that assertion facilitates inference. Thus in such crucial instance where the moment of assertion is followed by the moment of the emergence of inference even in the absence of desire, postulation of the emergence of a distinct desire or the introduction of the notion of potency would be uncalled for.

Vāsudeva's definition anticipates another well-known method viz., notion of hostility (*pratibandhakatā*), which deserves consideration. It has been said that assertion checks inference, only if the nature of the two agrees in all respects. To be precise : we can express inference of fire from smoke in two different ways : a) Mountain possesses fire. (*parvato vahnimān*) and b) Fire exists on the mountain (*parvate vahniḥ*). It should be noted that the qualificand (*viśeṣya*) and the qualifier (*prakāra*) differ in two expressions. The qualifier in the first case is 'fire', whereas in the second case it is 'mountain', Likewise the qualificand in the first case is 'mountain', whereas in the second it is 'fire'. Now if the prior assertion is of the form (a), it will check inference of the same form but cannot retard the operation of inference of the form (b). But Raghunātha[1] gave his verdict for the old theory that assertion in any form whatsoever would act as a hostile element in the emergence of inference notwithstanding whatever form of expression it takes.

Likewise 'hostility' should be understood in another way. Take the expression : 'Mountain possesses fire'. Now this expression admits of two possibilities : (a) Occurence of fire attributed to all mountains (*parvatatvāvacchedena* or *pakṣatāvacchedakāvacchedena*), or (b) to some indefinite mountain which is limited by the generic property mountainness (*pakṣatāvacchedakasāmānādhikaraṇyena*). Thus

1. TCd. p. 1119, *siddhimātraṁ virodhi.*

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with reference to (a) i.e. when fire is inferred on all mountains, assertion of inferable property, i.e., fire, on all mountains will be hostile, but to (b), where fire is sought to be inferred on some indefinite mountain, assertion of the nature of (a) and of (b) both will stand as hostile. Raghunātha elucidates the above two points (TCd-pp. 1113, 1119) which deserve consideration while determining the causal nexus between *pakṣatā* and *anumiti*, since the notion of *pakṣatā* presupposes the removal of an hostile element.

It is clear from the above analysis that originally 'absence of assertion' (*siddhyabhāva*) was considered to be the criterion of a logical subject of inferenee. In course of time two opposite blocks holding the theories of *saṁśaya-pakṣatā* and *icchāpakṣatā* respectively occupied the field. Navyanyāya predominantly follows the latter. After Gaṅgeśa Yajñapati introduces certain new ideas followed by Jayadeva. But Vāsudeva's analysis is more linguistic. He draws upon Gaṅgeśa's definition with necessary modification. Raghunātha is here more systematic and hinges on the problem than in the previous sections of his Dīdhiti commentary. But here also he remains in the background. Neither he commits himself to any of the prevalent views, nor he formulates any definition of his own. It is interesting that at the close of his commentary on this section he makes a sudden reference to the Prabhākara's critique of *pakṣatā* and leaves it unchallenged.

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VĀCASPATI, THE FOLLOWER OF MAṆḌANA

RAMAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

In this paper attempt has been made to trace some instances which tend to prove that Vācaspati Miśra, while expounding Saṅkara's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, was influenced by Maṇḍana Miśra, author of *Brahmasiddhi*.

It is interesting to note that although Maṇḍana has been referred to by a number of Vedantins of post-Śaṅkara period, it is Vācaspati whose name has been traditionally associated with Maṇḍana[1]. It is therefore in the fitness of things that an attempt should be made to ascertain the validity of the above statement on the basis of the works of these two authors.

Vācaspati Miśra, an eminent philosopher of his age, had command over all the schools of Indian Philosophy. He wrote two commentaries, viz. *Nyāyakaṇikā* and *Tattvasamīkṣā* on Maṇḍana's *Vidhiviveka* and *Brahmasiddhi* respectively. It is also known that Vācaspati wrote a commentary on Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras, the *Bhāmatī*. It is normally expected that Vācaspati will follow Śaṅkara's views in his *Bhāmatī*. But on the contrary an analysis of the *Bhāmatī* text shows that Vācaspati holds certain views which were previously propounded by Maṇḍana in his *Brahmasiddhi*. This makes us believe that Vācaspati derives these views from *Brahmasiddhi*.

In the benedictory verse of the *Bhāmati*[2] Vācaspati offers salutation to the Supreme Soul. He describes the Supreme Being as of the nature of unlimited happiness (*aparimita sukha*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) and as One without any decay (*amṛta*). Maṇḍana also conceives Brahman in the same manner. He, too, describes the Supreme Soul as of the nature of bliss (*ānanda*) and knowledge (*Vijñāna*) and as One without any decay (*amṛta*) in the benedictory verse of the *Brahmasiddhi*.[3] It is, however, true that this very nature of

1. *Vācaspatistu Maṇḍanapṛṣṭhasevī*—Pr. viv., Vol.II. p. 989.
2. *Anirvācyāvidyādvitayasacivasya prabhavato vivartā yasyaite viyadanilatejo'bavanayaḥ| yatascābhūd viśvaṁ caramacaramuccāvacamidam namāmastad Brahmāparimitasukhajñānamamṛtam||*
3. *Ānandamekamamṛtamajaṁ vijñānamakṣaram| Asarvaṁ sarvamabhayaṁ namasyāmaḥ Prajāpatim||*

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Brahman has been propounded in the earlier sacred texts of the Upaniṣads [1] That is to say that Maṇḍana has not been the first to describe Brahman in the aforesaid manner or that he has not been the only champion of this view; but still it can well be surmised that Maṇḍana and Vācaspati are in accord about the nature of the Supreme Soul and describe that particular aspect of the Supreme Soul in the benedictory verses of their own works.

Secondly, a close study of the *Brahmasiddhi* reveals that nescience (*avidyā*) in Maṇḍana's view, admits of two types. As he puts it, the first type of avidyā is *a-grahaṇa* (non-apprehension) and the other is *viparyayagrahaṇa* (mis-apprehension).[2] It is evident from the benedictory verse of the *Bhāmatī* also that this theory of two-fold avidyā (*avidyādvayavāda*) exerted some influence on Vācaspati, as he, too, recognises two types of avidyā. While explaining the term *avidyādvitaya* of the said verse of the *Bhāmatī*, commentators point out that the first type of avidyā is beginningless (*anādi*) and positive in nature (*bhāvarūpa*) and the other is of the nature of latent impression (*saṁskāra*) of the previous error.[3] What is important here to note is that *avidyādvayavāda* has been accepted by both Maṇḍana and Vācaspati and it is highly probable that Vācaspati inherited the idea of *avidyādvayavāda* from Maṇḍana.

Thirdly, Maṇḍana and Vācaspati hold the same view regarding the object (*viṣaya*) and locus (*āśraya*) of avidyā. Ācārya Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, describes avidyā as residing in the Supreme Soul (*Parameśvara*).[4] But Vācaspati while commenting upon this view of Śaṅkara expressly states that avidyā really has its seat in the individual soul (*jīva*).[5] To him Brahman is the object (*viṣaya*) of avidyā. He further argues that, Brahman being of the nature of vidyā, can never be the locus of avidyā in the same way as darkness can never exist in the Sun, because the lustre of the bright Sun and darkness are mutually contradictory. It is worthy of notice that Maṇḍana also describes

1. Bṛh 3.9.28.7; 4.4.20.
2. *Tasmādagrahaṇaviparyayagrahane dve avidye—Bṛ. Sid.*, p. 149.
3. *Ekā hyavidyā anādirbhāvarūpā...anyā pūrvapūrvavibhramasaṁskāraḥ—Kalp.*, introductory verse no. 1 of *Bhāmatī*.
4. *Avidyātmikā hi sā bījaśaktiravyaktaśabdanirdeśyā parameśvarāśrayā māyāmayī mahāsuṣuptiḥ*—Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛ Sū*. 1.4.3.
Tasmājjīvādhikaraṇāpyavidyā nimittatayā viṣayatayā veśvaramāśrayata itīśvarāśrayetyucyate, na tvādhāratayā,—Bhāmatī on Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛ. Sū*. 1.4.3.

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avidyā as residing in *jīva*.[1] The attitude of Vācaspati may be traced back to the covert influence of Maṇḍana on him.

Furthermore, while describing avidyā as existing in jīva, both Maṇḍana and Vācaspati apprehend the same objection and try to solve it in the same way as well. Both think that the opponent may object that the theory involves the defect of mutual dependence (*anyonyāśraya*). The very character of jīva has its root in avidyā while avidyā by itself would in this theory seek the support of jīva for its very existence, since avidyā exists in jīva. To this both Maṇḍana and Vācaspati reply that, such mutual dependence can hardly stand as a bar to logical disquisition, as in the case of the seed and the seedling.[2]

In their delineation of the theory of *Śābdaparokṣa* (*Śabdaparokṣavāda*), again, Maṇḍana and Vācaspati are found to hold similar views. The Advaitins are of the opinion that Emancipation (*Mokṣa*) results from the direct perceptual knowledge of the Ultimate Reality. While the Vivaraṇa school of Monistic Vedānta believes that direct perceptual knowledge can accrue from the 'word' (*śabda*). Vācaspati holds a different view.[3] His view is that the nature of knowledge depends on the nature of the means of knowing. Thus from verbal testimony (*śabda*), an indirect means of knowing, we get indirect knowledge only. It is interesting to note here that Maṇḍana also opines that it is only indirect knowledge which can be had from the Vedantic 'Śabda'. 'Śabda' can never deliver any perceptual cognition.

Then, again, if we consider the way in which Vācaspati describes the relation of identity between Brahman and jīva, it will be evident that he holds a view similar to Maṇḍana's. While some regard Vācaspati as a propounder of *Pratibimbavāda*,[4] some are of opinion that, he upholds *Avacchedavāda*.[5] There are passages[6] in

1. *Tatu kasyāvidyeti; jīvānāmiti brūmaḥ—Br. Sid.*, p. 10.
2. *Anāditvādubhayoravidyājīvayorbījāṅkurasantānayoriva netaretarāśrayatvamaprakḷptimāvahatīti—Br. Sid.*, p. 10.
   Na cāvidyopādhibhedādhīno jīvabhedo jīvabhedādhīnaścāvidyopādhibheda iti parasparāśrayādubhayasiddhiriti sāmpratam; anāditvādbījāṅkuravadubhayasiddheḥ—Bhāmati on Śaṅkara's commentary on *Br. Sū.* 1.4 3.
3. *Na caiṣa sākṣātkāro mīmāṁsāsahitasyāpi śabdasya pramāṇasya phalam—Bhāmatī* (N.S. edition), p. 55.
4. Asutosh Sastri, *Vedāntadarśana—Advaitavāda*, Vol. I, p. 337.
5. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *The Philosophy of Advaita*, p. 220; V. P. Upadhyaya, *Lights on Vedānta*, p. 38.
6. *Bhāmatī*, (N.S edition), p. 421.

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Bhāmatī which contain arguments in favour of *Pratibimbavāda*, while there are other passages[1] in the same work which advocate *Avacchedavāda*. That is why scholars differ so widely as to the actual standpoint of Vācaspati in this respect. However the thing, as it stands, is that, Vācaspati refers to both the theories in his *Bhāmatī*. Similarly Maṇḍana, as he cites some instances from his previous works, seems to advocate *Pratibimbavāda* in some texts in his *Brahmasiddhi*[2] and *Avacchedavāda* in other places.[3] In fact he has no fancy for any of these two theories. Of course, Śaṅkara also does not show any preference for any of these two theories.[4] In fact these theories grew in the post-Śaṅkara age. Under the circumstances it is difficult to say categorically who influenced Vācaspati; but it can safely be pointed out that Maṇḍana and Vācaspati hold similar views in this respect also. It is highly probable that in the point at issue Vācaspati followed the footprints of Maṇḍana, justifying thereby the statement—*Vācaspatistu Maṇḍanapṛṣṭhasevī*.

1. *Bhāmatī*, (N,S. edition), p. 38.
2. *Avyatirekepi ca Brahmaṇo jīvānām bimbapratibimbavad vidyāvidyāvyavasthā vyākhyātā—Br. Sid.*, p. 12.
3. *Avidyayaiva tu Brahmaṇo jīvo vibhaktaḥ, tannivṛttau Brahmasvarūpameva bhavati ; yathā ghaṭādibhede tadākāśam pariśuddham paramākāśameva bhavati—Br. Sid.*, p. 12.
4. Śaṅkara's commentary on *Br. Sū*, 3.2.18. Ibid on *Māṇḍūkya Kārikā* 3.3,4,5,7.

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CAUSES OF *DUḤKHA*

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

For all practical purposes *duḥkha* can be translated as 'pain'. The words sorrow and suffering have also been used by modern writers to denote *duḥkha*. *Pīḍā*, bādhanā and *tāpa* are Sanskrit synonyms frequently used for *duḥkha* by ancient writers.

Whatever the nature and analysis of *duḥkha* may be, all schools of philosophical thought agree (1) that *duḥkha* exists, (2) that it is a starting point of philosophical inquiry and (3) that it can be traced to a cause or causes and annihilated with the help of proper means either temporarily or permanently.

All schools agree that pain has obviously an efficient cause (*nimitta*) : vide Śaṁkara on *Ved. Sūtra* II. 1. 36. Vātsyāyana describes pain as *janma-maraṇa-prabandhānubhava-nimitta* i.e. whose efficient cause is the experience of the continuous flow of death and birth. A list of such efficient causes is again stated in the bhāṣya IV. 1. 57; they are : *janma*, *jarā*, *vyādhi*, *prāyaṇa*, *aniṣṭasaṁyoga*, *iṣṭaviyoga* and *prārthitānupapatti*. Such *nimittas* are mentioned in various works.

It should be noted that in the former sentence *anubhava* of birth etc. is said to be the efficient cause, while in the latter the factors, viz. birth etc. have been given the status of *nimitta*. This shows that there is gradation in the efficient cause of pain.

As regards the material cause, or the substratum of pain, the Nyāyavaiśeṣika school holds that pain is produced in Ātman while the Vedānta and Sāṁkhya-yoga maintain that pain is produced in *buddhi* or *antaḥkaraṇa*.

The conditions or the efficient causes which bring forth pain are many.[1] We will discuss only the most important ones. The positive causes are either of the nature of things or of conditions.

Aniṣṭasaṁyoga (contact with a non-desired thing) is regarded

1. The efficient causes of pain are apparently innumerable. Vide *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI.5.9 : *Garbha janma-jarājñāna-mṛtyu-narakajaṁ tathā|Duḥkhaṁ sahasraśo bhedair bhidyate||* Here *sahasra* stands for innumerable. The expression *jarājñāna* should be disjoined as *jarā* and *ajñāna*.

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as the chief among the causes that produce pain. The words *aniṣṭasaṁsarga*, *aniṣṭayoga* etc. are also used (cf. *Mbh.Śānti* 330. 12).

Iṣṭanivṛtti or *iṣṭaviyoga* (disjunction of or detachment from a desired thing) is also one of the main causes.

Disorder or improper arrangement is recognised as a cause of some peculiar pains. When the teachers say that *vyādhi* (disease) which is defined as *dhātu-rasa-karaṇa-vaiṣamya* in Vyāsabhāṣya 1.30. is a cause of pain, it means a particular disorder in the function of the body.

Repeated enjoyment (bhogābhyāsa) usually becomes a cause of future pain. Repeated experience creates the capacity of mind and organs and later on it becomes difficult to quench the thirst of the more powerful organs and mind. Vide Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. 2. 15 *Bhogābhyāsam anu vivardhante rāgāḥ kauśalāni cendriyāṇām.*

Not only repeated enjoyment, even simple *pravṛtti* (activity towards any object) is the cause of pain. Vācaspati declared in the plainest terms that pleasure and pain are the *kārya* (effect) of *pravṛtti* (Tātparyaṭīkā I. 1. 20).

Adharma (demerit) or *pāpa* (sin) is held as the efficient cause of suffering by the Mīmāṁsakas, as well as by the teachers of Dharmaśāstra. In the scheme of the six-spoked wheel of the mundane existence (*ṣaḍaraṁ saṁsāracakram*, Vyāsabhāṣya 4. 11) the yogins assert that pleasure and pain are produced by *dharma* and *adharma* and they in turn give birth to *rāga* and *dveṣa*. *Pāpa* or *adharma* is transgression of duties laid down in the authoritative texts. *Adharma* or *pāpa* becomes the efficient cause of pain by bringing forth the condition which compels Ātman to experience pain specially in the hells.[1] Such a relation of sinful acts with pain is frankly accepted by the Buddhists and the Jainas too.

This efficiency of *dharma* and *adharma* is shown by the Naiyāyikas also. It is said that the seed called *dharma* and *adharma* produces *sukha* and *duḥkha* on the soil of Ātman which is sprinkled with the water of *doṣa* (i.e. rāga, dveṣa, moha).[2] This shows that *doṣa* being attached to *adharma* produces pain in Ātman.

1. Vide *Mānameyodaya*; pain is of two kinds, namely of this world and of the other world. Misery of the other world is of the nature of various hells such as Raurava, etc. Adharma is the cause of these two kinds of pain (section on *guṇa*).
2. See *N. V. Tātparyaṭīkā* I. 1. 20 *"Doṣa-salilāvasiktāyāṁ khalu ātmabhūmau dharmādharmabīje sukha-duḥkhe janayataḥ nānyathā.* The Pāśupatas also state the same fact (Vide the Prakāśa commentary by Vardhamāna on the Kusumāñjalī, verse 3).

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Avidyā or ajñāna (the ignorance of the real nature of the things) is regarded as not the direct cause of pain but as the remote cause, i.e. there is a chain of cause and effect in which pain comes as the last result of the process. Such a well known process is described in the Buddhist and the Nyāya school as well.

The Buddhist show this chain in their doctrine of Pratītyasamutpāda.[1] It is a series of twelve factors wherein the latter one is the effect of the preceding one and the last factor is called *jarāmaraṇa* (old age and death; *jarā*, however, implies *kṣaya* i.e. the decaying condition).

This doctrine holds that pain depends directly on *jāti* (birth) i.e. wherever *jāti* exists, pain arises. Ultimately if *avidyā* remains pain must continue. In this doctrine emphasis lies on the efficient causes and not on the material cause.

The order of the twelve factors in this doctrine is as follows : (1) Avidyā,[2] (2) Saṁskāras (tendencies or latent impressions), (3) Vijñāna (consciousness), (3) Nāma-rūpa (names and forms or mind and body), (5) Ṣaḍāyatana (five sense-organs and the mind), (6) Sparśa (contact with the objects), (7) Vedanā (sensation or the uncoloured (experience), (8) Tṛṣṇā (craving or appetite), (9) Upādāna (attachment or clinging), (10) Bhava (becoming or coming into existence), (11) Jāti (birth or re-birth), (12) Jarāmaraṇa.[3] It

1. The second and third *satyas* of the *Āryasatya* comprise this doctrine. The true nature of this doctrine is shown by Pāli writers as '*Imasmin sati idaṁ hoti, imassa uppada idamupajjati* i.e. if this remains, that happens and taking the help of this, that comes into existence This doctrine is another aspect of śūnyatā; vide *Mādhyamaka vṛtti* p. 503, 542. The word is analysed as '*Hetuṁ pratītya samutpādaḥ*' i.e. the origination (of something) depending on (efficient) causes.

2. Avidyā which is the root cause of pain is sometimes called *avijjāsava* (*avidyāsava* in Sanskrit; āsava means liquor). With reference to pain *avidyā* has four aspects, viz. (1) ignorance about pain, (2) ignorance of the cause of pain, (3) ignorance of the extinction of pain; (4) ignorance of the means of bringing out the destruction of pain. Like avidyāsava, there are three other *āsavas*, viz. Kāmāsava, Bhavāsava and Dṛṣṭyāsava. These four are collectively called *Ogha* (flood; inundation). These four compel all persons to run with the world-stream helplessly.

3. Jarā-maraṇa is the most familiar expression in the philosophical works. Vide *Sām. Kā* 55; S. S. 3. 53; The *sūtra* of Devala quoted in the Mokṣakāṇḍa, p. 7. Five causes of *jarā* are spoken of in the *Padmapurāṇa* II. 78. 29; As to how death occurs, vide *Mbh.* Aśvamedha 17.18. There are long discussions on to these two factors in the philosophical and Āyurvedic works. Vide Śaṁkara's bhāṣya on *Br. Up.* III.5.1.

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is stated that by the destructiou of Avidyā, the *saṁskāras* are destroyed and thus when *jāti* is extinguished, the pains caused by *jarā* and *maraṇa* naturally come to an end. These twelve factors[1] seem to be interdependent in bringing about pain.

The Pañcaskandha scheme also shows the Buddhist view of the origination of pain. In this scheme pain comes under Vedanā. It is stated that Vedanā is produced when *citta* comes in contact with objects.

The doctrine of the *Āryasatya* also shows the *hetu* of pain. While expounding second *satya* (truth), the Buddhists remark that *laulya* (covetousness) is one of the causes of *duḥkha*. Experience creates *tṛṣṇā* and *tṛṣṇā* (craving) wants satisfaction.

Explaining how *avidyā* produces pain, the Naiyāyikas remark that *mithyājñāna* produces *doṣa* (in the form of *rāga* and *dveṣa*), from *doṣa* comes *pravṛtti* (in the form of *dharma* and *adharma*), *pravṛtti* gives rise to *janma* (the assuming of a body), and as long as there is a body, pain will be experienced by an embodied Ātman (*Nyāyasūtra* I. 1.2). (Here *janma* etc. are efficient causes of their respective results).

Some Naiyāyikas hold that among the twelve *prameyas* (vide *Nyāyasūtra* I. 1.9) nine *prameyas* constitute the efficient causes of pain (leaving Ātman and *apavarga*). Thus body (*śarīra*), organs (*indriya*), *artha* (sound etc. with their respective substrata), *buddhi* (cognition), *manas*, *pravṛtti* (activities that produce *dharma* and *adharma*), *doṣa* (*rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*), *pretyabhāva* (birth after death, i.e. assuming bodies one after another) and *phala* (experience of *sukha* and *duḥkha*) are the causes of pain.

Besides, *jāti*, *āyus* (span of life) and *bhoga* (i.e. *śabdādijñāna*, the experience of sound etc.; for bhoga, see *Vyāsabhāṣya* on Y. S. 2. 6; 2.18) are also regarded as two important efficient causes of pain by Patañjali (Y.S. 2.13-14).

The Yoga school further holds that pain comes into existence owing to *pariṇāma* (change), *tāpa* (affection) and *saṁskāras* (latent impressions) (Y. S. 2.15). It is stated that everything undergoes mutation—spatial or temporal—owing to some action. Since change rarely occurs in accordance with the desire of the experiencer, the object of experience always yields pain.

1. Some of these factors are noted in the Itihāsapurāṇa literature also. The *Mahābhārata* says *Duḥkhaṁ vidyād upādānāt* (*Śānti* 330.13).

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Furthemore, sentimental factors, such as love, hatred, aversion, anger create adverse circumstances yielding pain. This is *tāpa-duḥkha*. *Saṁskāra-duḥkha* is that which arises when a person is compelled to act by the force of latent impressions.

The Yogins noticed that mutual contradiction of the *guṇavṛttis* (*sukha-duḥkha* and *moha*) also causes pain. That pleasure and stupor can become the cause of pain may be ascertained by everyday experience.

It may be useful to state here in brief the arguments of the commentaries on sūtra 2.15. Experience shows that we feel pain owing to mutation, anxieties and subliminal impressions. Although attachment may rise from pleasure and pleasure may come from attachment, pain will necessarily arise from both. Again where there is aversion, there is pain. Whenever pleasure or pain is experienced it invariably produces latent impressions. These impressions create disorder in the sphere of knowledge and activity.

Attachment and aversion have their root in ignorance; and where there is ignorance or misapprehension there is suffering.

Thus it is concluded by the yogins that attachment may bring pleasure at present but it will cause pain in future.[1] Aversion may create negligible pain at present but it often creates acute pain in future. Subconscious latencies always create pain in future. Even at the time of experiencing pleasure a person feels pain towards those things that are the objects of hatred or aversion.

Explaining why no unalloyed pleasure is possible, yogins say that three conditions are necessary for the acquirement of unalloyed pleasure. They are : (1) contact with the desired object; (2) unchanging condition of the desired object; (3) unchanging condition of body, mind and organs. Since these three conditions cannot remain without change and since this change does not follow the desire of the experiencer, there is no hope for unalloyed pleasure. The yogins further argue that it is not possible to cultivate *dharma* without any break or interruption and thus no one can expect to enjoy pleasure for ever.

A noteworthy consideration of a five-fold causal operation in

1. This is one of the greatest psychological insights of yoga. Vide the precise statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI.5.55. *Yad yat prītikaraṁ puṁsāṁ vastu Maitreya jāyate/Tadeva duḥkha-vṛkṣasya bījatvam upagacchati//*. If all pleasurable things become painful, we can logically think that pleasure is the cause of pain.

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connection with the accumulation of the objects—particularly external object—is found in the Sāṁkhya philosophy (vide the commentaries on the Sāṁkhyakārikā 50). It is stated that the objects cause pain when they are being acquired by five different ways, viz. *arjana* (earning) *rakṣaṇa* (preservation), *kṣaya* (decay or deterioration), *saṁga* (attachment for undesired person or things) *hiṁsā* (violence or injury to others). Whenever a sentient being is in contact with material objects, he has to face trouble on account of these factors. Sometimes the word *doṣa* or *bhoga* is used in place of *saṁga*. It is further stated that if a person can transcend these five factors he will achieve contentment (*santoṣa*). *Asantoṣa* (absence of contentment) is, on the other hand, one of the main causes of pain.

Increase of pain—Mahābhārata remarks that pain is increased with the help of *abhimāna* (*Duḥkham.....abhimānācca vardhate*, Śānti. 330. 13). Here *abhimāna* cannot mean ignorance since it is the root cause of the origination of pain. *Abhimāna* is evidently the chief characteristic of *ahaṁkāra* (the dynamic ego). *Ahaṁkāra* is that which establishes a relation with the external and internal objects and at the same time it wrongly identifies not-self with self and vice versa. Thus it is obvious that *abhimāna* increases pain.

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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

N. K. DEVARAJA

I

Tne relationship between religion and philosophy has been more intimate in some cultural traditions and at certain periods in history than in other cultures and at other periods. Thus, philosophy and religion were closely associated in ancient and medieval India and in medieval Europe. They were more or less independent of each other in ancient Greece and Rome; they are not on intimate terms in the cultural life of the modern West. Confining our attention to the surviving important religions of the world we find an important factor dividing religion from philosophy. Each of the major religions claims to be based on a revelation, regarded as embodying eternal truths, coming either from Godhead itself or from an omniscient teacher like the Buddha or Mahāvīra. Philosophy, on the other hand, makes no claim to being infallible as regards its principles and deductions therefrom. A religious man with firm faith in the teachings of his prophet or his scripture feels no need to investigate the spiritual truths, i.e., truths about God, immortality, the destiny of man, etc.; his chief concern is to practise piety as enjoined by his religion. The philosopher, on the contrary, is primarily a man given to doubting the accepted truths; he is also in love with reflection and inquiry. Thus the religious man and the philosopher differ from one another temperamentally. Under the circumstances it may not seem proper that the two seek to meddle with each other's business. What the religious man chiefly wants is spiritual regeneration and the salvation of his soul. The philosopher, however, is mainly interested in arriving at reasoned truth. The religious man's reverence for authority, scriptural or prophetic, is generally not characteristic of the philosopher. For this reason most of the religious persons are highly suspicious of the philosopher and do not welcome his meddling with the problems touching on religion.

However, the philosopher's interest in religion does not depend either on the convenience or on the sweet will of the man of religion. Just as the criticism of art and literature exists in its

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own right, irrespective of the fact whether the artists and litterateurs like it or not, similarly the philosopher is led to reflect on religion as part of his vocation. Philosophy, in fact, bears the same relation to religious experience or values as aesthetics and criticism bear to art and literature. The truth is that the term philosophy, like the term history, is not complete in itself. As there is no history in the abstract, so there is no philosophy without a specified subject matter on which it is directed. All significant history is history of something, i.e. of a certain aspect or area of human life. Thus we may speak of the political, social or economic history of a people, or the history of art, religion, church and the like. Analogously we have the philosophy of morals, art, religion etc.; we also have philosophy of history, philosophy of science and philosophy of mathematics. Furthermore, the methodology of each and every discipline admits of being scrutinized by philosophy.

Pursued in the right spirit philosophy of religion may do the same service to it as philosophy of art has been able to do to the understanding, creation and appreciation of art and literature.

It was observed above that philosophy and religion had been closely associated in ancient and medieval India and in medieval Europe. But philosophy was not permitted to play the same part in the two regions. During the middle ages in Europe philosophy was reduced to the status of a handmaid to religion. Far from being permitted to elucidate and shape religious consciousness or the consciousness of the religious values, philosophy was required to defend religious beliefs and values as handed down to man through biblical revelation. In India, on the contrary, philosophy gained an upper hand over religion, defining for it both its goal and the method of attaining that goal. Thus we find a variety of definitions of *mokṣa* and a variety of pathways leading to it being laid down by the philosopher-sages of the Indian subcontinent As a consequence the Indian religious tradition displays a variety in belief and practice unparalleled in most of the traditions of the world. Thus, in Indian religio-philosophical thought, the Ultimate is conceived now as a personal God and now as an impersonal Absolute. The state of *mokṣa* is likewise defined in various ways. Some of the religious philosophies developed in India such as Buddhism, Jainism and Sāṅkhya are avowedly atheistic. Their conceptions of *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* centre round the essential nature of man, which is supposed to be realized either in isolation from the material world or in absorption into the hidden essential nature of things. The phi-

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losophical approach to religion in India endowed it with variety and depth of conception. The Indian tradition made 'salvation depend largely on the attainment of philosophical insight and wisdom.

II

As stated earlier it is not in the power of religion to prevent philosophy from reflecting over issues relating to the ultimate destiny of man. According to the present writer the proper business of philosophy is to reflect on values of different types, logical, aesthetic, moral and religious. Philosophy should analyse values embedded in logical and scientific thinking, in the creation and enjoyment of art and in the pursuit of moral and religious life. Philosophy should also endeavour to discover the criteria by which degrees of excellence in the creation and pursuit of different values may be assessed.

As we have already observed religion differs from other cultural pursuits such as art in its claim of infallibility as regards its teachings. This has led to the unfortunate situation of conflict among religions. It happens that morality and religion have far greater bearing on our social life than art and literature and even the sciences. The influence of science is seen more in our relationship with physical environment than in that with our fellow-beings. This is not to say that science has no effect at all on the relationships between man and man, but this effect is more or less indirect. The numerous means of communication invented by science have affected human life by increasing the volume of intercourse between individuals and groups, between societies and nations. Indeed, science has created the conditions of extensive cultural interaction and exchange thereby disturbing the complacent isolation and insularity of different cultural traditions. But the more important changes affecting the minds of men are directly produced by the confrontation of different cultures rather than by science.

The meeting of different traditions in art and literature has undoubtedly contributed to greater self-awareness and enhanced creativity in those fields. The same is true of man's economic, social and political life. During the recent decades experiments in art and literature have tended to travel as fast from one cultural region to another as revolutionary ideologies, forms of government and fashions in dress and social etiquette. Transportation of cus-

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toms and manners from one society to another is generally accompanied by changes in moral outlook and emphasis. The unification of the world by science has been responsible for the growth of emphasis on ethical relativity. It may be recalled that before the rise of logical empiricism or positivism, with its emotive theory of values the most exciting problem in ethics was that of relativism in morals. This relativism was a direct consequence of the discovery by each important culture of a plurality of traditions in different cultural spheres. The circumstance led to the undermining of quite a few moral norms and standards, and to the modification and re-statement of the more important moral ideals and values. Maybe the cause of morality, particularly traditional morality, received a setback for some time from the new forces released by the confrontation of diverse cultures : but, it may be surmised, the situation has led to the emergence of a maturer outlook on the essentials of moral life. Can a similar assertion be made about religious thought and outlook ?

The greatest obstacle to the emergence of a truly helpful and mature outlook on religion is the still dominant belief, obstinately held by the followers of different religions, in the infallibility of their respective prophets and scriptures. Philosophy, in our view, can render an important service to religion by promoting a more rational attitude towards revealed dogmas or doctrines, thereby laying the foundations for the understanding and unity of different religions. Here it may be remembered that the object before us is not merely the achieving of the unity of religions by encouraging people to ignore the differences among different religious outlooks or practices. A person who takes religion seriously can ignore differences between the religion he cherishes and other religions only if he considers those differences to be unimportant or of little importance. Such an attitude towards religious differences involves, obviously, the willingness to evaluate; it also involves faith and confidence in one's capacity to weigh and assess the differences in question. I have no doubt that philosophy can and should play an important part in defining and formulating the criteria in whose terms the differences in question are to be assessed and evaluated. As we have argued elsewhere these criteria are not reached and laid down arbitrarily : indeed, they emerge out of reflection on the constituent elements in religious life and thought associated with different creeds. Every religion distinguishes between what oonstitutes its central core and that which is peripheral. This insight can be fur-

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ther sharpened and educated by the discipline called philosophy of religion. What is called comparative religion is, according to us, merely an application of the principles and criteria arrived at by the philosophy of religion.

A yet another way in which philosophy can contribute to the unity of religions is by exhibiting the complementary character of the teachings of different religions. Each major religious tradition tends to lay greater emphasis on some religious values and on some traits of the ideal religious person. Thus, for example, Indian religions lay relatively greater emphasis on the virtues of detachment and renunciation; they also attach great importance to knowledge and eradication of ignorance which latter is generally supposed to be the root cause of wrong attachment. Christianity, on the other hand, attaches greater importance to the virtues of faith and charity and neighbourly love. The virtue of compassion is highly eulogised in the Buddhist tradition. These differences and emphases may be explained on the basis of the recognition of a real variety in the lives and temperaments of the heroes and geniuses in the religious line. Such variety is also to be met with in the spheres of artistic and intellectual creations. Just as different masterpieces of art and literature display different kinds of greatness, similarly different religious geniuses may exemplify several types of religious excellence and greatness.

Like the great works of art and thought produced by different important cultures the scriptures of different religions constitute the common heritage of entire mankind. It is both the privilege and the function of philosophy to inculcate in us the capacity to put this heritage to our use, with proper discrimination and sense of reverence.

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INCARNATION OF LAW FROM MĪMĀṂSĀ STANDPOINT

KRISHAN GOPAL GOSWAMI

Jaimini, the founder of Mīmāṁsā, enunciates that *dharma* consists in what is enjoined by the precept (of the Veda) as conducive to welfare : "codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ."[1] The first element of the definition makes dharma manifestly as an object of duty. According to the *Śābarabhāṣya*, *codanā* stands for the verbal expression which enjoins an act. : "codanākriyāyāḥ pravartakaṁ vacanam". This also implies that right knowledge of dharma has its source only in the Veda which is pre-eminently concerned with the injunctions of duty. Prabhākara relies upon this declaration of the bhāṣya to set forth his view in the *Bṛhatī*[2] that the Veda as the means of right knowledge has its validity in respect of something *to be done*. In any case, dharma in this context does not stand as equivalent to a matter of virtue or merit by the doing of any good deeds in the ordinory sense of the term, but denotes that kind of duty as laid down in the Veda.

Secondly, in its emphasis on the Vedic injuction as the only source of dharma, the Mīmāṁsā theory seeks to rule out the possibility of the other means of cognition in the task of determining dharma. Dharma is something which is beyond the ken of human perception. Sense-perception is operative only in regard to such things as are *present*, and brought in contact with sense-organs as such. But dharma appertains to things not already present, and is connected with the phenomena beyond the reach of sensuous apprehension. It cannot, therefore, be an object of sense-perception. And as it is entirely beyond the range of sense-perception, the other means of cognition, namely, Inference, Analogy and Presumption, which presuppose sense-perception, are hardly applicable to it.

Thirdly, it is held that the word of Vedic injunction as a source of dharma is not only self-sufficient but also infallible and inherently valid. It may be mentioned here that the self-evident validity of cognition is the fundamental key-note of the Mīmāṁsā epi-

1. *Sūtra*, 1.1.2.
2. p. 20.

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stemology ("Svataḥ sarvapramāṇānām prāmāṇyam avadhāryatām" —*Ślokavārttika* on *codanāsūtra*). For, otherwise, if it is urged that validity were wholly non-existent in the cognition, it could not be produced therein by anything else. In the case where the validity of cognition is said to depend on the efficiency of the source, it could only be so valid depending on another cognition in respect of the efficiency of the source of the second cognition and so on, and there would be infinite regress. It is on this account that the Mīmāṁsaka insists upon the view that all cognitions are inherently valid, and invalidity arises from without only when it is found that the source has been defective. The irresistible conclusion is that cognition is valid *qua* cognition and that validity can be sublated or rejected by subsequent experience of defect involved in the cognitive process.

From this standpoint too, the valid knowledge of dharma derived from the Vedic injunction does not suffer deterioration as it is held free from vitiating causes. The Mīmāṁsaka denies all personal agency in the composition of the Veda. In order to maintain its absolute eternality and self-sufficient validity, he is prepared to deny even the agency or control of God over the Veda.

The Veda is Mīmāṁsaka's all-in-all. He stoutly defends its position as such. It is totally immune from influence of any kind whatsoever whether of God or man. Words and their denotations and their relations as manifested in the Vedic revelations are eternal and without beginning or end; and as they do not emanate from any personal agency, the question of limitations, shortcomings, whims or machinations involved in the source would not arise at all. What is expressed by the injunctive word is *known* to us as such and accepted as of unmistakable authority. The main function of the Veda is to enjoin acts leading to welfare. The result is obtained through the force of *apūrva* (imperceptible potency) which is generated from the performance of the acts enjoined. It is something which is not within the ken of human understanding, and is not knowable otherwise except through the Veda. Vedic injunctions are propositions of duties speaking of supersensuous things that have significant relation to truths and probabilities, and are believed as such.

The second constituent of the definition of dharma lays stress on the values of the acts to be performed. To assume the character of dharma, an act enjoined must also lead to some kind of welfare. From the viewpoint of eudaemonistic doctrine, the idea of

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welfare connects itself with the values or interests of a life beyond, with *summum bonum* in the world beyond. Sacrificial ritual as a cult is taken to be the basis of the Vedic duty for realization of the purpose of heavenly bliss and so forth, which are, however, deemed not incompatible with larger ends.

But we should not confuse the idea of good with what is pleasurable. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*[1] says : "the pleasurable is different and the good is different. Between them, he who takes up the good attains welfare, but he who chooses the pleasurable misses it". The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] characterizes dharma as being the pattern and paragon of whatever is good.

Jaimini did not lose sight of this benign aspect of law. This is why the two ideas, foundation on revelation and conduciveness to welfare, cluster round his definition as but inter-connected constituents of dharma.

The Mīmāṁsā theory has made momentous contribution towards incarnation of law. Law is ingrained in the highest reason and it is antecedent to all human experience. The process of creation which is intelligent as we find it is said to derive the knowledge of its fundamental ordering from the Veda. Manu so faithfully observes : "In the beginning, He (the Lord) assigned several names, actions and conditions to all (created beings) even according to the words of the Veda."[3]

The precedence of creation demands the precedence of a thinker, or at least a system of thought to regulate the fundamental scheme of cosmic evolution. The Veda stands for that fundamental knowledge. It directs us to the observance of duty towards the attainment of the end of welfare, the secret of which, man, as he is constituted, cannot discover for himself. It is imposed upon humanity from above. The celebrated Roman lawyer Cicero maintains that "law is the highest reason implanted in Nature which commands those things which ought to be done, and prohibits the reverse. The highest law was born in all the ages before any law was written or state was formed. It arose with the mind of God".

From the Mīmāṁsā standpoint, the Veda is the uncreated source of law which is not only above humanity but also above

1. *Kaṭha.* II. 1.2.
2. *BD.* 1.4.14.
3. *Manu.* 1. 21.

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divinity. Here we notice a trend of thought towards the idea of a single absolute and self-subsistent principle. And it is said that even Gods attain glory and effulgence through the observance of the holy law *ṛta* (ṚV. I. 2.8). Mīmāṁsā does not bother about the personal attributes of gods. Sacrifice is offered to the God or gods as conceived by *mantras*. Gods come into the picture only as conceptual entities in the bearing of relation with the law of sacrifice. Such being the state of affairs, the theory of the aim of maintaining law would confine the gods, in point of fact, to the part of acting as a mere index of the activity of man, who observes the Vedic duty of sacrifice for the realisation of good. In any case, whether the gods are personal or impersonal, they are conceived of as existing for the purpose of upholding law. Man sustains that valid order of law which he accepts as true and just, and believes that it may help him in accomplishing his destiny to the goal of the highest good, of which he is capable. To him it is not the purposeless command of the wilful God or wilful human despot nor it is left to the mercy of historical accidents and shifting currents and prejudices of social opinion.

The Mīmāṁsā theory of law unfolds the conception of duty which is evidently lofty. For it keeps its track wide off from the inferior external motives or solely material interests. The more ideal the motives of human activity are, the more good is assured to us, and duty, from that standpoint, does not appear as a tyrant. Law is thus viewed as possessed of both 'the highest reason' and 'the highest purpose'. It is sacred, salutary and of eternal sanctity.

This rigid aspect of law has, however, aroused mighty criticism in different quarters. Some of the Western Scholars, obsessed as they are by the Austinian conception of law, do not hesitate to remark that law among the Hindus is nothing more than myth. It would be borne in mind that Austin's definition has been challenged by many writers. A society certainly is not merely the product of the order of a humanly designed legal system. The social harmony is achieved by an interaction between the normative conceptions of law and morality and the developing forces of the community as a whole. Where the law is supreme and comes from above as an efficient power, there alone the forces, spiritual, moral and legal proper unfold themselves attaining full strength and vigour. And it has been so authoritatively held that the Aryan race has always had a true conception of law and political life. The impli-

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cations of the theory enable us to ascend to a height from which we can visualise law as an ever-present part of a perennial stream of the fundamental philosophy of life and action.

Law is eternal in the sense that the leading principle of ideal is uniform in its elements, but it does not negate the possibility that law is susceptible of change. The legal history of India bears ample evidence to show that "law grows as the nation grows". The Veda represents the main spring out of which the other source of law is said to have derived its requisite force. The Smṛti came to be recognised as a secondary source of law only on the hypothesis that it is based on the Śruti. It professes to preserve the systematised memories of the Vedic revelations which are otherwise lost to us. Jaimini observes : "The Smṛtis having been compiled by sages who were the repositories of the revelation, there arises an inference that they were founded on the *Śruti* and should, therefore, be regarded as authoritative". This affords a very ingenuous explanation as to how eternal concept of law could be reconciled to its flexibility. The idea of law as the recorded wisdom of the sages of old who have discovered the ideally approved course of conduct by a process of philosophic divination is developed here into a recognised principle. Smṛtis become, in fact, the positive guides of the contents of Hindu law. At the same time it does not offend the traditional view that law is imbued with the idea of a valid order and a sense of purpose for the attainment of good.

This tradition of the theory leads to the natural expression of the conviction that human behaviour must be shaped in the pattern of duty conformably to the ideals of a valid legal order which is one of sacred authority. Veda as the accredited superhuman source of knowledge *par excellence* is said to be the repository of dharma or law. It reigns supreme over anything else. The consciousness of dependence upon the highest cosmic power that controls nature and life is at the root of this belief. This forms a part of religious notion which is bound up with our human nature, and follows us from the beginning of time up into the highest circles of culture.

The authority theory of law as developed in Mīmāṁsā is not without its advantage. It safeguards the interest and security of society by inducing its members to yield to a rule of cosmic design which is imposed from some infallible absolute source. Law should have a necessary restraining kernal to sustain us against the dan-

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ger of excessive human reasoning which, if let loose, may hinder humanity back to grave evolutionary degeneration. Our traditions invoked veneration for the authority theory of law to restrain individual wilfulness even on the part of an earthly sovereign, and assure a firm and stable social order. Again, the sense of purpose or conduciveness to welfare as the criterion of law, as set forth in the interpretation of dharma in Mīmāṁsā, can hardly be exaggerated. The pointlessness of human life in the universe as revealed by science is void of faith, and no less intolerable than its insignificance. Our sages insisted that there must be something behind and beyond the visible appearance and that must be of the nature of being with a purpose. In our striving towards fulfilment of that purpose, we have a part to play, and we can effectively play the role of *nara*, the actor in the stage of the world, if we really act upto the requirements of ideal law (dharma) and with a purpose directed to the realization of good in its entirety.

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ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ABSOLUTISTIC PHILOSOPHY

B. R. KULKARNI

Kant began his critique of Pure Reason by asking himself the questions : How is pure Mathematics possible ? How is pure Physics possible ? His third question was not how is metaphysics possible ?, but is metaphysics possible ? In the first two sciences the question is : how should we proceed, while in the third the question is : can we proceed at all ? Likewise the question has tormented philosophers—Are ethics and religion possible on absolutistic grounds ?

The topic involves the relation of metaphysics, ethics and religion. As intellect, will and emotion are inseparable in man, so are these three sciences. In metaphysics we analyse the nature of Reality. This is intellectual aspect. In ethics, we determine the Summum Bonum or the supreme good and try to lead a virtuous life in order to achieve the highest goal. This is the volitional aspect. The moral preparation is a necessary condition for the attainment of the spiritual ideal. In religion we experience Reality. This is the emotional aspect. Fundamentally, therefore, there should not be any question as to whether these sciences—metaphysics, ethics and religion are inter-related. As the determination of the highest goal presupposes a rational investigation into the nature of Realily (for 'ought' cannot afford to neglect 'Is') ethics depends upon metaphysics. An understanding of Reality will be incomplete if no reference is made to the will aspect. Similarly ethics and religion cannot be sundered. Ethics finds its consummation in religion and no religion worth the name can stand without the moral backbone.

Hence a study of Reality will be complete only if, along with the logical demand, the moral and the religious demands of human nature are included in it. These demands are genuine facts of experience and if metaphysics is to be a science of the whole of Reality, it can set aside the consideration of these demands only at its own peril.

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The topic can be dealt with under four heads. We shall first refer to the treatment of the doctrine of absolutism in the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Brahma-Sūtras* and the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda. We shall then note that on such an absolutistic view, ethics and religion are not possible. Thirdly, the objections raised against absolutism would be answered and it would be shown that ethics and religion are not only possible but also necessary on absolutistic hypothesis. We shall conclude our account with an exposition of the doctrine of Advaita Bhakti which mysticism advocates and show how mysticism starts with Bhakti requiring ethical discipline and ends in unitive experience which is the religious aspect of absolutism. Mysticism thus reconciles ethics with absolutism.

Absolutism implies that the ultimate Reality is one. Whether this one principle is material or spiritual determines the type of absolutism Buchner's monism of matter and Haeckel's monism of substance are types of materialistic absolutism. Cārvāka philosophy which recognizes the reality of matter alone is also Jaḍādvaita, the absolute being qualitatively material and quantitatively one. Spiritualistic absolutism can be noticed in Parmenides, Śaṅkara or Bradley. Both these types—materialistic and spiritualistic —seem to admit ethics by the back-door. Morality, they hold, is necessary only for practical purposes. But it should be noted that in materialistic absolutism ethics exists only by sufferance. Here social stability becomes the sole aim. But in spiritualistic absolutism, morality would be a necessary discipline leading us to the highest ideal, namely, God-realization. We shall use the word absolutism in the spiritualistic and not in the materialistic sense.

Every one is familiar with the theological conception of God, who is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the world. The famous Upaniṣadic formula Tajjalān[1] or the Vedānta Sūtra, janmādyasya yataḥ[2] mean this. The explication is :

यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रविशन्ति अभिसंविशन्ति तद् विजिज्ञासस्व तद् ब्रह्मेति.

That from which all things come into existence, that by which they live, that into which they are finally absorbed, know that to be the eternal verity, the Absolute.

1. *Chāndogya* III. 14.1.
2. V.S. 1. 1.2.
3. *Taittirīya*, III. 1.

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The Antaryāmin or the inner controller is the God of religion whom a devotee worships for grace. But the theological conception of the godhead is different from the philosophical conception of the absolute that is transcendent and unrelated. Such a transcendent principle is undifferentiated, and uncharacterizable. The absolute is one. From death to death does he go, says the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, who sees difference as it were.[1] In the famous Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī dialogue, Yājñavalkya comes with his absolutistic conclusion :

यत्र द्वैतमिव भवति.....तदितर इतरं पश्यति, इतर इतरं शृणोति ... ...यत्र वा अस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत् तत्र केन कं.....पश्येत्, केन कं शृणुयात्[2]

Where there is a duality, as it were, one would see the other, hear the other. But where Ātman alone is, who can see whom ? Who can hear whom ? For the absolutist, there is nothing outside Brahman. Spinoza in the West has the same view of his substance which Hegel criticised as a lion's den to which all steps lead and from which none returns. Every thing beside the absolute or substance is a mode, a modification of the substance or an appearance.

Thus the absolutistic philosophy makes a distinction between God and absolute, Īśvara and Brahman or the same thing the Saguṇa Brahman and the Nirguṇa Brahman. It should be remembered that Advaitism does not deny God. It only relegates him to a secondary position, the Absolute being the only Reality. As Professor R. D. Ranade puts it, God is the personal aspect of the Absolute and Absolute the impersonal aspect of God.

Coming to the question, what are the characteristics of the Absolute, the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad*[3] says :

नान्तः प्रज्ञम्, न बहिः प्रज्ञम्, न उभयतः प्रज्ञम्, न प्रज्ञानघनम्, न प्रज्ञम्, नाप्रज्ञम्, प्रपञ्चोपशमम्, शान्तम्, शिवम्, अद्वैतम् ।

The absolute is neither inwardly cognizant nor outwardly cognizant nor on both sides together. It is not a cognition mass; neither it is knower nor not-knower. It is unseen, unpracticable, ungraspable, indefinable, unthinkable, unpointable. It is of the essence of the experience of self-identity. In it all this universe ceases. It is tranquil, blessed and without a second. *The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[4] also characterises Brahman in a negative way : अ-ह्रस्वम्, अदीर्घम्, अस्थूलम्, अनणु not short, not long, not gross, not subtle.

1. *Kaṭha.* II. 4. 11.
2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* II. 4. 13.
3. *Māṇḍūkya,* VI. 7.
4. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* II. 8. 8.

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The typical formulation of the negative characterization of the Absolute is in the famous formula neti, neti—not this, not this. This denies predicating any thing of Brahman. But philosophically, mere negation without a positive background is impossible. Bosanquet says that all negation implies affirmation. *The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* itself gives a positive connotation to the expression neti, neti : न एतस्माद् अन्यद् इति There is nothing which exists outside it, Brahman being all inclusive.

The Bhagavadgītā also describes Brahman as imperishable and uncontaminated. It is neither doer nor enjoyer. It is unknowable and the wonder of wonders. But passages are not wanting where Brahman is described as personal. Brahman is designated as uttama puruṣa—the highest person who sustains the three worlds. This, however, is the theological conception and is, as we have noted above, the personal aspect of the absolute. Professor R. D. Ranade points out that such a personal-impersonal characterization of Brahman in the Gītā can be put in the form of an antinomy where the impersonal aspect constitutes the thesis and the personal aspect the antithesis. He further remarks that the antinomy can be reconciled in the words of the Gītā itself by attributing both the personal and the impersonal characteristics together. Brahman is not only the friend and lord but also the spectator and ground of all existence.[1] This way of resolving the antinomy proceeds by giving an *et et* to both the thesis and the antithesis.

The Brahmasūtras go a step further. The Sūtra प्रत्येकमतद्वचनात्[2] implies that Brahman is *atat*, neither this nor that. By calling Brahman *atat* it is implied that there can be no scope for either a positive or a negative characterization of Brahman.

In the *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda we have absolutism in a full-fledged form. Gauḍapāda says :

अद्वैतं परमार्थो हि द्वैतं तद्भेद उच्यते ।
तेषामुभयथाद्वैतं तेनायं न विरुध्यते ॥[3]

Advaita is the only Reality. Dvaita is the differentiation of it. There is Advaita between Advaita and Dvaita. Reality is unborn; it is the sleepless, the dreamless, the nameless and the formless. It is peace and illumination.[4]

1. Gītā IX. 18.
2. *BS.* III. 2. 12.
3. *GK.* III. 18
4. *Ibid.* IV. 81.

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Dvaita is produced by consciousness (manodṛśya), says Gauḍapāda. But when super-consciousness is reached (amanībhāva), there is unity everywhere.[1] On the plane of wakefulness or dream, Māyā creates the world of duality. Beyond this plane, i.e., in the super-consciousness all duality or multiplicity ceases. This seems to be an echo of the two Brahmasūtras : नाभाव उपलब्धेः[2] and न भावः अनुपलब्धेः[3] "the world cannot be said to be unreal because it is found (upalabdhi). The world appears to be real upto the stage when the soul realises its identity with Brahman. But the world disappears or becomes transformed into Brahman in the ecstatic state or unmanī avasthā."

With such a conception of the Absolute, many have questioned the very significance of ethics and religion. A few objections may be noted.

It is contended that on the absolutistic hypothesis the Jīvātman has no independent existence. As the absolute alone is real, everything else becomes an appearance. Where is the possibility of Jīva which is illusory undergoing any ethical discipline ? Even if we grant that ethical discipline is possible where is the necessity for it ? If Ātman and Brahman are one, why should Ātman undergo any ethical discipline ?

This objection is set aside by the doctrine of two truths. *Sub speci aeternitatis* Jīva and Brahman are identical But *sub specie temporis* Jīva retains its individuality. Though on the Pāramārthika level, there is no necessity nor even possibility of ethics, on the Vyāvahārika level ethics is not only possible but also necessary for practical purposes. As long as we have not attained to that superconscious state or Unmanī Avasthā, morality and religion are absolutely necessary. Jīva as Jīva is not identical with Brahman. It is limited by space, Time and Casuality and here there is full scope for moral life and religious worship. But in the supersensuous state where Brahman alone shines forth nothing else is experienced and morality and religion withdraw themselves as they have found their consummation.

Another aspect of the above objection is : does the individual have freedom which is the raison d'ētre of morality ? Absolutism is deterministic making no room for individual choice. Spinoza

1. *Gauḍapādakārikā* III. 31.
2. *Brahmasūtra* II. 2.28.
3. *Ibid.* II. 2.30.

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even says that he does not place freedom in free decision but in free necessity. We are not free even to move our finger; we are free only to accept that our actions are completely necessitated. Here also the doctrine of two truths will come to our rescue. As a member of the phenomenal world man may be bound; but as a member of the intelligible world he is free. Only as absolute we are free. As one appraoches this stage of absolute freedom, there is less and less necessity of external compulsion of ethical laws as virtue has become one's second nature. More than striving for virtue one comes to reveal it. At this stage where moral life is no longer a conscious striving but has become a permanent quality of the will, ethics has realised its goal.

Generally the absolutistic ideal is supposed to be too high and impracticable. But it is no use stamping any thing as too high. Every one may not be able to attain to the ideal completely. But it is within the reach of any one to approximate to the ideal. Ethical and religious life consists in a progressive realisation of the ideal.

It is further argued that absolutism implies indifference to worldly life and leads to quietism. But this argument loses its force when it is pointed out that there have been great souls like Kṛṣṇa, Janaka and Śaṅkara who, though merged in God, were not indifferent to the welfare of the world. In fact, Śaṅkara, one of the greatest intellectuals the world has known was also a great activist. Look at the four Maṭhas he established in the four corners of the country which are really the fortresses of Hinduism.

Further, absolutism is not averse to social solidarity. Customs and traditions conserve social values and contribute to social stability and continuity. So even a Jñānī has to look to laws of social ethics. The impact of society on every individual is tremendous. Every one owes a great deal to society which has nurtured him and moulded his personality. He has to repay the debt to the society by upholding its traditions. It is well-known that Bhīṣma was a great Jñānī. It was not necessary for him to wait till Uttarāyaṇa or northern course of the sun to leave the body. What difference does it make in the case of a Jñānī whether he leaves his body in Uttarāyaṇa or Dakṣiṇāyana. For a Jīvanmukta Dakṣiṇāyana and Uttarāyaṇa are alike. Still the long waiting of Bhīṣma is justified by Śaṅkara. In his commentary on the Vedānta sūtra[1]

1. *Brahmasūtra* IV. 2.20.

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Śaṅkara says that it is for upholding the social tradition that Bhīṣma lay waiting on the bed of arrows till Uttarāyaṇa : आचार-प्रतिपालनार्थम् ।

It may be objected that there is absence of emotion or love in absolutism. This is wrong. Absolutism does glorify Advaitabhakti where one pointed or unswerving devotion to God or all-absorbing love for God is demanded. The idea of love is not eliminated in absolutism.

It may be further contended that the absolute is supermoral. It is beyond good and evil. Concepts like mercy, grace become meaningless. The reply is that the Absolute is something very much more than moral; only it is not ethical in the sense that there is no divorce of the ideal from the actual. In the absolute, nothing is potential which is yet to be actualised. The absolute is pure actuality. आप्तकामस्य का स्पृहा[1] says Gauḍapāda. As there is nothing outside Brahman towards which it can strive, it is not subject to ethical laws.

Another way of justifying ethical and religious discipline on the background of absolutism is suggested by Taylor. He considers the absolute as a systematic whole of experience. This is not the Niṣprapañca Brahman or the acosmic reality but it is the all-comprehensive individual. As such, this whole of experience must justify the ethical and religious aspirations of man which are equally real. Reality is a harmonious whole; it cannot be complete if it leaves out morality and religion. These demands must be met and made good in the scheme of Reality.

There is one more argument which Taylor advances. The object of worship must necessarily be perfect. Nothing which is temporal is perfect, because it shares all the imperfections of the time order. Thus, the only adequate object of religious devotion must be the Timeless Absolute. If God of theology is imperfect, and struggling against evil and has not yet overcome evil, he cannot be the object of religious worship. Taylor comes to the daring conclusion that the Absolute alone can bear the burden of being the object of religious adoration.

It was mentioned earlier that mysticism reconciles morality and absolutism. Unfortunately, the word mysticism is misunderstood. It is identified with occultism or with mysterious phenomena. Mysticism implies literally, to shut one's lips and silently meditate

1. *Gauḍapādakārikā* I. 9.

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on the name of God. It is the direct, first hand intuitive apprehension of God. It is the silent enjoyment of God. It blinks at absolutism on the one hand and morality on the other.

In the very concept of Advaitabhakti there is a reconcilation between absolutism (Advaita) and ethical and spiritual discipline (Bhakti). Moral preparation and one-pointed contemplation or devout meditation are necessary. But the end is Sāyujya. Bhakti is the "unique power of the soul which unites man with God...in which the union of man with God fulfils itself."

Spinoza held that the intellectual love of God was the highest virtue. This intellectual love of God can verily be said to be an analogon of Advaitabhakti. In Spinoza man's love for God is a part of God's love for Himself and is the same as God's love for man. The circle becomes complete when man begins with the love of God and ends with loving man—but he loves man as God and not as man. The implication seems to be that love for man is only a replica of man's love for God, for it is through God that man comes to love man. As the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[1] puts it : न वा अरे सर्वस्य कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति, आत्मनस्तु कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवति । It is not for the sake of everything that everything is dear but for the sake of the Ātman. In fact, real Spinozism would not allow the distinction between man and God, for everything is God. The intellectual love of God begins and ends with God. As Rāmadāsa, the great Maharashtra saint says : as long as there is duality there is no true Bhakti. Only when there is complete elimination of egohood, true Bhakti or Parābhakti is generated leading to at-one-ment with God.

1. *Bṛhad. Up.* II. 4. 2-5.

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THE HISTORICO-SOCIAL ATTITUDE OF THE BRAHMA-SŪTRAS

HAJIME NAKAMURA

According to Vedānta philosophy, one should regard the knowledge of Brahman and the attainment of liberation as the supreme goal of human life. However, according to the Brahma-Sūtra the cognition concerning Brahman was not something that could be conceded to all men. Only members belonging to the three classes of the upper strata of Indian society (that is, the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas) have the right to participate in that teaching, and the Śūdra, which is the lowest class, was barred from it (1.3.34-39). Here the traditional attitude of the established orthodox Brahmin reveals itself with naked clarity. From ancient times it had been taught in the Vedic scriptures that the "Śūdra is not qualified to perform rituals"[1] and later the various law books that the Brahmins had compiled consistently allowed the privilege of hearing, studying and understanding the Vedic scriptures and the performance of prescribed rituals only to the three classes of the upper strata, and the Śūdra was prohibited from them. The author of the sūtras reasoned that since the Vedic scriptures are kept away from the Śūdra in this manner, the understanding of the truth which is grounded in the Upaniṣad was not possible by the Śūdra. Such prescriptions correspond to the sentence in the Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra (6. 1. 25-28) that rules: "The performance of rituals is allowed to the three classes of the upper strata only."

Now, with respect to rituals as a special act, it is possible to deny the participation of the lowest class by means of authority, but regarding the knowledge of the Absolute which is a matter of individual, personal awareness, no authority could possibly suppress it. Śaṅkara[2] of a later period also strongly emphasises the fact that it is impossible to prescribe the knowledge of truth by means of prohibitory rules. For example, even in the Upaniṣadic scriptures

1. *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*. VII. 1.1.6.
2. Śaṅkara and *Brahmasūtras*, III.2.21. (Anandashrama Sanskrit Series edition, vol. II, p. 220, 8-10.

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there is the story of Jānaśruti, who, though he himself was not a Śūdra was addressed and scorned with "Oh, Śūdra !" and yet attained knowledge of the Absolute. There is also the story of Jābāla, the illegitimate offspring of a lowly servant girl, who was granted initiation because of his desire for scriptural learning. Now the Brahma-Sūtra toiled at explanations for such cases that existed in the scriptures in order to prove that these people were not members of the lower class, it offered extremely forced and strained interpretations.

In any case, we are able to recognize the distinctive social character of the early Vedānta school that compiled the Brahma Sūtra in the fact that they reserved the knowledge of Brahman to only the three classes of the upper strata. This trait was transmitted to later periods by the various schools within the Vedānta school which lacked the sectarian nuance of Hinduism, particularly by the Avaita school of Śaṅkara, but this also came to be severely criticized by the followers of Hinduism. Not a few sages of Hinduism originally came from the lower class and they mostly affirmed that no matter how low the person, were he to worship the Highest God with long devotion he could be saved without fail through the divine grace of the highest God. In this respect, the early Vedānta school that compiled the Brahma-Sūtra stands in clear contrast to some sects of Hinduism.

In this way, the Brahma-Sūtra restricts those who have the right to participate in the teaching to the three classes of the upper strata. However, even among the qualified, its principal concern was especially with the people of a limited, wealthy upper strata. The Brahma-Sūtra held that in order to attain knowledge of Brahman, rituals were the effective means and urged the performance of rituals.[1] However, it was not an easy matter for the ordinary Indian people of that time to faithfully practice the various rituals prescribed in the scriptures. Aside from the household rituals that were normally practised in the home, the large scale rituals that were performed by engaging various priests required considerable time and vast expenses. Thus, even assuming that they were allowed to the three classes of the upper strata, the common mass of people who were pressed by the demands of daily living could not possibly perform these rituals.

There were many others who also never performed the

1. III. 4.32-35.

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rituals at this time. Could they ever attain knowledge of Brahman? This became a problem and the Brahma-Sūtra conceded that even those who do not perform rituals have the qualification to gain knowledge (3.4. 36-37). Knowledge will be granted them, if they perform various kinds of dharma (3.4.39). However, the performance of rituals was encouraged, if at all possible (3.4.39). We may conclude, therefore, that the author of the sūtra belonged to the privileged class that could observe the rituals and the stages of life (*āśrama*) prescribed in the Brahmanical law books, and, furthermore, that people in such a status were the objects of the teachings of these sūtras. The Brahma-Sūtra in general presupposes the knowledge of rituals and Karma-mīmāṁsā as self-evident.[1] Thus, those who do not perform rituals are discussed only secondarily. In short, the Brahma-Sūtra was compiled by a school which had its basis in a limited, upper strata of Indian society.

The Brahma Sūtra is also a product of pure scholarship and had significance for only an extremely limited group of intellectuals. Such a difficult and pedantic theological work could never catch the imagination and heart of the masses of the people. This work criticizes divergent ideas prevalent at the time, but the criticisms were directed exclusively to academic matters. The attack on Buddhism is a disputation against the philosophical theories of the Sarvāstivādins, Sautrāntikas, Mādhyamikas and Vijñānavādins and there is no mention at all of the common folk beliefs and customs of Buddhism. The criticisms against Jainism, the Bhāgavata sect, and Pāśupata are directed to their metaphysical theories and nothing is said of their forms of worship or actual life.

Now, there were many schools which were absorbed in philosophical speculation during this time, but it was the Sāṁkhya school to which the Brahma-Sūtra directed its major criticism. We can understand Part One of the Brahma-Sūtra to be mostly criticism of the Sāṁkhya interpretation of Upaniṣadic passages. Part Two , Chapter 1, is mainly devoted to refutations of Sāṁkhya arguments, and Part Two Chapter 2, 1-10 criticizes Sāṁkhya philosophy by listing its errors. There are also many references to Sāṁkhya theories and rejection of its scriptural interpretations throughout the sūtras.[2] Thus, a great portion of the Brahma-Sūtra

1. This will be discussed in another paper.
2. I.1.5-11; I.1.18; I.2.19 ;I.2.22; I.3.3; I.3.11; I.4.1-13; I.4.28; II.3 51; IV.2.21.

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is devoted to the criticism of Sāṁkhya, and it is possible to say that it was through this criticism that the Vedānta school established itself as an independent philosophical tradition.

Before the compilation of the Brahma-Sūtras, the Sāṁkhya system was the greatest philosophical school in the Brahmanic tradition. We can trace its scholastic tradition to the ancient past, and it had a marked influence upon the theologies of common faiths. That its existence as philosophical school was recognized from a relatively early period is evident from the description in the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya.[1]

The Sāṁkhya system had an intimate connection with the Vedānta school from ancient times. The seeds of the theory of three qualities (*triguṇa*) of Sāṁkhya are found in the older Upaniṣads of the initial period (Chānd. Up. VI). And Sāṁkhya ideas and expressions are clearly evident in the older Upaniṣads of the middle and later periods. In the great epic, Mahābhārata, and the Codes of Manu, Sāṁkhya philosophy, having the characteristics of Vedānta ideas, is taught. Whether the ideas of the Sāṁkhya which had existed as an independent school from an earlier period influenced these works, or whether the Vedāntic Sāṁkhya ideas established the classical Sāṁkhya philosophy after undergoing critical reflection is a problem that has yet to be solved in scholarship. At any rate, the Sāṁkhya system maintained intimate relationships with the Vedānta schools, and they claimed orthodox Brahmanic authority to rival the Vedāntic claims. Thus, the Sāṁkhya system regarded the Upaniṣads as their own scriptures, and they proclaimed that they were the orthodox inheritors of Upaniṣadic thought.[2] They claimed that although many things and principles were taught in the Upaniṣads, they were nothing else than the principle of puruṣa and the fundamental material (*pradhāna*) or their variations which were taught in the Sāṁkhya system.

The early Vedānta school had to wipe out such Sāṁkhya interpretations and clarify the essential message of the Upaniṣads. The Brahma-Sūtra recognizes that the Sāṁkhya system and its sister school, the Yoga, are based upon *smṛti* (smārta. 4.2.21), but that the *sūtra* is based upon *śruti* which is the absolute standard for Brahmanic knowledge and conduct. And they assert that if the

1. In Vidyāsamuddeśa.
2. Cf. various passages in the *Brahmasūtra*, and the Sāṁkhya-darśana chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*.

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Sāṁkhya teaches anything contradictory to *śruti*, it is to be rejected (2. 1. 1). For example, the concept of *pradhāna* which is posited as the fundamental material cause of world emanation and taught by the Sāṁkhya system is assumed in *smṛti* (*smārta*, 1.2.19), but it is not found in the scriptures (*aśabda*, 1.1.5) and only inferred (*anumāna* 1.3.3, and *ānumānika*, 1.4.1) by man through his thinking faculty.

The author of the Brahma-Sūtra attempted to expel all traces of Sāṁkhya influence from the Upaniṣads in a complete and thoroughgoing manner. For example, the masculine form of "unborn" (*aja*) and the feminine form of "unborn" (*ajā*) taught in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (IV. 5) are very close to the concepts of Sāṁkhya puruṣa and prakṛti, when they are seen from an unprejudiced point of view, but the author of the sūtras attempts to efface all such traces of Sāṁkhya interpretation (1.4.8). Consequently, the Brahma-Sūtra is also guilty of not being true to the scriptures, for its interpretation is based upon a particular philosophical orientation.

Since the primary task of the Brahma-Sūtras was to expel Sāṁkhya ideas, thus upholding the purity of the Upaniṣads and forming an independent philosophical school, its criticisms of the other schools are relatively simple. It asserts that the criticism against the Sāṁkhya system can also be applied to the Yoga system (2.1.3), and the Vaiśeṣika system is also criticized,[1] but it states that the Vaiśeṣika is embraced by people who are not of culture and learning.[2] Besides these, Buddhism (2.2. 18-32), Jainism (2.2. 33-36), Pāśupata (2.2.37-41), Bhāgavata sect (2.2.42-45), and Lokāyata (3.3.53-54) are also criticized. These were the primary opponents of the early Vedānta school.

The author of the sūtra rejected these heterodox views and attempted to clarify the true spirit of the Upaniṣads, always remaining true to the classical ideas of orthodox Brahmanism. He also had to maintain and protect the essential purity of the teachings. Thus, he was very cautious of the possibility of the teaching leaking out to people who lacked the qualifications to receive them or to students of heterodox views,[3] and, therefore, the wordings of

1. II.2.11-17.
2. II.1.12. Cf. II.2.17. Moreover, II.3.51-53 also may be criticizing the Vaiśeṣika thought by implication.
3. According to Megasthenes, Brahmins, owing to such a cautious apprehension, did not convey philosophical knowledge even to their wives. (Fragment 41. McCrindle : *Ancient India*, p. 100.)

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the sūtras were made as brief as possible, and he stipulated that the teaching be transmitted only from master to disciple, so that access to outsiders would be prevented. There already existed the strict rule that the Upaniṣadic teachings were not to be transmitted to people other than one's eldest son or trustworthy disciples,[1] and the Brahma-Sūtras inherited this esoteric character. Such an attitude is extremely narrow even within the orthodox Brahmanic tradition, but here we can see the unique social attitude of the early Vedānta school.

Such a conservative and esoteric character could not be maintained forever. Heterodox interpretations arose for the very reason that the author of the sūtras feared outside intervention and kept the teaching hidden and closed. The result was that the very ideas which the author of the Sūtras eliminated came to eventually occupy the Brahma-Sūtras.

1. *Chānd. Up.* III.11.5-6; *Bṛhad. Up.* VI.3.12; *Śvet. Up.* VI.22; *Maitrī-Up.* VI. 29.

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THE MĪMĀṂSĀ VIEW ABOUT THE DAKṢIṆĀ-SACRIFICE-RELATIONSHIP AND ITS IMPLICATION

K. R. Potdar

We have discussed and traced elsewhere the evolution of the meaning of the word Dakṣiṇā in the *ṚV.*[1] As a constituent part of the sacrifice of the time it has come to be deified[2] even like the Pressing Stones in the *ṚV.* It is used in the sense of a liberal gift both of the patrons as well as of the gods[3] and from the way in which the word is used with Uṣas[4] it appears the poets of the ṚV were trying to emphasize the association of the Dakṣiṇā with the sacrifice as well as the divinity.

This association has not been maintained in the later period, apparently on account of the change in the idea of looking at the sacrifice and the divinity. In the Brāhmaṇas we come across only various discussions[5] regarding the Dakṣiṇā in its association with the sacrifice. It has become an essential aspect[6] of the sacrificial performance. At one place,[7] deriving the meaning of the word, the Brāhmaṇa author indicates how the two meanings of the word in the ṚV. are combined and how the role of the Dakṣiṇā in sacrfiice by describing it as capable of invigorating the gods is emphasized. Emphasis on the other aspect of Dakṣiṇā has sought to glorify the role of the priests in the sacrifice inasmuch as the Dakṣiṇā is said to be meant for satisfaction of the priests[8] as they are the representatives of the gods in the performance. From reference to the

1. Cf. *sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*—pp. 119-121. "In this evolution of the meaning of the word Dakṣiṇā, we can see the evolution of the idea of sacrifice in a broad way." (p. 121)
2. Vide *ṚV.* X. 107 entire hymn in glorification of Dakṣiṇā, also cf. sacrifice in the *ṚV*—p. 246 and *ṚV.* X, 103. 8 and I. 18. 5 दक्षिणा पात्वंहसः ।
3. P. 120.
4. *ṚV.* I.123.1; III.58.1; VI.64.1.
5. *Religion and Mythology of the Śatapatha Brā.* Devasthali pp. 126-28.
6. Ibid.
7. *Śatapatha Brā.* II. 2. 2. 1.
8. *Ibid.* I. 7. 3. 28.....ब्राह्मणं तर्पयित्वा.....यज्ञमेव तर्पयति । *TS.* I. 7.3.2 देवदूता एते ऋत्विजः.....देवदूतानेव प्रीणाति ।

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necessity of the convention about Dakṣiṇā not to be accepted by another priest, when the same has been refused by one[1] and also the amount of it prescribed for certain rites[2] etc., it would appear that the dakṣiṇā has come to be looked upon mainly as the fees to be paid to the priests, though the underlying idea of the satisfaction of the gods thereby has not been lost sight of. It will be noted that on account of the fact of the association of the gods with the sacrifice, a certain sanctity still seems to be associated with the payment of the dakṣiṇā in the sacrifice.

Yāska[3] while discussing *ṚV.* II.11.31 points out how the word refers to the liberal gift of the god in the passage and then in general discusses its meaning from the idea that prevailed in his time or was known to him[4] as associated with it, with the Brāhmaṇa references in view.

He thus refers to the fact about the role of the dakṣiṇā in accomplishing the fulness of the sacrifice by making good the deficiencies. He also refers to the prevalent practice of the priest going round the fire after receiving the gift in the sacrifice or tries to bring out the point about the liberality of the gift and the convention about its being given by the right hand by deriving the word dakṣiṇā from the root 'dakṣ' or 'dāś'.

Bṛhaddevatā has noted how Dakṣiṇā has been defined in the ṚV. at places by pointing out[5] how it is so referred to along with other female seers and as deity at ṚV. I. 18. 5[6] and ṚV. X. 107. It refers to the gift in the sacrifice,[7] where the liberality of the donors and the fact of Vasiṣṭhas deserving most the gifts[8] is referred to (dakṣiṇīyatamāḥ). The fact that the traditional idea about the personification of dakṣiṇā is taken up by Śaunaka and also his mention about the priests deserving the dakṣiṇā (apparently) on

1. *Śat. Brā.* III. 5.1.25 and Devasthali—p. 128.
2. *TS.* I. 8.7.1, I.8.9; also *Śat. Brā.* II. 2.2 5.
3. *Nirukta* I. 3 7.
4. *Ibid* : दक्षिणा दक्षतेः समर्धयतिकर्मणः व्यृद्धं समर्धयतीति । अपि वा प्रदक्षिणागमनात्, दिशमभिप्रेत्य ।...
5. *Bṛhaddevatā*—II. 84.
6. *Ibid.* III. 68 पञ्चभ्यां दक्षिणाधिका ।
7. ,, V. 159; VIII. 23.
8. ,, V. 158. वसिष्ठश्च वसिष्ठाश्च ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मकर्मणि ।
   सर्वकर्मसु यज्ञेषु दक्षिणीयतमास्तथा ।।

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account of their ability, indicate that the dakṣiṇā still retained some association with sacred nature, that it was associated with in the earlier days. It may be noted that during the earlier period on account of the association of divinity with it, the sacrifice was being looked at as a sort of living entity[1] that could influence the human life. The dakṣiṇā, therefore, had some divine association with it, though in the days of the Brāhmaṇas it came to be looked upon with emphasis on its material nature and aspect, it still continued its earlier trait, as the brahmins to whom it was to be given were to be understood as representatives on earth of the gods in heaven.[2] When, however, the idea of the association of gods with the sacrifice faded out, on account of the evolution of the concept of the sacrifice as an entity, which could be brought into existence merely by perfection in the performance and when the concept of the Apūrva was defined in its fulness, the idea of dakṣiṇā could remain only as an inevitable part of the mechanism but with no other emotional association with it and hence we find its exposition in the Mīmāṁsā theory in the form as expounded below.

Jaimini and Śabara have discussed the nature of the Dakṣiṇā and established[3] that the payment is of the nature of 'purchase'.[4] Though there are Vedic sentences[5] where Dakṣiṇā is mentioned and hence it is possible to infer that it serves some invisible purpose of the sacrifice, also as the fees are fixed up, which sometimes are very insignificant[6] and by their very nature, gift (dānam) serves some invisible purpose,[7] it could be said that dakṣiṇā cannot be looked upon as a fee in its nature as bargain, the Mīmāṁsakas maintain[8] that the services of the priests are to be understood as

1. Cf. *ṚV.* III. 12.2. यज्ञो जिगाति चेतनः । Also chapters XIII & XIV pp-269-92 of the "*Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda.*"—Potdar.
2. *TS.* I. 7.3.2 also f. n. 8, p. 379.
3. *Śābarabhāṣya* X. 2.8.22-28, pp. 1835-7.
4. *Jaim-sūtra* X. 2.8.23 परिक्र्यार्थं वा कर्मसयोगाल्लोकवत् । and *Bhāṣya* of Sabara thereon.
5. Vide *Śābarabhāṣya* X. 2.8.22 : तत्रेदं समामनन्ति—...द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा । इदं चापरं श्रूयते । ऋत्विग्भ्यो दक्षिणां ददाति ।
6. *Ibid* : क्वचिच्च श्रूयते । दण्डः उपानहौ—दक्षिणा । को हि दण्डेनानमेत् ।
7. *Ibid* : लोकेऽपि अदृष्टार्थतैव ददातेर्गम्यते इति सामर्थ्यादेव आनमनादि ।
8. Cf. also मण्डनमिश्र—दक्षिणा स्यात्परिक्रयः ।
   शंकरभट्ट—आनत्यर्था दक्षिणर्त्विजाम् ।

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purchased by the gift of fees[1]. This is also sought to be supported by deriving it from the root dakṣ[2] implying its ability to give or produce energy (in priests). This would in other words imply as rightly pointed out by Kumārila[3] that their services are 'purchased' therewith. Śabara too propounding the view[4] that the dakṣiṇā ought to be substantial and capable of serving the purpose of the maintenance of the priests concerned, opines that it is of the nature of maintenance.[5] This is also supported by a later author by pointing out how being of that nature, it is capable of making some of the priests greedy [6] This view is further supported on the basis of the Śruti itself[7] by Jaimini, Śabara as well as later authors. Other Śrutis too are quoted in support of the view that what is given to the priest is of the nature of maintenance.[8] and as maintenance is given only to labourers to win them over for service[9] or in other words it is to be understood that their services are purchased for the sacrifice.[10]

On a point of interpretation of the Śruti too, it is interesting to observe how Śabara establishes his view about the Dakṣiṇā being purchase of labour. It may thus be said that as a Vedic sentence lays down[11] dakṣiṇā, it must be taken as meant to serve the purpose of sacrifice and hence must be adṛṣṭārtha,[12] Śruti

1. जै. न्या-वि. III. 8.I दक्षिणादानेन कर्मकराणामृत्विजां परिक्रयो यजमानेन कर्तव्यः ।
2. Vide *Nirukta* : fn. 4, p. 380 above. Yāska derives it from either of the two roots 'dakṣ' or 'dāś'; but the first derivation is preferred by the Mīmāṁsakas as the second would imply its धर्ममात्रत्व.
3. तन्त्रवार्तिक—III. 4.17.49 दक्षिणा ऋत्विजामुत्साहकारिणी । परिक्रयस्य चैतद्रूपम् ।
4. *Śābarabhāṣya* : X. 3 11.45 यत्र हि पादिकमपि ग्रहः न लभ्यते, न सा दक्षिणा भवति । न हि सा तस्मिन् कर्मणि दक्षं करोति । दक्षकरणी हि दक्षिणा । दक्षश्च बलम । या न आशिनं भवम् (अहोरात्रयोर्जठरपूर्तिपर्याप्तम्) करोति न सा दक्षिणा ।
5. *Ibid* : सा भृतिः सा दक्षिणा ।
6. जै. न्या. वि. I. 3.3 दक्षिणया परिक्रीतानां लोभदर्शनात् ।
7. *Śābarabhāṣya* X. 2.8.27 दीक्षितमदीक्षिता दक्षिणापरिक्रीता ऋत्विजो याजयन्ति । and जै. न्या. वि. X. 2.8 इति परिक्रीतवचनं भवति । दक्षिणाया भृतिरूपत्वं वेदवाक्यादेवावगम्यते ।
8. *Śābarabhāṣya* X. 2.8.27 यज्ञो वै देवतानां न समभवत्...द्वादशरात्रीर्दीक्षितो भृतिं वन्वीत । also X. 2.8.24 'दक्षिणायुक्ता'
9. *Ibid* : भृतिश्च कर्मकरेभ्य आनत्यर्थं दीयते.....
10. ,, परिक्रयार्थं दानं पश्यामः ।
11. Vide above ऋत्विग्भ्यो दक्षिणां ददाति ।
12. *Śā-Bhā.* X. 2.8.22 ऋत्विग्दानं धर्ममात्रं स्यात् । तस्य हि कर्तव्यता श्रूयते ।

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being a stronger pramāṇa than vākya.[1] This interpretation however is controverted by pointing out that the Śruti itself would be wrongly interpreted if the word 'ṛtvigbhyaḥ' in the Vedic sentence is left out of consideration and inclusion of the implication of the word in the Śruti would show that the said fee must be meant for persuading or winning over the priests to carry out the performance. The point is to be thus understood. If the Vedic sentence would have merely laid down the dakṣiṇā, it could have been considered as meant for the sacrifice only (dharmamātra), but the word 'ṛtvigbhyaḥ' occurs therein and if its meaning is not taken as included, the Śruti will be disregarded.[2] The obvious purpose of the inclusion of the word 'ṛtvigbhyaḥ' in the Vedic sentence is that the sentence desires to say about something that is paid to the priests and it cannot be set aside.[3] As thus the dakṣiṇā is meant for the priests that are more important[4] than what is given to them. Even though it is not specifically referred to as meant for satisfying the priests[5] it is of that nature and hence serving the purpose of buying their services. The mention of specific fee, which may appear to be occasionally incommensurate does not take away the nature of the payment as buying of the services, because unless the services of a person are paid for, no one undertakes another's work[6] and besides, this buying has been specifically referred to by the Śruti as observed above.

It will be noted that this view about the dakṣiṇā has a significance both for the general concept of the sacrifice as well as that of the gods.

It seeks to strengthen the general view that after all sacrifice is merely an act that is executed according to the rules laid down in the Vedas. It is merely a force that is capable of producing its result. Its potentiality is vouchsafed for by the word of the Veda and hence cannot be disputed. The experience of worldly life is very skilfully and intelligently employed to support this view.

1. *Ibid* : श्रुतिश्च वाक्याद् बलीयसी ।
2. *Śā· Bhā*. X. 2.8.23 अगृह्यमाणे सुतरां श्रुतिर्बाध्येत ।
3. *Ibid* : तत्र दृष्ट प्रयोजनमुत्सृज्य न शक्यमदृष्टं कल्पयितुम् । यदपि नियमाददृष्टं तदपि दृष्टद्वारमेव । and further, नैतावता दृष्टोऽर्थः सन् अपह्नुयेत ।
4. *Ibid* : आनमने गुणभूतः त्यागः चोद्यते न प्रधानभूतः ।
5. तदसंकीर्तितेऽपि परिक्रये आनमनार्थमेव भवति ।
6. X. 2.8.26. नान्तरेण परिक्रय परार्थे परः प्रवर्तते ।
   ,, ... परिक्रयः प्रत्यक्षमाम्नातः ।

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After all we do observe in the world that it is the act that produces the result. Where is then the point in assuming the existence of some other invisible agency to account for the same as the other theorists are doing ?[1] The evidence of injunctive sentences in the Veda clearly emphasizes the importance of the 'act' and all other entities would therefore be subordinate to it.

Thus when the dakṣiṇā can only be looked upon as a sort o living wage or maintenance (bhṛti), it will mean that the priests receive it only for executing the act of performance efficiently, their services being thus purchased for that price.

As long as the priests were looked upon as a vital link between the sacrificer and the god, the role of dakṣiṇā given for the purposes of proper execution of the sacrifice, carried a certain sanctity with it. We thus find in the Brāhmaṇas that the priests were looked upon as representatives of the gods on earth. But as the Mīmāṁsā theory concentrated all importance in the sacrificial performance itself, gods had no role to play except the employment of the words signifying them in the sacrifice. Dakṣiṇā, therefore, lost all the sanctity that had come to be associated with it and was reduced merely to a status of maintenance-charge to be paid for the work done. The deterioration in the status of dakṣiṇā has thus to suggest the change that has come about in the concept of god in the evolution of the Mīmāṁsā theory.

1. *Śā. Bhā.* X. 2.8.23 and above दृष्टं प्रयोजनमुत्सृज्य—f. n. 3, p. 383.

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PAÑCA KOŚA & PAÑCA KAÑCUKA—A STUDY IN COMPARISON

DEBA BRATA SEN

All orthodox schools of Indian Philosophy generally agree in holding individual beings to be associated with material vestment in the state of their embodied existence. Discussing the nature of material vestment, the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara speaks of three kinds of body viz., the *kāraṇa śarīra* (causal body), the *sūkṣma śarīra* (subtle body) and the *sthūla śarīra* (gross body), with which every individual being is said to be associated in the embodied state of his existence. As an individual man is associated with three kinds of body constituting his psycho-physical appara (*deha*), his essence, i.e. pure self, is simultaneously covered[1] by five kinds of sheaths (*kośas*) viz., *ānandamaya kośa*, *vijñānamaya kośa*, *manomaya kośa*, *Prāṇamaya kośa* and *annamaya kośa*. These sheaths (*pañca kośa*) are products of Māyā. Like the three kinds of body, they cover the Pure Self (*ātman*). The Vedāntins mention two kinds of *śaktis* of *Māyā*, namely, *āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa*.[2] The *āvaraṇa śakti* (power of concealment) is represented by the five *kośas* (*pañca kośa*) on the individual plane, as its main function is to veil the self-luminous Pure Self, while the three bodies made of individual ignorance *Vyaṣṭi ajñāna* and its eighteen subtle and five gross products (*sūkṣma tattvas* and *sthūla bhūtas*) represent the *vikṣepa śakti* of *Māyā* (power of projection). The outcome of the operation of these two *śaktis* of Māyā which always function simultaneously, is the manifestation of *jīva* (the transmigratory embodied being) who has his essence covered by ignorance, and is therefore oblivious of his real nature (*svarūpa*).

As we are here concerned only with the nature and function of five *kośas* vis-a-vis five *kañcukas* of Śaiva Philosophy, we shall confine ourselves to the examination of the same. It has been stated in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad[3] that the innermost sheath (kośa) covering in embodied being is the *ānandamaya kośa* which is consti-

1. *Ved. Sar.* p. 4. (Poona edition).
2. *Ibid.* p. 4.
3. *loc. cit.* II, 2-5.

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tuted by ignorance (*ajñāna*). As the individual being is associated with causal body (*kāraṇa śarīra*) which incidently has ignorance (*ajñāna*) as its constituent element, the Pure Self is covered by *ānandamaya kośa*. It has been named so on account of the presence of excessive bliss (*ānanda-prācurya*) in the covering. As a matter of fact, the *ānandamaya kośa* is in closest proximity to the Pure Self, and hence it reflects the pure bliss (ānanda) aspect of his real nature while the aspects of pure existence (*sat*) and pure conciousness (*cit*) of his nature remain in the background. It is true that the bliss (*ānanda*) reflected in ignorance (ajñāna) in the *ānandamaya kośa* is only an ordinary bliss (*ānanda*), different from pure bliss (*svarūp-ānanda*). The experiences of joy by an individual in dreamless state has been cited as proof for the existence of this *kośa*. A group of three *kośas* (sheaths) viz. the *vijñānamaya*, *manomaya* and *prāṇamaya* are said to arise out of his association with subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra*). Of these, *Vijñānamaya kośa* has as its constituent elements, the *buddhi*, five sense-organs of cognition (*jñānendriyas*) which incidently comprise the subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra*). Among the *tattvas* (elements) constituting his psycho-physical apparatus, *buddhi* is said to occupy position closest to self, hence the *vijñāna-maya kośa* has been described as occupying position next to *ānandamaya kośa* in covering the pure self. The *manas* and five sense-organs of cognition (*jñānendriya*) which are also the concurrent constituent elements of subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra*), are said to make the *manomaya kośa* which has the position next to *vijñānamaya kośa*. This is because the *manas* as an element constituting *antaḥkaraṇa*, takes its position only after *buddhi* which is closest to the pure self. The *prāṇamaya kośa* is made of five *prāṇas* (vital airs) which also figure concurrently on the list of constituent elements of subtle body (*sūkṣma śarīra*). The five *prāṇas* are relatively gross and external (*bāhya*) to *antaḥkaraṇa*, which is in close proximity to self; hence *prāṇamaya kośa* has been mentioned in succession to *manomaya kośa*. The covering of Pure Self by these three sheaths, the *vijñānamaya*, *manomaya* and *prāṇamaya* is responsible for the experience of subtle objects by the embodied individual in dream state (*svapnāvasthā*), because such an experience involves and presupposes the existence of *jñātā* (knower) and instruments of knowledge, i.e., sense-organs which are there consequent on individual's association with subtle body and his covering by the three *kośas*. It is needless to add here that the functioning of five *prāṇa*s has to be admitted for subsistence of the subtle body. The *annamaya kośa*,

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however, is the outermost covering of the Pure Self, constituted by five gross elements (*mahābhūtas*) that also make the gross physical body. The embodied individual, in the waking state, has his ego-sense (*abhimāna*) arising out of his identification with gross body, hence he is capable of experiencing gross physical objects. The five *kośas* lie one over the other covering the pure self, the innermost sheath being *ānandamaya kośa* and outermost the *annamaya kośa* corresponding to his association with three kinds of bodies,[1] causal (*kāraṇa*), subtle (*sūkṣma*) and gross (*sthūla*).

It has been maintained by the Advaita Vedānta that the pure self which is of the nature of Brahman appears as a transmigratory embodied being (*saṁsaraṇaśīla jīva*) on account of its association with ignorance (*ajñāna*) or *Māyā* which results in the covering of Essence by five *kośas* that are products of *ajñāna* (ignorance).

The Trika philosophy of Kashmir which is also a pure monistic system of thought belonging to the Śaivāgama stream, postulates five *kañcukas*[2] or sheaths that cover an embodied being. To a superficial reader the theory of five *kañcukas* might appear to be very much similar to that of Vedāntic theory of five *kośas*, but as a matter of fact, there is a wide gulf of difference between the two concepts which may be traced to the widely divergent views of the two Advaitic systems about the real nature of self. While the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara is content with the statement of mere identification of *jīvātman* (individual being) with Brahman, both being essentially of the nature of Pure Existence, pure Consciousness and pure Bliss (*saccidānanda*), the Trika system goes a step forward and states that it is the Supreme Lord, Parama Śiva who exercising his Divine Freedom (*svātantrya*), assumes the form of *paśu pramātā* (roughly corresponding to *jīvātman* of the Advaita Vedānta) out of his own free will (*svecchayā*).[3] Thus, the embodied being (*paśupramātā*) according to the Trika system is not only one and identical with the supreme Being, *Parama Śiva*, he is only a self-contracted form of the Supreme Lord.[4]

The Supreme Lord, *Parama Śiva*, is described as endowed with infinite *śaktis*[5] which are nothing but different aspects of his Divine Freedom (svātantrya), constituting his Divine Glory. His *śaktis* are

1. *Ved. Sar*, p. 4.
2. *Īsv. Prat. Vṛtti*. III, 1,9.
3. *Par. Sar.* verse 6 comm. p. 18.
4. *Jan. mar. Vicāra*, p. 2.
5. *Tan. Sar.* Ah. IV, p. 28.

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not different from Him, on the contrary they from a part of his Integral Nature.[1] The Brahman of Advaita Vedānta, is devoid of any śakti, hence any Glory (*aiśvarya*). The only śakti that the Advaita Vedānta admits, is Māyā which enjoys a peculiar position in relation to Brahman, as it has been described as *sadasadanirvacanīya* (neither existent nor non-existent, therefore indescribable). The Brahman, however, is said to be the locus of this *anirvacanīya śakti* that has been postulated in order to explain the appearance of many in one, multiplicity in the unity of Brahman.

It has been indicated above that the Supreme Lord exercising his Divine Freedom imposes limitation (*saṅkoca*) on himself out of his Free will and assumes the form of *paśu pramātā*. As a result of this self-imposed limitation, the Supreme Lord comes under the influence of *Māyā śakti* which also forms an aspect of His Divine nature,[2] and is not an alien inscrutable power (*Śakti*) as described in the Advaita Vedānta. *Māyā śakti* is said to be the power of Obscuration (*tirodhānakarī*).[3] The Supreme Lord has been described as the Supreme Experiencer (*para-pramātā*) or pure Experiencer (*śuddha pramātā*) in the order above Māyā, technically called *śuddha Adhva* (*Pure Order*).[4] He is represented by Ahaṁ (Pure Subject), when he experiences the totality of creation epitomised in the form of *idaṁ* (Pure object).[5] With the operation of *Māyā śakti* when pure experiencer comes under the influence of obscuring power of Māyā, the pure Experiencer (*Ahaṁ*) gets obscured and overwhelmed as it were by it, and in the absence of the Experiencer (*Ahaṁ*) the Pure Object represented by *Idaṁ* also totally disappears. This results in the creation of a vacuum (*śūnya*) which is subsequently filled up by the rise of the object (*idaṁ*) in Māyā and its splitting up into limited subject (*paśu pramātā*) and limited object (*prameya*).[6] This facilitates the emergence of discreetness and duality, and later manifoldness which characterises the creation.

The obscuring power of *Māyā* also affects the Divine powers of the supreme Lord as the supreme Experiencer, such as Omnipotence (*sarva kartṛtva*), Omniscience (*Sarvajñatva*), Self contentment (*Pūrṇatva*), Eternity (*Nityatva*), and Omnipresence (*Vyāpakatva*) and

1. *Īśv. Pr.* 1, v, 14.
2. *Īśv. Pr. Viv. Viṁ.* Vol. I, Ah. I, 1. p. 80.
3. *Īśv. Prat. Viṁ.* (Bhaskari edition) III, 1, 7.
4. *Sat. Triṁ. Tat. saṁ.* verse 5 com. p. 5.
5. *Ibid* verse 2-4 com. p. 3-4.
6. *Sp. Nir.* II. com p. 45.

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reduces them to five snares (*pāśas*) that bind him.[1] This transformation of Divine powers which were expressions of his Divine Glory (*Aiśvarya*) into five Principles of limitation is technically called *kañcukas*. The five *kañcukas* admitted by the Trika system are *Kalā*, *Vidyā*, *Rāga*, Kāla and *Niyati*[2]

A word of explanation may be necessary before we discuss these *kañcukas*. As stated above, the Supreme Lord being endowed with Divine Freedom, has Omnipotence (*sarvakartṛtva*) on his integral Nature. This aspect of His Divine Śakti when contracted (*saṅkucita*) by *Nigraha* (Limitation) aspect of His Divine Freedom and obscured by Māyā is reduced to limited power of Authorship. technically called Kalā.[3] The Supreme Lord becomes 'drowsy' (*supta*),[4] as it were, by this change. The omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) is another aspect of Divine Śakti of the Supreme Lord which, undergoing limitation (*saṅkoca*) and obscuration by *Māyā*, is transformed to limited power of knowledge, called *Vidyā*.[5] This results in the reduction of the Supreme Lord's infinite power of knowledge into limited power of knowledge, whereby the limited experiencer gets only a vague, undefined and discreet view of the objects of knowledge. Being endowed with Divine Freedom the Supreme Lord is Full-in-Himself and ever self-content (*nityaparipūrṇa*, *tṛpta*) so that He does not feel the necessity of moving out. This aspect of Divine Nature, viz., Fullness (*Pūrṇatva*) when contracted by *Nigraha* and obscured by *Māyā śakti*, is changed into limited power of Interest, technically called *Rāga*.[6] Being transcendent Absolute, the Supreme Lord is immutable and beyond time. This aspect of His Divine Nature whereby He is timelessly Eternal suffers dimunition by self-imposed contraction (*saṅkoca*), and as a result of this, he is subjected to confinement in time, this is technically called *Kāla*.[7] The Supreme Lord as an immanent principle is also all-pervasive. The aspect of Divine power which is responsible for his

1. *Sat. Trṁ. Tat Saṅ.* verse 7, p. 6. Com.
2. There are two views about the order of kañcukas, one is that of Utpalācārya (See Īśv. Prat. III 1, 9) and another that of Abhinavagupta. The order given here is that of Abhinavagupta. Rājānaka Ānanda also supports this view.
3. *Sat. Trim. Tat. Saṅ.* verse 8, p. 6.
4. Comp. *Tan. Sar, Ah.* VIII.
5. *Sat Trim. Tat. Saṅ.* verse 9, p. 7. Comp. Śiv. sā. I,2.
6. *Ibid.* verse 10, p. 7-8.
7. *Ibid.* verse 11, p. 8.

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all-pervasiveness (*vyāpakatva*) is reduced to limited power of confinement in space by self-imposed contraction, which is known as *Niyati*.[1] This also is said to be responsible for subjecting him to cause-effect relationship. Thus these five *kañcukas* are only transformed aspects of the Supreme Lord's Divine Powers consequent on imposition of self-contraction (*sva-saṅkoca*), and also aided by the obscuring power of *Māyā śakti*, acting as five snares that bind the self-contracted supreme lord (*svasaṅkucita Parameśvara*).

A careful study of the nature of both *pañca kośas* (five sheaths) as described in the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara and *pañca kañcukas* as admitted by the Trika School would reveal certain similarities and many dissimilarities between the two concepts which are as follows. Both the Advaita Vedānta and the Trika system of philophy agree in holding the *pañcakośa* and *pañca kañcukas* to be the products of *Māyā*,[2] and as such functioning as so many veils of essence of the individual being. But they differ greatly in their descriptions of the nature of the two, viz, *pañca kośas* and the *pañca kañcukas*. The Vedāntins consider the *pañca kośas* as being merely so many veils (*ācchādaka kośas*) of the pure self (*ātman*) as a result of which pure self appears as an embodied transmigratory individual (jīva). Being product of Māyā, they have only phenomenal existence (*vyavahārika sattā*). They therefore are transitory and with the dawn of true knowledge when Māyā is destroyed, they also disappear along with Māyā. Being products of Māyā the five *kañcukas* also act as veils (āvaraṇas) but of a different sort as they cover only the Divine Glory aspect of the pure Experiencer (*śuddha pramātā*) after he has assumed the form of spiritual monad (*cidaṇu*) by operating *nigraha* aspect of Divine Freedom. This, in other words means that the five *kañcukas* function more as fetters (*pāśas*) than as veils (*āvaraṇas*) inasmuch as they seek to deprive the pure Experiencer who has assumed self-contracted form, of all such powers which are experiences of his Divine Nature and reduce them to limited powers or capacities. Again, although the five *kañcukas* are regarded by the Trika system as 'progeny' of Māyā, yet they are said to have independent existence and therefore they are enumerated separately in the list of thirty six *tattvas* admitted by the Trika system. Though, they come into play after the functioning of *tirodhānakarī* (veiling) *Māyā* but their existence is not coeval with Māyā. When the Divine Grace (*anugraha*) descends from the

1. *Ibid.* verse 12, p. 8-9.
2. See, *Kās. Śaiv* : Chatterji, p. 75.

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original source on the embodied individual in course of time marking the end of self-imposed contraction (*nigraha*),[1] Māyā along with *kañcukas* ceases to affect that particular embodied individual. With the destruction of fetters (*pāśas*), the *paśu* (the fettered individual) is restored to his real Essence i.e. *Śivatva*, when the inherent Divine Powers become manifest. The *kañcukas* thus are real entities, flowing as they do from the self-imposed contraction and operation of Māyā.

1. *Tan. Sar. Ah.* IX, pp. 117-118.

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THE ABHIDHARMA, THE MĀDHYAMIKA AND THE YOGĀCĀRA IDEALISM OF ASAṄGA

KARUNESHA SHUKLA

The idealistic and the subjective view-point of the Yogācāra system of Asaṅga incorporates and presupposes the subjective criticism, the logical accuracy and the critical view-point of the Ābhidharmika (Sautrāntika) system on the one hand, and the dialectical precision, the concept of śūnyatā and its transcendent character along with the Absolutistic view-point of the Mādhyamika dialectician on the other.[1] 'The Vijñānavāda school...has developed its idealism by the criticism of the Sautrāntika while its absolutism has come from the Mādhyamika.'[2]

In the way the Mahāyāna presupposes the Hīnayāna and accepts its various concepts as forming its background and the basis for its further direction of development,[3] the Yogācāra system of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga presupposes the Vaibhāṣika dharma-theory along with its subjective criticism by the Sautrāntika[4] who does not recognise the objective reality of the visible world, but rather pleads the semi-real entity of the visible world which is inferred by its appearance (ākāra).[5]

1. Cf. T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, pp. 1-5 sq.; A. K. Chatterji, *The Yogācāra Idealism*, ch, I; G. D. Sharma, Intr. to *Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra*, 5 sq; cf. *Bauddha-dharma-darśana*, p. 384.
2. Sharma, *ibid*, p. 7, he further remarks 'The later formulation of Vijñānavāda by Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita, should be designated Svātantrika Vijñānavāda on account of its giving up the basic absolutism of the earlier Vijñānavāda and developing on independent lines; it is also called Svātantrika-Yogācāra because of its fusing the critical realism of the Sautrāntika with the idealism of the Yogācāra." p. 7.
3. Cf. R. Kimura, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X (*A Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna*, etc. p. 45 sq. Part I. Ch. I-II.
4. See, Chatterjee, *ibid*. loc. cit.
5. See, *Mānameyodaya*, p. 300; also cf.,

अर्थो ज्ञानसमन्वितो मतिमता वैभाषिकेणोच्यते
प्रत्यक्षो न हि बाह्यवस्तुविषयः सौत्रान्तिकैराश्रितः ।

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The three turning-points in the history of Buddhism are represented by the Pluralism of the Ābhidharmika Schools with a modified Sautrāntika view-point, the Mādhyamika Advayavāda and the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda.[1]

The last phase of this doctrinal development in the history of Indian Buddhism presupposes the Ābhidharmika dharma theory and its modification by the Sautrāntika by way of review and criticism. The Sautrāntikas condensed the list of the seventyfive Vaibhāṣika dharmas to forty-three,[2] rejected the concept of the asaṁskṛta dharmas as dravya-sat,[3] elaborated the unique character (svalakṣaṇa) of the empirical existents in the state of flux[4] and elucidated the nature of the Saṁskṛta dharmas with a basic rejection of the entity of the past and the future time-passages.[5] They further rejected the entity of the cittaviprayukta dharmas as dravya-sat, declared them to be prajñapti-sat,[6] and in addition to this, they did not recognise avijñapti as an entity.[7]

Thus, the Sautrāntikas presented a critical exposition of the Sarvāstivāda (Vaibhāṣika) dharmas to be only existent per se and having no ontological or sotoreological significance.[8] Nirvāṇa too was not an end for them.[9] For them, the sukha of the first and the second dhyānas, vitarka, vicāra, samādhi and adhyātma-saṁprasāda are not mutually distinct and different dravyas.[10] They further explained that we cannot distinguish the series of cause and

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योगाचारमतानुगैरभिमता साकारबुद्धिः परा
मन्यन्ते वत मध्यमाः कृतधियः स्वस्थां परां संविदम् ॥

quoted by Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought* p. 102.
The sākāra Vijñānavāda is also an outcome of the Sautrāntika bahyārthānumeyavāda, Chatterjee, ibid.

1. Murti, *CPB*. p. 14-15, 17 etc.
2. See, *BDD*, Chs. XV, XVI; cf. also, p. 306; Conze, Edward, *Buddhist Thought in India*, 1962, II. 2, 4.
3. *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* of Vasuvandhu, II. 55. 91-94, p. 92 :

सर्वमेवासंस्कृतमद्रव्यमिति सौत्रान्तिकाः ।

4. See, *BDD*, pp. 375, 379 sq.
5. *AKB*, V. 27, pp. 298-99.
6. Cp *ibid*. II. 36, p. 64
7. Vide Poussin, *AK*. IV. pp. 14-15.
8. These include the citta-viprayukta dharmas as well as the asaṁskṛta dharmas.
9. Vide *BDD*, pp, 289-93, 302 etc. for references.
10. Poussin *AK* VIII. p. 154, sq; AKB VIII. 9, p. 442. 8.

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effect which are not without any 'sthiti' and comprise only the origin and cessation of the phenomenal dharmas.[1] They further elaborated the doctrine of the inferred entity of the visible world (bāhyārthānumeya-vāda) through its appearance (ākāra) in mind[2] and recognised the dharma-kāya theory of the Buddha.[3]

These developments in the doctrinal exposition of the Sautrāntikas paved the way for the elucidation of the cittamātra or vijñaptimātratā doctrine of the Yogācāra system which totally rejected the objective entity of the visible world[4] and thus went one pace ahead to the view-point expressed by the Sautrāntika doctor. The Sautrāntikas had pointed out that 'there is neither any visual sense-organ that sees, nor does there exist any matter (rūpa) that is seen. Similarly, the action and the agent of seeing also do not exist. It is only cause and the effect that exist.' This view-point of the Sautrāntika was further analysed by the Yogācāra philosopher who concluded that 'it is not the eye that perceives, it is the knowledge of the eye that sees.[5] The appearance in the form of the external objects is not real, but it is projected by unmanifest, latent mental impressions.'[6]

Asaṅga did not accept the Sautrāntika criticism of the objective existence of the world totidem verbis but regarded it a half-hearted critical review of the actual position and suggested the total negation of the worldly objects. He based his findings on the subjective criticism of the sense-data and propounded the Vijñaptimātratā-doctrine in the realm of Buddhist thinking.[7] He accepted the dharmakāya of the Buddha as his Transcendent body and identical with the dharma, as anāsrava and inconceivable.[8]

It has further been suggested that the Yogācāra system also

1. Vide *BDD*, p. 375; Cp *AKB*. III.28.
2. Cp. *supra*, p. 392, fn. 5.
3. See *BDD*, p. 373 and elsewhere.
4. Vasubandhu's *Viṁśatikā*, vs. ❋ . 1, 2 :

   विज्ञप्तिमात्रमेवैतदसदर्थावभासनात् ।
5. Cp. न चक्षुः प्रेक्षते रूपं मनो धर्मान्न वेत्ति च ।.....;
   Vide, Poussin, *AK*, I.86, I.22.
6. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*,

   बाह्यो न विद्यते ह्यर्थो यथाबालैर्विकल्प्यते ।
   वासनैर्लुठितं चित्तमर्थाभासैः प्रवर्तते ॥
7. Cp. *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra-bhāṣya*, XI.32 sq.; VI. 1-7 and elsewhere.
8. *Ibid.* IX.62 sq.

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accepted the dharma-theory of the Sautrāntikas with certain modifications. Later on, the number of the dharmas was raised to hundred and Vasubandhu wrote a treatise enumerating these dharmas (Śatadharmavidyāmukham).

While the Mādhyamika concept of Śūnyatā and its viewpoint regarding the Transcendent Truth paramārthasatya) have influenced the Absolutist standpoint of Asaṅga's philosophy,[1] the methodology of the Yogācāra system has been developed under the influence of the Mādhyamika dialectic This influence of the Mādhyamika dialectic can be witnessed in the codified verses of the MSA, the dialectical exposition of the Yogācāra tenets in the MVS and AA of Ārya Maitreyanātha and the Vajracchedikā-commentary of Ārya Asaṅga. Obviously this influence becomes distinctly explicit in the precise and synthetic elucidation of Yogācāra tenets in these and a few other texts.

The Mādhyamika declared the empirical existence of the phenomenal dharmas devoid of any intrinsic nature, the Pramāṇas having no independent existence and Śūnyatā as Paramārtha-satya or as the way leading to the acquisition or realisation of Paramārtha.

The Yogācāra Idealism accepted these doctrines in spirit and declared all objective existence as 'unreal' (asat) and propounded the theory of three grades of reality (svabhāvas) of which one was Paramārtha or Pariniṣpanna lakṣaṇa. This may be regarded as an outcome of the Sautrāntika and Mādhyamika influence on the formulation of Yogācāra doctrines. But the Yogācāra Idealism propounded by Maitreyanātha and elucidated, analysed and illustrated by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu[2] incorporate though it did, the spirit of the Mādhyamika thinking also, it cannot be said solely depending on this system for the formulation of its main tenets and its independent view-point was developed in its own way by the teachers and exponents of this system which also gives a clue to the non-existent character of the phenomenal world.[3]

1. Cp. *Mādhyamikakārikā*, XVIII. b sq. *MSAB*, VIII. 1. and elsewhere, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* of Asaṅga, Bodhisattvabhūmi.
2. Vide, *Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*, p. 3-4.
3. Cp. विज्ञप्तिमात्रमेवैतदसदर्थावभासनात् ।
—Viṁśikā, vs. 1 ab.

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(1)

THE SŪKṢMA VIŚEṢAS OF SĀṄKHYA

D. T. Tatacharya

Indicating what the *viśeṣas* and *aviśeṣas*, mentioned in the Sāṅkhya Kārikā 34, signify, the author says in Kārikā 38 :—

> The *tanmātras* are *aviśeṣas*. From
> these arise the five elements and
> these are *viśeṣas*.

And in the next Kārikā he divides the *viśeṣas* into three kinds :

> The subtle ones, those that are born of
> parents and the gross ones.

and adds :

> The subtle ones continue whereas
> those born of parents stay behind.

What is meant here is this : when one dies, those *viśeṣas* which are born of parents stop behind. But unlike these, the subtle ones stick on to Puruṣa, and leave him and cease to exist only at the time of *pralaya* or *mokṣa*. This description of the subtle *viśeṣas* led Vācaspati to take them in the sense of *liṅga* or subtle body, which consists, as he himself correctly says, of *mahat*, *ahaṅkāra*, the eleven *indriyas* and the five *tanmātrās*. We have to consider here whether Vācaspati is correct in taking the subtle *viśeṣas* in the sense of the subtle body.

The statement of the author of the Kārikā that the *tanmātras* are *aviśeṣas* implies that they could never belong to the category of *viśeṣas*. Secondly, the assertion in the text that the five elements that come about from *tanmātras* are *viśeṣas* makes it quite clear that only the effects of *tanmātrās*, and not *tanmātrās* themselves, are meant as *viśeṣas*.

Thirdly, among the constituents of the subtle body neither the *mahat* nor the *ahaṅkāra* nor the *tanmātrās* are *viśeṣas*. "Since, however," says Vācaspati, "*indriyas* are *viśeṣas*, the body is called

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viśeṣa. Whether according to the author of the *Kārikās*, *indriyas* are, or are not considered to be *viśeṣas* in the sense in which the elements are, it is certain that he has not, even impliedly, included them in the *viśeṣas*. So to say as Vācaspati does, that the *liṅga* or subtle body is *viśeṣa* because *indriyas* are in it, is unwarranted.

Fourthly, the objects of sense organs alone are divided as *viśeṣas* and *aviśeṣas* and fifthly, it is not reasonable to take *sūkṣma* in Kārikā 40 in the sense of *tanmātrās* instead of in the sense of *sūkṣma* —subtle—mentioned in the previous Kārikā. And lastly, Vācaspati, contrary to his own definition of the subtle body as the group or aggregate of *mahat*, *ahaṅkāra*, *indriyas* and *tanmātras*—vide his commentary on kārikā 40—says under kārikā 41 that this group is supported by something and that some thing is the subtle body.

We shall now see what these kārikās really mean. The first of the three kinds of *viśeṣas* mentioned in 39 are subtle elements that arise from the *tanmātras*. These are quite different from the five gross elements, which are *viśeṣas* of the third kind. Two separate sets of five elements arise from the *tanmātras*, one comparatively subtle and the other gross. The first of the two sets, the five *sūkṣma viśeṣas*, supports the liṅga body which undergoes the series of births and deaths, *saṁsāra*, through the gross bodies born of parents (40).

Liṅga body cannot exist without these subtle elements, the five *sūkṣma viśeṣas*, to support it just as there could be no paintings without the wall and there could be no shade without a post or something like it to cast it. Postulation of these subtle elements is therefore absolutely necessary (41).

This interpretation gets confirmation from the Sāṅkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya of Vijñāna Bhikṣu.

(2)

सूक्ष्मा विशेषाः

बुद्धीन्द्रियाणां विषयतया उक्तान् विशेषान् अविशेषांश्च लक्षयन्ती इयं साङ्ख्यकारिका,

तन्मात्राण्यविशेषा-
स्तेभ्यो भूतानि पञ्च जायन्ते ।
एताः स्मृता विशेषाः
शान्ता घोराश्च मूढाश्च ॥३८॥

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विशेषाणां शान्तघोरमूढभेदेन विभागमपि करोति। पूर्वमविशेषत्वेन उक्तानि तन्मात्राणि। तेषां शान्तत्वादिरूपावस्थाभेदशून्यत्वात् अविशेषपदाभिधेयत्वम्। तेभ्यो जातानि यानि पृथिव्यादीनि पञ्च भूतानि तानि विशेषपदेनाभिधीयन्ते यत इमानि शान्तत्वादिरूपावस्थाभेदवन्तीति भावः॥

अनन्तरकारिका—

सूक्ष्मा मातापितृजाः
सह प्रभूतैस्त्रिधा विशेषाः स्युः।
सूक्ष्मास्तेषां नियता
मातापितृजा निवर्तन्ते॥३९॥

इतीयं प्रथमं विशेषाणां त्रेधा विभागं दर्शयति—सूक्ष्माः मातापितृजाः प्रभूताः, इति। प्रभूताः स्थूलाः पृथिव्यादयः। मातापितृजाः शुक्रशोणितभवा देहाः। एवं द्वितीयतृतीयविभागान्तर्गता विशेषाः स्पष्टाः। अथ सूक्ष्मा इत्युक्तप्रथमविभागान्तर्गता विशेषाः के, इति चिन्तनीयम्।

तत्र पूर्वार्धेन विशेषाणां त्रेधा विभागो दर्शितः। अथ उत्तरार्धेन प्रथमद्वितीयविधान्तर्गतानां विशेषाणां मिथो वैलक्षण्यमाह—तेषामिति। सूक्ष्माः विशेषाः नियताः नियमेन अनुवर्तमानाः आप्रलयम् आमोक्षं वा। मातापितृजास्तु मरणे निवर्तन्ते नश्यन्ति।

शरीरं द्विविधं स्थूलं सूक्ष्मं चेति। स्थूलं मातापितृजम् अन्ते म्रियमाणं च। सूक्ष्मम् अनेवम्भूतम्, अतो नियतम्। एवं स्थूलदेहवैधर्म्येण नियतत्वोक्त्या अत्र सूक्ष्मा इत्यभिहिताः विशेषाः सूक्ष्मदेहा एवेति वाचस्पतिराह। इदमयुक्तम्। महदहङ्कार, एकादशेन्द्रियपञ्चतन्मात्रसमुदायः सूक्ष्मशरीरमिति स एवाह। न चात्र किञ्चित् तन्मात्रेभ्य उत्पन्नमस्ति। "तेभ्यो भूतानि पञ्च जायन्ते। एते स्मृता विशेषाः" इति तन्मात्रेभ्य उत्पन्नानामेव हि विशेषत्वम्। न च अविशेषतयोक्तानां तन्मात्राणां कथमपि विशेषत्वं वक्तुं युक्तम्। यदाह शान्तघोरमूढैः इन्द्रियैरन्वितत्वात् सूक्ष्मशरीरं विशेषो भवतीति तदप्यचारु। इन्द्रियाणां शान्तघोरमूढभेदमभिप्रैति ग्रन्थकार इति सर्वथाऽनवगमात्।

बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि तेषां
पञ्च विशेषाविशेषविषयाणि।

इति इन्द्रियविषयाणामेव विशेषाविशेषभेदेन विभजनात्। किञ्च

पूर्वोत्पन्नमसक्तं
नियतं महदादिसूक्ष्मपर्यन्तम्।

इत्यत्र सूक्ष्मपदस्य पूर्वकारिकायामिव सूक्ष्मविशेषपरत्वे वक्तव्ये सति तन्मात्रपरत्वोक्तिः वाचस्पतेरयुक्ता।

अपि च "चित्रं यथाऽऽश्रयवशात्" इति कारिकाव्याख्याने बुद्धयादीनामाश्रयाः केचन

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सन्ति । तान्येव सूक्ष्मशरीराणीति वदति वाचस्पतिः । इदं "एषां समुदायः सूक्ष्मं शरीरम्" इति प्राक्तनतदुक्तिविरुद्धम् ।

तदिह तत्त्वमन्यथा स्थितं भाति । तन्मात्रेभ्यो जायमानानि पञ्च भूतानि द्विविधानि । स्थूलपृथिव्यादिरूपाणि अस्माकमदृश्यतया तदपेक्षया सूक्ष्माणि चेति । इमानि सूक्ष्माणि पञ्च भूतानि सूक्ष्मा विशेषा इति कारिकायामुक्तानि । इमानि सूक्ष्माणि पञ्च भूतानि किमर्थमङ्गीक्रियन्त इति चेत्, महदहङ्कारैकादशेन्द्रियपञ्चतन्मात्रात्मकं यत् सूक्ष्मशरीरं तद् अनाश्रयं न तिष्ठेत् । अतस्तदङ्गीकार आवश्यक इति ।

तत्त्वस्थितिरियं विज्ञानभिक्षुकृतसाङ्ख्यप्रवचनभाष्ये स्फुटा ।

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UDAYANĀCĀRYA AND HIS CONTRIBUTION

ANANTALAL THAKUR

Just as in the field of Sanskrit Grammar there are three great authorities, Pāṇini the Sūtrakāra, Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttika and Patañjali the Bhāṣyakāra, the Nyāyaśāstra of Gautama Akṣapāda also presents a succession of teachers all of whom are regarded as great authorities. The sage himself is the first propounder of the system. Vātsyāyana Pakṣilasvāmin wrote the Bhāṣya on the Sūtras of Gautama. Uddyotakara in the Nyāyavārttika elucidated the position of the Bhāṣya. Vācaspatimiśra in his Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā made Uddyotakara's position clear. And Udayana the last great exponent in the line wrote an elaborate sub-commentary called the Nyāyavārttikatātparyaparisuddhi on Vācaspati's work. The five works taken together are called the Pañcaprasthānanyāyatarka while the four exegetical ones on the Sūtras are called the Nyāyacaturgranthikā. We do not hear of any ancient commentary on the Nyāyasūtras before the Nyāyabhāṣya. But the Nyāyabhāṣya had several sub-commentaries beside the Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara. Thus, we hear of the Nyāyabhāṣyaṭīkās of Viśvarūpa, Adhyayana, Aviddhakarṇa,[1] Bhāvivikta and Trilocana. But among them Uddyotakara's work alone survived. Similarly in the next epoch the works of Vācaspati and Udayana came down to us and a host of others went into oblivion.

The reason for this is obvious. The Nyāyaśāstra flourished side by side with the Buddhist logic of the Yogācāravijñānavāda School and each of these two systems flourished because of a systematic rivalry between them. The Sūtras of Akṣapāda show acquaintance with and refute the Buddhist views. There are Buddhist Vāda works that follow these Sūtras which are found to refute the position of Akṣapāda. The Nyāyabhāṣya supports Akṣapāda against these Buddhists. Vasubandhu and Dignāga criticise the Nyāyabhāṣya themselves to be criticised by Uddyotakara. Dharmakīrti is found to refute the position of Uddyotakara whom Vācaspati criticises very bitterly. Udayana refutes the Buddhist authors,

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especially Jñānaśrī and Ratnakīrti who stood against Vācaspati. Thus all the four exegetical Nyāya works are very close to one another and they represent the main current of the logical searches in the country. Vācaspati and Udayana hail from Mithila. No doubt there were important contributions to the Śāstra in the form of commentaries or independent treatises in other parts of the country. But they are mostly treated as sectarian.

We are here concerned with Udayanācārya. An account of him is given in the Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇapariśiṣṭa. Here he is regarded as the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu who descended on this world to rescue the eternal religion. It is said that Ācārya learnt the secrets of the Buddhist doctrines in the guise of a monk from a Buddhist teacher and ultimately challenged him in a debate. The point at issue was the validity of the Vedas. The king of Mithilā served as the umpire and there was an agreement that the vanquished one would commit suicide while the victorious would receive royal patronage. Ultimately the Buddhist Ācārya had to commit suicide and Buddhism declined in public estimation in Mithila.

We have no hesitation to identify the Buddhist Ācārya with Jñānaśrīmitra, of the Vikramaśilāmahāvihāra whose Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya and other works form the pūrvapakṣa of Udayana's Ātmatattvaviveka otherwise called Bauddhādhikāra or even Bauddhadhikkāra. The terms are self-explanatory. And we find a trenchant criticism of the Kṣaṇabhaṅga, Apoha and other subsidiary Buddhist theories in the work. The Ātmatattvaviveka happens to be Udayana's first independent treatise and it earned for him very high reputation in the land.

In his second independent treatise viz., the Nyāyakusumāñjali, Udayana offered a handful of flowers to the creator of the universe to whom he was earnestly devoted. Īśvaravāda slowly and steadily gained ground in the Nyāya system and Udayana's contribution here is unparallel not only in Nyāya but in the whole range of Indian philosophy. Here we find the Cārvāka, Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṁsā and Jaina views criticised along with the Buddhist ones.

In the Nyāyavārttikatātparyapariśuddhi we find the *Magnum opus* of the Ācārya. It is an elaborate exposition of the tātparyaṭīkā of Vācaspati silencing his critics like Sānātani and Śrīvatsa in the Nyāya School besides the Buddhist authors Jñānaśrīmitra and others. Though the author moderately claims to clarify the position of Vācaspati, we find him giving a lot of original matter in the present work.

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The fifth chapter of the Nyāyadarśana has separately been elucidated in the Nyāyapariśiṣṭa, otherwise called Prabodhasiddhi. It is not known if the Pariśiṣṭa ever covered the first four chapters of the Nyāyasūtras also.

The last Nyāya work of Udayana is the Lakṣaṇamālā, presenting scientific definitions of the Nyāya terms. The work was published in the pages of the Journal of Original Research, Madras but was ascribed to Śivāditya Miśra on inadequate grounds. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya first pointed out that the work belongs to Udayana. We on our part examined the question in details and came to the conclusion that it really came from the pen of the Ācārya.

The Vaiśeṣikadarśana is regarded as a kindred system to the Nyāya. Jayantabhaṭṭa considers the Vaiśeṣika to be a follower of the Naiyāyika. But it is Udayana who gave equal position to both. His incomplete commentary on the Padārthadharmasaṅgraha called the Kiraṇāvali surpassed all other commentaries on the work in importance and a host of scholars hailing from all over India wrote a series of sub-commentaries on it. His Lakṣaṇāvali gives us scientific definitions of the Vaiśeṣika categories.

Fortunately for us all the works of Udayana are extant to-day, though the Kiraṇāvali and the Nyāyakusumāñjali are only studied in the Seminaries. The importance of the Ātmatattvaviveka diminished with the disappearance of the Buddhists from the arena. The Nyāyakusumāñjali was more fortunate in this respect because there were other schools refuting the existence of God besides the Buddhists. Much of Udayana's energy was spent in affectively refuting the Buddhist rivals. And after Udayana there came a vacuum in the Buddhist philosophy. It was due to the advent of Islam which destroyed the monasteries, burnt the MSS and looted their properties. The Buddhists used to centralise everything and consequently they suffered most. The Hindus also suffered but were less affected because their MS treasures were strewn all over the country and the hand of destruction could not reach every corner.

After Udayana the progress of the Nyāyaśāstra was hampered for want of strong rivals. For sometimes Nyāya scholars of Mithila sought in vain for rivals in the Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta camps. At last they themselves were divided into two sub-Schools—those of Vaṭeśvara and Gaṅgeśa. The antagonism proved healthy for about five generations At last the Darpaṇa School of Vaṭeśvara became extinct and its place was taken by the Naiyāyikas of Nadia headed by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi.

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Udayana's was the most important contribution to the old School of Nyāya. He was at the same time the starting point of the Neo-logical School also. A close comparison and contrast will show that Gaṅgeśa only summarises what Udayana gave extensively. At the time of Gaṅgeśa the Buddhists were extinct. Hence there came a change in the background. And Udayana's works became less popular in comparison with the Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa and the Nyāyaratna of Maṇikaṇṭha.

As we have just seen Udayana attached almost equal importance to the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika. The neo-logicians accepted the Vaiśeṣika scheme of seven categories and that of sixteen categories accepted by the Nyāya School received less attention. Abhāva received an independent status of a category in the hand of Udayana and it continues to hold it even today.

Udayana's date has recently raised a controversy and we should discuss the matter anew. One MS of the Lakṣaṇāvali of Udayana gives the date of its composition as Śaka Tarka-ambara-aṅka=906=984 A.D. This seems to be wrong. Jñānaśrī was a contemporary of Atīśa Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna who left for Tibet in March, 1041 at the age of 59. It cannot be expected that Udayana's literary career should fall before the birth of Jñānaśrī whom he refutes. Udayana unequivocally refers to Jñānaśrī, quotes passages from the latter's works and amends his verses to suit Nyāya view. Again Udayana shows that Vācaspati refers to the view of Jayanta, the old Logician. Vācaspati gives his own date as Vasu-aṅka-Vasu Vatsara of an unspecified era. It cannot be the Vikrama era for Jayanta belonged to the Court of Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir (885-902 A.D.). The 898th year of Vikrama era would correspond to 841-2. and this would place Vācaspati earlier than Jayanta giving lie to Udayana's observation. We have examined a number of MS of the Lakṣaṇāvali along with some commentaries on it. Nowhere except in the one Varanasi MS the verse in question is available. Even in the Varanasi MS the reading is doubtful. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya observes that the expression may be read as tarka-Svara-aṅka adding seventy years to the suggested date. Prof. Bhattacharya has further shown that as Śrīharṣa severely criticises the Nyāya definitions of the Lakṣaṇamālā and as he directly refers to the verses in the Nyāyakusumāñjali, Udayana cannot go beyond the date of Śrīharṣa (1075 A.D.). Tradition also makes Udayana a contemporary of Śrīhīra, Śrīharṣa's father. Prof. Bhattacharya has placed Udayana between 1025-1100 A.D. and the above consi-

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derations will justify his supposition.

Udayana refers to some less known but important personalities. We may have a peep into them here. Besides Jñānaśrīmitra, his chief opponent in the Yogācāra Buddhist School, he mentions Ratnakīrti, his disciple also. He refers to a tantuvāya of Uttaragarta or Udumbaragarta, who is to be identified with Tantipā, the well known Siddhācārya. According to Udayana Tantipā left the Vedic religion due to idleness and apathy to caste duties. Dharmakīrti and Prajñākaragupta became Buddhists because they were boycotted by the orthodox society. Sarahapā left the traditional path because of his liberal views in respect of food and drink. Kāṇhapā was cast out for his addiction to false arguments. Similarly Haḍipā (whom Udayana seems to refer to as Śauṇḍika) left the Vedic way through intimate association with the heretics. Subhūtī had to embrace Buddhism due to his excessive but wrong faith in his own Yogic powers. Dipaṅkara fell a victim to the allurement of the Buddhists. Besides these a Sāmānyaśramaṇaka, not capable to earn his livelihood was said to have been allured to embrace Buddhism through an offer of a huge amount.

In the beginning of the second chapter of the Pariśuddhi Udayana refers to Śrīvatsa

संशोध्य दर्शितरसा मरुकूपरूपा-
ष्टीकाकृतः प्रथम एव गिरो गभीराः।
तात्पर्यतो यदधुना पुनरुद्यमो नः
श्रीवत्सवत्सलतया तु तथा तथापि ॥

This Śrīvatsa has on several occasions been refuted in the Tātparyapariśuddhi. As such we cannot take him either as the preceptor or the disciple of Udayana as has been supposed. On the other hand he seems to be a critic of Vācaspati's Tātparyaṭīkā as Udayana is found to defend Vācaspati's views and refute those of Śrīvatsa in the same connection. Unfortunately no work of Śrīvatsa has come down to us. Guṇaratnasūri attributes the Nyāyalīlāvatī, a commentary on the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha to Śrīvatsācārya who may be identical with Udayana's opponent.

Udayana refers to an old Nyāya author from Gauḍadeśa who preceded Vācaspati. His views have been quoted by Śaṅkaramiśra and others under the Title Ṣānātani. This Sānātani seems to have written a commentary on the Nyāyabhāṣya and was held in high esteem in Mithila and Bengal.

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The third Nyāya author deserving mention here was Aniruddha, the author of the Vivaraṇapañjikā on the first three works of the Nyāyacaturgranthikā. So long quotations from Aniruddha's work in the Tattvacintāmaṇiṭīkā of Rudratarkavāgīśa and the reference to Vivaraṇakāra in the Pariśuddhi were the only sources of information about this Nyāya author. Recently the last four chapters of the Vivaraṇapañjikā have been discovered and published.

Udayana's works are now receiving the attention of scholars. He was the greatest critic of the medieval school of Bhāsarvajña. Lastly he was the first Nyāya author who was responsible for the advent of the Neo-Logic.

He was recognised as the 'Ācārya' all over the country. His Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika works were commented upon by successive authors in Mithila, Bengal and the Deccan. The success of the famous Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya of Śrīharṣa largely depends on the refutation of Udayana's views. And we find a host of scholars paying glowing tributes to him. Śrīdeva, the Jain Logician, compares him with an elephant while Jayanta Bhaṭṭa is compared with an insect. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇapariśiṣṭa, as we have just seen, presents him as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu while an anonymous verse likens him to Lord Śiva.

वन्दे शिवं शिवमिवोदयनं निदान-
मेकं गभीरनयतत्त्वविवेकसिन्धोः ।
दोषाकरादपि विविच्य कलां भजन्त-
मन्तःकृताक्षतपदं सुमनःसहस्रैः ॥

We have a pen picture of our author in a very rare MS of the Tātparyapariśuddhi.

वाचस्पतेरुपरि तत्त्वविचारदक्ष-
स्तात्पर्यशुद्धिमकरोदुदयाभिधानः ।
आशङ्कमान इव नाशमसौ स्वकीर्ते-
र्वाचस्पतिः पुनरिवोज्ज्वलयां चकार ॥

बुद्धिर्यस्य विचारणासु चतुरा वैदर्भगर्भाश्रया
स्फारस्फूर्जदनेकतर्कविशदव्याहारसंरम्भिणी ।
कान्तिः शान्तिमयी तनुश्च नितरां वाणी सुधास्राविणी
स श्रीमानुदयश्चकार सुकृती तात्पर्यशुद्धिं बुधः ॥

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सद्वाणीभरमन्दराचलचलन्निर्मथ्यमानान्तर-
न्यायाम्भोनिधिपारिजाततिलका वाचस्पतिप्रेयसी ।
प्रीत्याकारि वराङ्गनेव विदुषा सन्तोषवाहिन्यसौ
श्रान्तानामुदयेन तर्कनिकरे तात्पर्यशुद्धिः सताम् ।।

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THE BASIC PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH OF THE *VAIŚEṢIKA SYSTEM*

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

I Introductory

The Vaiśeṣika system, as is well known, is closely related to the Nyāya school. The achievements of the Vaiśeṣika in the initiation and elaboration of the Atomistic theory are particularly worthy of appreciation. Cf. the Article on "Sanskrit language and Literature in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition."[1] The epistemological treatment of the atomistic theory in Vaiśeṣika Sūtra 7.1.14 is based on an appeal to finality in all maxima and minima,[2] so that a maximum worth the name could be only that, greater than which could be none, and a minimum worth the name could be only that, less than which there could be none. Thus the dimensional finality of the atom could be rationally followed as being the basis of such a theory.

II The limitations of the Vaiśeṣika system

But when we consider the beginnings of the Vaiśeṣika system and compare them with those of the Nyāya, the situation becomes entirely different.

The first four Sūtras of Vaiśeṣika definitely show that the starting-point of Vaiśeṣika is theological and ontological, not epistemological. The sense of the first Sūtra runs as follows—

"Now we shall expound Dharma."[3]

This "Dharma is defined by the next two Sūtras, the sense of which runs as follows :—

"Dharma is that by which well being and final beatitude are attained."[4]

1. P. 969 : "Material things are composed of atoms—characterized only by particularity (viśeṣa-). It is from this prediction of ultimate 'particulars' that the Vaiśeṣikas, the originators of the atomistic doctrine, derive their name."
2. *aṇutva-mahatvayorṇutva-mahatvabhāvaḥ karma-guṇair vyākhyātaḥ.*
3. 1.1.1 *athāto dharmaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ.*
4. 1.1.2 *yato (a) bhyudaya-niḥśreyasa-siddhiḥ sa dharmaḥ.*

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"The authority for it is the Veda declared by Him (God)."[1]

The 4th Sūtra consistently follows the dominance of this Dharma and the sense of this Sūtra runs as follows :—

"From the knowledge, originating from this particular Dharma, of the real nature, by comparison and contrast, of substance, attribute, action, the general, the particular, and inherence, is attained final beatitude."[2]

This predominance of Dharma is further corroborated by the second highest authority on Vaiśeṣika, viz. the Praśastapādabhāṣya (Benaras, 1930). After the enumeration of the six Vaiśeṣika categories, it is stated, "this (knowledge of the real nature of the categories) originates only from Dharma, as manifested by the injunctions of God"[3]

III The wider scope of Nyāya

Now, by way of comparison, if we turn to the basic philosophical approach of the Nyāya system, stating with a consideration of the first three Sūtras of Gautama, as explained by Vātsyāyana, the first remarkably basic approach of Nyāya is that it is positively epistemological.

The word "Dharma", if we consult the index of the "Nyāya Sūtras" (1930 Edition, Allahabad), occurs 18 times in this work : 17 occurrences of the word have the sense of ' property", "characteristic" or "attribute"; only one lengthy Sūtra 3.2.41 "praṇidhānadharmādharma-nimittebhyaḥ" has "Dharma" in the sense of "merit".

There is no doubt that the theological concept of "Dharma" does occupy an important place in Nyāya as well, but it is associated with a narrower sphere, only attached to *śabda*—"verbal testimony", in Gautama 19.3, the sense of which runs as follows :—

"Conception, inference, comparison and word (verbal testimony)—these are the means of right knowledge."[4]

The epistemological approach of Nyāya is pivoted on a far wider plane, viz. these 3 means of right knowledge. Vātsyāyana, in his comments on the above-mentioned Sūtra of Gautama, viz.

1. 1.1.3 *tad-vacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam*
2. 1.1.4 *dharma-viśeṣa-prasūtād dravya-guṇa-karma-sāmānya - viśeṣa - samavāyānāṁ padārthānāṁ sādharmya-vaidharmyābhyāṁ tattva-jñānān niḥśreyasam.*
3. p. 20 *tacceśvara-codanābhivyaktād dharmādeva.*
4. 1.1.3 *pratyakṣānumānopamāna-śabdāḥ pramāṇāni.*

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1.3.3., gives a very balanced and illuminating exposition of the scope of these three means of right knowledge. Thus when the cognition of "the hand" comes for consideration, the scope of this cognition lies only in perception : neither in inference nor in verbal testimony.[1] When "fire", in view of the sight of smoke somewhere, is in the picture, there is the cooperation of perception of smoke with inference of fire.[2] And when the injunction,—"one desirous of attaining Heaven should perform Agnihotra," is to be considered, there is scope neither of perception, nor of inference, but only of verbal testimony.[3] Thus the first two occurrences have nothing to do with "Dharma" according to Nyāya.

IV Conclusion

The above data, it may be presumed, may give us the following points :—

(1) The widely admitted "realistic" Vaiśeṣika system has certain limitations, which cannot be ignored.

(2) According to the Article on "Indian Philosophy" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, page 250: "the Vaiśeṣika, which deals with the analysis of nature, is earlier than Nyāya, which deals with the problem of knowledge." But if this statement be unquestionable, the chronology of the brilliant Atomistic theory may be questioned. Perhaps there may be reasons for suspecting that this theory is a later development on the part of the Vaiśeṣika system, a point which may be left to future investigation.

1. *pāṇau pratyakṣata upalabhyamāne nānumānam, nāgamaḥ.*
2. *atrāgniḥ, iti dhūma-darśanenānumīyate.*
3. *agnihotraṁ juhuyāt svargakāma iti laukikasya svargadarśane, na liṅga-darśanam, na pratyakṣam.* (See page 11 of *Nyāyadarśana*, Benares, 1942).

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THE EXPONENT OF ĀBHĀSA-CONCEPT IN RASA THEORY

SHIV PRASAD BHARDWAJ

Bharata is accredited for the first time with propounding the the Rasa theory. Although there is a counter claim for Nandikeśvara[1] for putting forth the doctrine first, but the only work of Nandikeśvara available to-day, is *Abhinayadarpaṇa*[2] a small treatise dealing with different modes of gesticulations related to dramaturgy. Having no reference to the Rasa theory it can be easily dismissed. On this subject no work other than *Nāṭya śāstra* (*N.S.*) of Bharata claiming greater antiquity could hitherto be discovered and, therefore, Bharata remains as the foremost authority on this subject. Later ālaṅkārikas take his as the last word in deciding an issue.

No doubt, there are some points in the Rasa theory on which some of the later ālaṅkārikas do not see eye to eye with Bharata, we do not intend to touch these points in the present paper.

Now coming to the main point, we must mention here that nowhere in his work Bharata refers to the concept of Ābhāsa. In the sixth chapter of his *N. S.* after emphasizing the vital role of Rasa in a poetic work,[3] he discusses the nature[4] and number of

1. तत्र कवि-रहस्यं सहस्राक्षः समाम्नासीत्. औक्तिकमुक्तिगर्भः, रीतिनिर्णयं सुवर्णनाभः, आनुप्रासिकं प्रचेताः, यमो यमकानि, चित्रं चित्राङ्गदः, शब्दश्लेषं शेषः, वास्तवं पुलस्त्यः, औपम्यमौपकायनः, अतिशयं पाराशरः, अर्थश्लेषमुतथ्यः, उभयालङ्कारिकं कुबेरः, वैनोदिकं कामदेवः, रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः .....।

Rājaśekhara—*Kāvyamīmāṃsā* 1. 1.

2. 1934, Calcutta Sanskrit Series Pub. Metropolitan Printing and publishing House Ltd Calcutta.

3. तत्र रसानेव तावदादावभिव्याख्यास्यामः। न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते।

N.S. (Gaek. edn.) P. 272.

4. अत्राह—रस इति कः पदार्थः। उच्यते—आस्वाद्यत्वात्। कथमास्वाद्यते रसः। यथा हि नानाव्यञ्जनसंस्कृतमन्नं भुञ्जानाः रसानास्वादयन्ति सुमनसः पुरुषा हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति तथा नानाभावाभिनयव्यञ्जितान् वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् स्थायिभावानास्वादयन्ति सुमनसः प्रेक्षका हर्षादींश्चाधिगच्छन्ति।

Ibid. pp. 288-89

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Rasas[1] and then in the next chapter deals with fortynine Bhāvas[2] bringing out their distinct position in different avasthās. Later writers, however, deal with the concept of Ābhāsa of Rasa and Bhāva[3] and discuss the four stages of experience of Bhāvas, viz. 1-Rise of a Bhāva, 2—Pacification of a risen Bhāva, 3—Simultaneous experience of two rival Bhāvas, 4—Commixture of various opposite Bhāvas.[4]

Later ālaṅkārikas also expound several poetic figures based on the Rasas & Bhāvas, as well as, on their semblance (Ābhāsa)[5] which cannot be traced in *N. S.* Thus one may presume that the concept of semblance of Rasas & Bhāvas and also the four stages of Bhāvas and the Rasālaṅkāras are actually added by the later ālaṅkārikas. But before arriving at such a conclusion we may examine the whole issue briefly.

It is a fact that after Bharata we do not come across any work on poetics until we reach Daṇḍin or Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha does mention names of some ālaṅkārikas[6] but except this we know nothing about their work or views on the topic under discussion. It may be

1. शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा रौद्रवीरभयानकाः।
बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥

Ibid. 6, 15.

2. एकोनपञ्चाशदिमे यथावद् भावास्त्ववस्था गदिता मयेह।
भूयश्च ये तत्र रसे नियोज्यास्तान् श्रोतुमर्हन्ति च विप्रमुख्याः ॥

Ibid. 7, 108.

3. तदाभासा अनौचित्य-प्रवर्तिताः।
तदाभासा रसाभासा भावाभासाश्च।

Kāvyaprakāśa, 4. 36.

4. भावस्य शान्तिरुदयः सन्धिः शबलता तथा।

Ibid. 4, 36.

5. रसभावौ तदाभासौ भावस्य प्रशमस्तथा।
गुणीभूतत्वमायान्ति यदालङ्कृतयस्तदा।
रसवत् प्रेय ऊर्जस्वि समाहितमिति क्रमात् ॥

Sāhityadarpaṇa 10. 95-96

6. प्रहेलिका सा ह्युदिता रामशर्माभ्युतोत्तरे।

Kāvyālaṅkāra 2. 19

दृष्टं वा सर्वसारूप्यं राजमित्रे यथोदितम्।

Ibid. 2. 45

शाखवर्धनस्य 2, 47 रामशर्मणः 2, 58

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mentioned here that both Bhāmaha[1] and Daṇḍin[2] do recognize the poetic figure Ūrjasvin based on Rasābhāsa and Bhāvābhāsa explicitly implying acceptance of Ābhāsas. It is thus clear that the evolution and development of the concept of Ābhāsa took place much before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Eventually later ālaṅkārikas of the eminence of Udbhaṭa,[3] Ānandavardhana,[4] Mammaṭa,[5] Viśvanātha[6] and Jagannātha[7] define and illustrate Ābhāsa in their respective works. They, too, do not seem to bother to trace the previous authority which propounded the concept of Ābhāsa in the Rasa theory. Viśvanātha,[8] of course, makes a remark on the nature of Ābhāsa that the treatment of Rasa and Bhāva in poetic works in such a way that goes against the conditions laid down by Bharata and his followers for lack of entirety in their ingredients is called Ābhāsa. But according to this a treatment of poetic sentiment that goes against the laid down authentic definitions should have been naturally considered a blemish, a kāvyadoṣa and should not subsequently find a place in a poetic work whereas Rasābhāsa and Bhāvābhāsa are also considered the best type ot poetry, Uttama

1. प्रेयो रसवदूर्जस्वि पर्यायोक्तं समाहितम् ।
Kāvyālaṅkāra 3. 1 and

ऊर्जस्वि कर्णेन यथा पार्थाय पुनरागतः ।
द्विःसन्दधाति किं कर्णः शल्येत्यहिरपाकृतः ॥
Ibid. 3. 7

2. अपकर्ताऽहमस्मीति हृदि ते मा स्म भूद्भयम् ।
विमुखेषु न मे खड्गः प्रहर्तुं जातु वाञ्छति ॥
एवमुक्त्वा परो युद्धे नियुद्धो कर्मशालिना ।
पुंसा केनाऽपि तज्ज्ञेयमूर्जस्वीत्येवमादिकम् ॥
Kāvyādarśa 2. 293-94

3. अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तानां कामक्रोधादिकारणात् ।
भावानां च रसानां च बन्ध ऊर्जस्वि कथ्यते ॥
Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha 4. 9

4. रसभावतदाभासभावशान्त्यादिरक्रमः ।
Dhvanyāloka 2.

5. P. 414 Fn. 3.

6. P. 414 Fn. 5.

7. अनुचितविभावालम्बनत्वं रसाभासत्वम्। विभावादावनौचित्यं पुनर्लोकानां व्यवहारतो विज्ञेयम्।
Rasagaṅgādhara (1888) 198

8. अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तत्व आभासो रसभावयोः ।
अनौचित्यं चात्र रसानां भरतादिप्रणीतलक्षणानां सामग्रीरहितत्वे सत्येकदेशयोगित्वोपलक्षण-परं बोध्यम् ।
Sāhityadarpaṇa 3. 262

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Kāvya. They have been considered as the accepted modes of aesthetic experience. Therefore, the explanation of Viśvanātha does not seem to be faultless.

Abhinavagupta helps us to some extent in this respect throwing some light on this topic. According to him the term 'Anukṛti' found in Bharata's kārikā[1] is the nucleus of this concept. Mere imitation of a certain act or sentiment, as he explains, is not only a cause of laughter but also provokes a sense of impropriety.[2] Notwithstanding, the nature of a Bhāva remains ever pleasant in all circumstances.

He also explains how the concept of four stages of rising Bhāva has emerged. He says that it resulted from the explanation given to the wording of Bharata and that the poeticians took it as an implied authority for recognizing these four avasthās of Bhāvas.[3]

Thus taking Abhinava's explanation for granted, we can arrive at the conclusion that the commentators of *N.S.*, attempting to explain the concise wording of Bharata in their own way were responsible for propounding the theories concerning the Bhāva concept.

Yet identification of the commentators responsible for propounding the concept of Ābhāsa is a problem which remains a riddle.

1. शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या तु स हास्यः परिकीर्तितः ।

N. S. (Gaek.) 6, 40

2. तदाभासत्वेन तदनुकाररूपतया हेतुत्वं शृङ्गारेण सूचितम् । यतो विभावाभासादनुभावाभासाद् व्यभिचार्याभासाद् रत्याभासे प्रतीते चर्वणाभाससारः शृङ्गाराभासः कामना । अभिलाषमात्ररूपा हि रतिरत्र व्यभिचारिभावः । न स्थायी । तस्य स तु स्थायिकल्पत्वेनाभाति ।

Abhinavabhāratī (Gaek. edn,) p. 295

and यदा तु विभावाभासाद् रत्याभासोदयस्तदा विभावानुभासाच् चर्वणाभास इति रसाभासस्य विषयः । यथा रावणकाव्याकर्णने शृङ्गाराभासः । यद्यपि 'शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या तु स हास्यः' इति मुनिना निरूपितं तथाप्यौत्तरकालिकं तस्य हास्यरसत्वम् ।

दूराकर्षणमोहमन्त्र इव मे तन्नाम्नि याते श्रुतिं
चेतः कालकलामपि प्रकुरुते नाऽवस्थितिं तां विना ॥

इत्यत्र तु न हास्यचर्वणावसरः । ननु नात्र रतिः स्थायिभावोऽस्ति परस्परास्थाबन्धाभावात् केनैतदुक्तं रतिरिति । रत्याभासो हि सः ।.....अत एव तदाभासत्वं वस्तुतस्तत्र स्थाप्यते शुक्तौ रजताभासवत् । एतच्च 'शृङ्गारानुकृति' शब्दं प्रयुञ्जानो मुनिरपि सूचितवान् ।

Locana (Chaukhambha) pp. 178

3. व्यभिचारिण उदयस्थित्यपायत्रिधर्मकाः । यदाह—विविधमाभिमुख्येन चरन्तीति व्यभिचारिण इति । तत्रोदयावस्थाप्रयुक्तः कदाचित् ।

Ibid p. 175

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Abhinava, of the 10th century A.D. cannot be the first commentator of *N.Ś.*, a work which has been universally accepted as an authority on poetics. Naturally, there have been commentators who preceded Abhinavagupta as is evident from his own references to and criticism of the Rasa theories propounded by Lollaṭa, Udbhaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his commentaries on N.Ś. and Dhvanyāloka. Unfortunately, the commentaries written by Abhinava's predecessors are not available. However, it may be said that at least some of these commentators must have belonged to a period much earlier than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible to trace the first exponent of the Ābhāsa theory. Further investigation may throw some light on this difficult problem.

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THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA OF BHARATA

P. L. Bhargava

The earliest surviving Indian work on dramaturgy and indeed on literary criticism is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata. The reliability of the ascription has often been questioned because the word Bharata means only an actor and is used in this sense even in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The use of the author's name in the third person and his description as a sage in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are things which give further support to the sceptics, since an author would hardly use his name in the third person and would certainly not call himself a sage. It is, however, possible that the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was himself an actor and that his real name having been forgotten the person who edited, revised and redacted his work has called him Bharata muni. In any case since the author of the work, whoever he was, is known by the name of Bharata, we have to call him by this name.

The earliest text-books of the Indian drama appear to have been the *Naṭasūtras* composed by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva mentioned by Pāṇini. But just as Pāṇini's grammar eclipsed the works of all previous grammarians, in the same way the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata eclipsed all previous works on dramaturgy. About a hundred years ago the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was a mere name. In 1828 H. H. Wilson wrote "The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentioned and quoted in several old commentaries and other works has been lost for ever." It was towards the end of the nineteenth century that this work was first published. In the early years of the present century a commentary on this work entitled *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta was discovered.

The available recension of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contains 6000 verses divided into 36 chapters though there is considerable disparity between the two editions that have been published which shows the unsatisfactory condition of the text. Notwithstanding this it is a great and monumental work and throws much welcome light on

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the literary canons of ancient India. Scholars widely differ on the question of its age but most of them regard it as belonging to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

A glance at the contents of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* shows that no work on dramaturgy in any language has the comprehensiveness of this great work. Its contents may be discussed under these headings: (1) Origin and definition of drama (2) Construction of theatre (3) Preliminaries and the Prologue (4) Sentiments and emotions (5) Types of plays (6) Subject matter and plot (7) Classification of characters (8) Languages and styles (9) Acting (10) Dance, song and music.

The origin of drama is explained in the very first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and though the attribution of the creation of drama to Brahmā gives it a mythical touch there is much truth in the statement that the elements of the drama were borrowed from the Vedas. This is what the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says:

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान्रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

For the purpose of creating a Nāṭyaveda Brahmā took the element of recitation or dialogue from the *Ṛgveda*, song from the *Sāmaveda*, histrionic representation from the *Yajurveda* and sentiments from the *Atharvaveda* as well as from the other Vedas.

As regards the definition of drama the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says:

कृतानुकरणं लोके नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ।

An imitation of the actions (of men) is called a drama in this world.

This description resembles the definition given by Cicero that drama is a copy of life and has some semblance with Aristotle's view that art in general consists of imitation.

Coming to the construction of theatre we find that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes in its second chapter three main types of play-house, oblong, square and triangular. These again might be large, medium or small. The large play-house of the first type was about thirty-two yards long and sixteen yards wide and was capable of accommodating about four hundred spectators. It was divided into three parts, the tiring-room, the stage and the auditorium.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* in its fifth chapter prescribes an elaborate series of preliminaries called pūrvaraṅga which must be performed

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before the actual drama begins. They include the Nāndī or benediction, the Raṅgadvāra or the formal beginning of dramatic action with a bow to the banner of Indra, the Prarocanā or the announcement of the contents of the drama and the Prastāvanā or prologue the essential feature of which is an address by the director with an attendant or the actress on some personal business which indirectly introduces the character who is to enter the stage in the beginning of the first act.

The very important subject of psychological states and their development into sentiments or rasas is taken up by Bharata in the sixth and seventh chapters of his work. Men have a number of psychological states or emotions among which eight according to Bharata have a durable effect on the human personality and constitute the bases of sentiments. They are love, mirth, sorrow, anger, energy, terror, disgust and astonishment. The psychological states or emotions develop into sentiments from a combination of vibhāvas or determinants, anubhāvas or consequents and vyabhichāribhāvas or transitory feelings. The determinants comprise things which arouse an emotion or feeling. The consequents are external manifestations of feeling which can be voluntary and involuntary. The involuntary states are called sāttvika bhāvas and are enumerated as paralysis, perspiration, horripilation, change of voice, trembling, change of colour, weeping and fainting. The transitory feelings are complementary psychological states which disappear after strengthening the durable emotion. The sentiments which thus develop from the emotions mentioned earlier are erotic, comic, pathetic, furious, heroic, terrible, odious and marvellous.

The effect of a play, manifesting rasas or sentiments, on the audience is thus expressed by Bharata :—

"Just as well disposed persons while eating food cooked with many kinds of spice enjoy its taste and attain pleasure and satisfaction so the cultured people taste the durable psychological states while they see them represented with words, gestures and involuntary states and derive pleasure and satisfaction."

The effect thus described has much in common with what Aristotle described as Catharsis or purification of the emotions of the audience effected through pity and terror by witnessing a drama of tragic contents. The best Sanskrit dramas are in all but denouement not dissimilar to Greek tragedies and yet according to the theory of Bharata they bring in their wake spiritual joy.

To the question why the durable psychological states alone

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develop into sentiments and not others the answer of Bharata is :—"Just as only a king surrounded by numerous attendants receives this epithet and not any other man, be he ever so great, so the durable psychological states only followed by derminants, consequents and complementary psychological states receive the name of sentiment." On this point he quotes a traditional śloka, which in its English translation runs as follows :—

"Just as a king is superior to other men and the preceptor is superior to his disciples, so the durable psychological states are superior to the other psychological states."

When the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was composed the drama had already developed to such an extent that Bharata had to divide it into ten varieties in the 20th chapter of his work. The highest and the most popular of these varieties is the nāṭaka whose subject is drawn from tradition, whose hero is a famous and noble king and whose dominant sentiment is erotic or heroic. The other important type is the prakaraṇa whose subject matter is framed at his good pleasure by the poet and whose hero may be Brahman, merchant, minister, priest, an officer of the king or the leader of an army, and whose dominant sentiment is erotic. In both of these types the number of acts prescribed are between five and ten. The other eight types are the Samavakāra or supernatural play, the Dima or furious play, the Īhāmṛga or love adventure, the Vyāyoga or military spectacle, the Utsṛṣṭikāṅka or pathetic play, the prahasana or farce, the Bhāṇa or monologue and the Vīthī or garland. It is interesting to note that the last five are types of one act plays.

We now come to the subject matter and the plot of the play, which are dealt with by Bharata in the twenty-first chapter of his work. The plot has been called the body of the drama. It is of two kinds principal and subsidiary. The action of the two major types of dramas can be divided into five stages, viz. ārambha or beginning, prayatna or effort, prāpti-sambhava or possibility of attainment, niyatāpti or certainty of attainment and phalaprāpti or attainment of the object. There are five elements of the plot, viz. the bīja or germ, the bindu or drop, the patākā or episode, the prakarī or incident and the kārya or denouement. Based on these parallel sets is a third division of junctures which carry each of the stages of the action to its natural close. They are the mukha or opening, pratimukha or progression, garbha or development, vimarśa or pause and nirvahaṇa or conclusion.

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The *Nāṭyaśāstra* also tells us the precise scope of the act in which a drama is divided. It is clearly laid down that each act must contain only such events as can naturally be made to occupy the duration of a day at the most. But it is not necessary that act should follow art without interval; on the contrary anything upto a year may intervene between the action of one act and that of the next. Thus the Greek concept of unity of time is applicable in the Indian drama to single acts only and not to the whole play. To reveal to the audience the events during such intervals the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives a choice of five scenes of introduction called arthopakṣepakas which are Viṣkambhaka, Praveśaka, Chūlikā, Aṅkāvatāra and the Aṅkamukha. The author of *Nāṭyaśāstra* deserves high praise for his sense of decency in prohibiting certain acts pointed out in these verses of the 24th chapter :

चुम्बनालिंगनादीनि रंगमध्ये न कारयेत् ।
एवंविधं भवेद् यद् यत्तत्तद्रंगे न कारयेत् ।।
पितृपुत्रस्नुषाश्वश्रूदृश्यं यस्मात्तु नाटकम् ।
तस्मादेतानि सर्वाणि वर्जनीयानि यत्नतः ।।

"Kissing, embracing and the like should not be presented on the stage. Whatever other action belongs to this category should also be avoided on the stage. As a drama is to be witnessed by the father and the son, the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law all sitting together these acts should be carefully avoided."

The heroes and heroines and other important characters of the drama are described and classified in chapters 24 and 34 of the work. Bharata broadly divides the characters into high, middle and low corresponding to the Aristotelian division of characters as ideal, real and inferior. The hero can be of four types. All must possess the quality of self-control, but otherwise they can be distinguished as lalita or gay, śānta or calm, udātta or exalted and uddhata or haughty. The heroine can be of eight types corresponding to the eight different relations she may occupy to her lover.

Since drama is an imitation of life the actors have to use the languages on the stage which the character which they represent actually speak. The eighteenth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* therefore explains what characters are to speak Sanskrit and what are to speak the various Prakrit languages. The following chapter gives the various modes of addressing high, middle, and low characters. In the twenty-second chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the author mentions the four styles which a poet may adopt in a dramatic compo-

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sition. They are the kaiśikī or graceful, sāttvatī or grand, ārabhaṭī or violent and bhāratī or verbal. The graceful style is appropriate to the erotic and comic sentiments; the grand style is suitable to heroic and furious sentiments; the violent style is applicable to the terrible and odious sentiments; and the verbal style is adopted to the pathetic and marvellous sentiments.

The dramatic practice is not less important than theory. The most important element of dramatic practice is the representation of the drama on the stage by the actors. Histrionic representation consists of four elements according to Bharata, viz. Āṅgika or acting by gestures, vācika or that by words, āhārya or that by dress and make up, and sāttvika or that by manifestation of involuntary states like tears, tremor etc. Gestures are described in great details in chapters eight to thirteen. Not only the various movements, positions and gestures of the hands are given but the gestures of the other limbs, such as head, eyes, eye-brows, nose, lips, neck are also described as conveying subtle senses. The gaits of various characters in various sentiments and various conditions are graphically described. The element of speech in acting is also thoroughly explained. Normally of course the actors speak aloud but there are conventions which enable the actors to surmount difficulties inseparable from the dramatic form. The actor has sometimes to do loud thinking meant to be heard by the audience alone and this is called svagata or ātmagata. If the need arises for making a remark to be heard by one actor only, it is called apavārita, while a private conversation is called janāntikam. It is also possible to avoid bringing on a person by speaking in the air, pretending to hear the reply and repeating it before answering it. This is called ākāśabhāṣita. A similar purpose can be served by a voice from the nepathya. The āhārya or the element of make up and dresses is described in detail in chapter 23, while the sāttvika element is treated of in the following chapter.

Lastly a word may be said about dance, song and music which were considered important elements in the Indian drama. The types of dance recognized by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are two, the violent dance of men called tāṇḍava and the tender dance of women called lāsya. Various types of songs are also mentioned. As for instrumental music the *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions four kinds of musical instruments, the tata or stringed, the avanaddha or covered, the ghana or solid, and the suṣira or hollow. Examples of these are the lute, the drum, the cymbal, and the flute.

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REFERENCES TO ANIMAL AND HUMAN SACRIFICES IN THE KĀLIKĀ PURĀṆA

USHA DEV

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* abounds in instances regarding the practice of animal and human sacrifices to the Supreme Goddess in her different forms.

The Purāṇa gives a list of the names of those animals which are to be sacrificed by the 'sādhaka' to the Goddess Caṇḍikā. They are the birds, tortoises, crocodiles, he-goats, boars, buffaloes, Godhikas (a kind of lizard), deer, nine species of wild animals, Cāmara, spotted antelopes, hare, lion and fish, etc.[1] It is also stated that for want of these aforesaid animals, the sādhaka can sacrifice horses, elephants, he-goats, Śarabha and even human beings.[2] The sacrifice of an animal is known as 'Bali' and that of a human being is generally termed as 'Mahābali'.[3]

The Purāṇa has given the detailed process of the performance of the animal as well as human sacrifice. It is said that the victim should be placed before the Goddess and the worshipper should adorn him with the flowers, sandal paste and bark, etc., after bathing him properly. Then he should worship the goddess with the appropriate mantras. The victim should be faced towards East and the worshipper himself to the North. The sādhaka should look backward and say, "Man, through my good fortune you have appeared as a victim, therefore I salute you. By gratifying the Goddess Caṇḍikā, you will destroy all evil incidents to the giver. The victims were created by the self-born (Brahmā) himself for the sacrificial rites. Therefore, I shall slaughter you to-day, for, slaughter as a sacrifice is no slaughter."[4]

Thus, after saluting the victim, the sādhaka should place flowers on the head of the 'bali' with the utterance of the Mantra

1. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 57 (Chapter), 2b-4.
2. *Ibid.* 57.5.
3. *Ibid.* 57.6.
4. *Ibid.* 57. 7-11a.

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"Aiṁ Krīṁ Śrīṁ". Then, the sword with which the 'bali' is going to be sacrificed should be worshiped with the mantra 'Aiṁ Śrīṁ Krīṁ. The sword should be consecrated with the saying 'O sword, you are the tongue of Caṇḍikā and the bestower of the region of the Gods.[1] The sword should be taken up while repeating the mantra. 'Oṁ Krīṁ Phaṭ' and the excellent victim should be slaughtered with it.[2] With the repetition of the mantra 'Oṁ Aiṁ Krīṁ Śrīṁ' the blood of the 'bali' should be adorned with water, rock salt, fruits, honey, flowers and aromatics, etc.[3] Then the skull with a burning lamp over it should be placed before the goddess with the mantra 'Oṁ Aiṁ krīṁ Śrīṁ Kauśikyai Namaḥ.' Thus when a 'bali' is offered to the Goddess in this manner, she is said to be pleased and the sādhaka gets his desired object.[4]

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* speaks about the importance of the blood of the different animals offered to the Goddess. It is said that the Goddess Śivā is pleased with the blood of a fish and a tortoise for a month and with the flesh of the crocodile she is satisfied for the three months.[5]

The Goddess is delighted for eight months if the blood of deer and man is offered.[6] She is pleased for a period of twelve months if Godhikas are sacrificed to her. And with the blood of the spotted antelope and boar, she is satisfied for twelve years.[7] She is pleased for twenty-five years if the blood of he-goats is offered to her. And she rejoices for hundred years when the blood of buffaloes and rhinoceros is offered.[8] She remains satisfied for a thousand years when the blood of lion, tiger, Śarabha and the blood drawn from one's own body is offered. She is delighted with the blood as well as with the meat of the Rohita fish, black antelope and rhinoceros, for three hundred years.[9] The blood of these animals should be purified with mantra and then only it should be offered to the Goddess.[10]

The pot for offering the blood to the Goddess should be made

1. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 57. 11b-17.
2. *Ibid.* 57. 18.
3. *Ibid.* 57. 19.
4. *Ibid.* 57. 20-21.
5. *Ibid.* 71. 7a.
6. *Ibid.* 71. 7b-8a.
7. *Ibid.* 71. 8b-9.
8. *Ibid.* 71. 10.
9. *Ibid.* 71. 13-15.
10. *Ibid.* 71. 20.

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of gold, silver, copper, a vessel of leaves, coral or made of sacrificial wood, etc. It should not be made of iron, bark, cane and sand, etc. Moreover, the blood should not be offered in an earthen jar or a cheap vessel. The sādhaka who is desirous of getting riches, should offer the blood of the human being in a coral jar.[1]

There are a few animals that are not to be offered to the Goddess, as for an example, the horse. It should not be sacrificed except at the Aśvamedha. Similarly, the elephant should not be offered except at the Dikpāla Medha.[2] According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, a king can offer a lion, a tiger, a human being and blood drawn from his own body to the Goddess.[3]

The Brāhmaṇa should never sacrifice a lion, a tiger, or a human being and should not offer his own blood. And if he offers them, then he will surely go to hell and in this world too he will lose his life, happiness and fortune. Moreover, if he offers blood drawn from his own person, he would be committing the sin of suicide. Besides animal sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa is supposed not to offer wine to the Goddess, and in case he does so, then he is said to be degraded.[4]

The sādhaka who belongs to the Kṣatriya caste should not offer kṛṣṇasāra. And if he acts contrary to this prohibition, then he would incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa.[5]

The Purāṇa states that if a Brāhmaṇa at all wants to sacrifice a lion, a tiger or a man, he should make the figure of the desired animal or man of a mixture of ghee and barley powder and sever it with a sabre called candrahāsa[6]

Moreover, a sādhaka should always keep in mind that an animal who is younger than three months of age, should not be sacrificed. Similarly, a bird, whose wings are not yet grown and who has less than three wings, should be abandoned. The animal as well as the bird which is blind, lame or wicked should not be sacrificed. And it is also stated that an animal which is deprived of his tail, ears, teeth and horns, etc. should not be offered at all.[7]

Like animal sacrifice, the human sacrifice too is very much

1. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 71, 4--15.
2. *Ibid.* 71. 16-47.
3. *Ibid.* 71. 48.
4. *Ibid.* 71. 49-51a.
5. *Ibid.* 71. 51b-52a.
6. *Ibid.* 71. 97.
7. *Ibid.* 71. 98, 100a.

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applauded in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. The Purāṇa states that the Goddess is pleased for one thousand years if a human being is sacrificed to her according to the rules prescribed. And if three human beings are sacrificed, then the Goddess is delighted for one lakh years.[1] The proper places for conducting the human sacrifice are the cemetery, where the dead bodies are burnt or a sacred place i.e., the Pīṭha, where the holy worship is usually done.[2]

The *Purāṇa* speaks about the characteristics of a human victim. It is stated that the person should be of good appearance. He must have abandoned meat, sexual relations with his wife and have taken proper diet.[3] The victim should be adorned with flowers and besmeared with the sandal paste, etc. Then the Brahmā should be called to preside over his (victim's) Brahmarandhra, the Earth on his nose, the Ākāśa on the ears, tongue and the mouth, the planets on the eyes, Viṣṇu on the face, Candra on the forehead, Śakra on the right and the left cheeks and Agni on the neck. Similarly, other Aṅga-devatās too are called to come and preside over their respective limbs.[4] And by doing so his (victim's) sins are destroyed and his blood becomes purified for offering to the Goddess.[5]

The noteworthy point regarding the choice of a victim is that he should not be blind, one-eyed, lame, old, suffering from any disease, leprosy, an eunuch, deprived of a limb and of bad signs, etc.[6] Moreover, the person should not have committed any great sin. The victim should not be less than twelve years of age. And one who is under the impurity caused by a childbirth or miscarriage in the family should be avoided for 'bali' purpose.[7] The Purāṇa states that a Brāhmaṇa, an unhealthy person, a prince, one's own son, brother, father, son of a sister, uncle and one who is unwilling for 'bali' should not be sacrificed at any cost.[8]

The good or the bad results can be known by the direction in which the head of the victim falls when severed from the body. If the head falls in the Īśāṇa Kona, i.e. north-east, then it indicates the loss of a kingdom. And if it falls in east, east-south, south, west,

1. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, 71. 18.
2. *Ibid.* 71. 72.
3. *Ibid.* 71. 74.
4. *Ibid.* 71. 76-86.
5. *Ibid.* 71. 87.
6. *Ibid.* 71. 92.
7. *Ibid.* 71. 93-94.
8. *Ibid.* 71. 102.

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and west-north then it indicates welfare, prosperity, fear, profit getting a son and money respectively. If the head falls in the north then loss in luxuries, wealth, defeat at the hands of an enemy, fear etc. are indicated. And when the head falls in the south west direction, then the sādhaka surely attains kingdom as well as all good results.[1]

In the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the references of human sacrifice are also made while describing the rites and customs of the Kapālikas. The Kapālikas are described as engaged in drinking blood. Moreover, they used to break their fast with wine and they usually carried skulls in their hands. Their deity is named as Śmaśāna-bhairava, Kapālī-bhairava or Mahā-bhairava. Even, the deity himself is described as taking delight in eating human flesh and drinking blood etc. He is also described as seated upon a human corpse. His devotees used to worship him especially on the 'Caitra śukla-caturdaśī' with the offer of wine, meat, fish, blood and honey, etc.[2]

Not only human and animal sacrifices are praised, even the offering of one's own blood is said to be eight times more fruitful than the sacrifice of the birds, tortoises, crocodiles, he-goats, boars, buffaloes, etc.[3]

The blood drawn from one's own body should be especially offered on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis.[4]

The most striking point is that the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (being a true Śākta work) has clearly propagated that the female whether quadruped or bird or a woman should never be sacrificed, for, the Goddess resides in each and every female creature.[5]

Thus, a critical study of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* indicates that the recent press reports of the "sacrifices" are farce, because in these cases either the victim is of age less than twelve or the victim is unwilling to be sacrificed.

1. *Kālikā Purāṇa*. 71. 121-127.
2. *Ibid*. 36. 17b-22.
3. *Ibid*. 57. 2b-4.
4. *Ibid*. 60. 17, 30b; 61. 26b-27; 61. 32a; 61. 86b.
5. *Ibid*. 71. 96-97a.

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DHANAPĀLA—A LITERARY STUDY

KAMAL GOGNA

Dhanapāla is one of the most versatile authors of Sanskrit prose literature. His masterpiece, *Tilakamañjarī*, reveals the manifold aspects of his genius. It is a work of massive scholarship enlivened by occasional flashes of literary genius and poetic feelings, but is more important as an encyclopaedic record of literary, socio-political, religious and philosophical data, valuable for the study of the cultural history of India of those times.

Like other Sanskrit poets, Dhanapāla is completely silent about his personal history; hence, there is complete lack of information about his history. The only way of knowing his personal history consists of a few references scattered in his work. In the introductory verses of his composition he has paid his respects to some of the Paramāra kings which helps us to conclude that he might have lived in the court of one of these kings of Paramāra dynasty.

वासिष्ठैः स्म कृतस्मयो वरशतैरस्त्यग्निकुण्डोद्भवो
भूपालः परमार इत्यभिधया ख्यातो महीमण्डले ।
अद्याप्युद्गतहर्षगद्गदगिरो गायन्ति यस्यार्बुदे
विश्वामित्रजयोर्जितस्य भुजयोर्विस्फूर्जितं गुर्जराः ॥[1]

Another hint which helps us to know his history is the clear reference of the kings like Sindhurāja, Vākpatirāja, Bhoja and Muñja.[2]

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, verse 39. p,5, Kāvyamālā series 85.
2. (a) तस्योदग्रयशाः समस्तसुभटग्रामाग्रगामी सुतः
सिंहो दुर्धरशत्रुसिन्धुरततेः श्रीसिन्धुराजोऽभवत् ।
एकाधिज्यधनुर्जिताब्धिवलयावच्छिन्नभूर्यस्य सः
श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवनृपतिर्वीराग्रणीरग्रजः ॥
(b) आकीर्णाङ्घ्रितलः सरोजकलशच्छत्रादिभिर्लाञ्छनै-
स्तस्याजायत मांसलायतभुजः श्रीभोज इत्यात्मजः ।
प्रीत्या योग्य इति प्रतापवसतिः ख्यातेन मुञ्जाख्यया
यः स्वे वाक्पतिराजभूमिपतिना राज्येऽभिषिक्तः स्वयम् ॥
—*Tilakamañjarī*, verses 42 & 43. pp. 5-6.

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From the introductory verses we come to know again that Dhanapāla was the son of Sarvadeva[1] who was well-versed in various sciences, arts and was a religious man. Dhanapāla too attained proficiency in all the Śāstras with the blessings of his father whom he served with reverence. He was a Brahmin by caste.[2]

Being born in a Brahmin family, Dhanapāla studied all the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇas and thus became a great scholar. He married a girl named Dhanaśrī of a very noble family.[3]

He was the court-poet of Muñjarāja, who ruled over Mālawa from 974 to 975 A.D. and was the seventh king of the Paramāra dynasty. He was not only a great patron of poets, but was also himself a great poet.

Dhanapāla seems to have been a convert to Jainism with all his family. After accepting Jainism he spent some years in the propagation of the religion. He was the pupil of Śobhana Muni. He is said to have prevented the king from hunting in order to avoid violence, Ahiṁsā being the chief principle of Jainism.[4] He very tactfully converted his king to Jainism.[5]

It is believed that he composed the romance *Tilakamañjarī* to please his royal patron, who though versed in all arts and litera-

1. शास्त्रेष्वधीती कुशलः क्रियासु
वन्द्ये च बोधे च गिरां प्रकृष्टः ।
तस्यात्मजन्मा समभून्महात्मा
देवः स्वयम्भूरिव सर्वदेवः ।।

—*Tilakamañjarī*, verse 53, p. 7.

2. तज्जन्मा जनकाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजरजःसेवाप्तविद्यालवो
विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्यविशदामेतामबध्नात् कथाम् ।
अक्षुण्णोऽपि विविक्तसूक्तिरचने यः सर्वविद्याब्धिना
श्रीमुञ्जेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभृता व्याहृतः ।।

—*Ibid.* verse 53, p. 7.

3. *Introduction to Tilakamañjarī*—Śri Vijayanemi Sūri Granthamālāratnam, 37.
4. रसातलं यातु तवात्र पौरुषं कुनीतिरेषा शरणो ह्यदोषवान् ।
निहन्यते यद् बलिनाऽपि दुर्बलो हहा महाकष्टमराजकं जगत् ।
5. यूपं कृत्वा पशून् हत्वा, कृत्वा रुधिरकर्दमम् ।
यद्येवं गम्यते स्वर्गे नरके केन गम्यते ।
सत्यं यूपस्तपो ह्यग्निः कर्माणि समिधो मम ।
अहिंसामाहुतिं दद्यादेवं यज्ञः सतां मतः ।।

—*Ibid.* Introduction, Kāvyamālā series 85.

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ture, was anxious to have an idea of the stories of the Jaina theology.[1]

Another trait which indirectly indicates some aspects of his life history is his detailed description of palaces, pleasure gardens, water-tanks and pleasure tours. All this indicates that the poet lived in favourable circumstances.

His Personality :—His masterpiece, *Tilakamañjari*, his approach of handling the subject and his proverbial sayings contained in it reflect his personality to a great extent.

The poet seems to have been possessed of self confidence. His ideas about good and bad poetry clearly reflect his self confidence and sharp insight into the subject. The verse

वन्द्यास्ते कवयः काव्यपरमार्थविशारदाः ।
विचारयन्ति ये दोषान्गुणांश्च गतमत्सराः ॥

T.M. verse 8.

shows his liberal and unbiased outlook so far as the poetry is concerned.

The immense self-confidence in his inherent vitality and intelligence is clearly reflected in his remarks :

(i) स्वादुतां मधुना नीताः पशूनामपि मानसम् ।
मदयन्ति न यद्वाचः किं तेऽपि कवयो भुवि ॥

T.M. verse 11.

(ii) काव्यं तदपि किं वाच्यमवांचि न करोति यत् ।
श्रुतमात्रमभित्राणां वक्त्राणि च शिरांसि च ॥

T.M. verse 12.

The poet seems to be a fatalist. His views about the power of fate have been scattered all over the work. Man's helplessness before the all powerful destiny is beautifully described in his work at a number of places.

Though a firm believer in the theory of Karman, he is much impressed by the role of destiny, which even falsifies all the efforts of a person.

The poet seems to have some spiritual and philosophical inclinations too. The pithy proverbial sayings speak a lot about his

1. निःशेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः
श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुतूहलस्य ।
तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतो
राज्ञः स्फुटाद्भुतरसा रचिता कथेयम् ॥

—*Tilakamañjari*, verse 50. p. 7.

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noble and religious personality. His personality is overpowered by the fickleness of the world, wealth and destiny. Some of the typical ideas of Jainism like attachment and desires as the root cause of suffering, and attachment as the way leading to sorrow etc. reflect his religious inclinations.

His homage to Jina and other deities shows his catholic personality. Though an ardent admirer of Jainism, he respected other faiths with equal reverence. His nobility of mind is reflected in his views on ethics and morals.

The humble side of his character is reflected in the introductory verses of his work where he pays his homage to every poet. His liberal praise of the writers of yore makes him all the more lovable. He possessed a calm, serene and dignified personality.

He seems to be conventional in some of his views. His views about the obedience of elders show his nob e but conventional outlook. The single remark गुरव: यदेव कारयन्ति कृत्यमकृत्यं वा, तदेव निर्विचारैः कर्तव्यम्, विचारो हि तद्वचनेष्वनाचारो महान् bespeaks his personality.

Another striking feature of Dhanapāla's personality was that be had an acute mind. He observed things in their true perspective and noticed minute details. His descriptions always provide clearer picture to the readers.

Dhanapāla's personality like that of Bāṇa is also characterised by two things, firstly, a deep understanding and a clear grasp of the things and secondly, his overwhelming curiosity to know the thing and to transform it into words. With these two gifts, his deep, sharp intelligence came forward all the more developed and sharpened.

His work Tilakamañjarī :—the *Tilakamañjarī*, the celebrated Kathā of Dhanapāla describes the love and union of Tilakamañjarī and Harivāhana, and of Samaraketu and Malayasundarī. It is purely a fanciful love story. Its refined treatment of the subject, its extra-ordinary construction and its polished style, all prove it to be a product of Dhanapāla's varied and mature genius. In it, his imagination takes rapid and sublime flights and thought succeeds another thought and this chain is so extended that one loses sight of the main idea, still one can enjoy the flow of language and the jingling of sweet rhythmical words.

Tilakmañjarī—A Kathā

A close study of the *Tilakamañjarī* leads us to conclude that the composition is a kathā, as technically defined by the Sanskrit rhe-

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toricians. In the last portion of the introductory verses Dhanapāla has clearly stated that the *Tilakamañjarī* is a Kathā. He has clearly stated that he composed the story for the entertainment of his patron and that the story teems with miracles.

The *Tilakamañjarī* begins with a prelude which contains 53 verses in different metres. These verses consist of salutations to Jina, Viṣṇu, Ādinātha, Śiva, censure of the wicked and praise of the good, glorification of the Kathā, an account of his descent and lastly the poet's authorship. Then begins the prose narrative which continues without any pause or any division into chapters. Some verses are inserted by the poet in the prose narrative. It is written in Sanskrit. The subject matter is not based on historical facts but seems to be an invention of the poet's mind. Love is the predominant sentiment and the narrative ends in the winning of a girl.

The *Tilakamañjarī*, when compared with the definition of Kathā given by Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa, shows an agreement with it. It is not divided into chapters. It is written in Sanskrit. The story contains descriptions of town, etc. consisting of light words having alliteration. It is also in accordance with what the Agni-Purāṇa, Ānandavardhana and Hemacandra say about Kathā. In agreement with Viśvanātha's definition of a Kathā, the *Tilakamañjarī* has a 'Sarasa Vastu', is composed in prose, and contains occasional Āryā verses.

When minutely studied, it is seen that the *Tilakamañjarī* testifies to some of the Ākhyāyikā characteristics too; the first being the verses in glorification of the preceding poets, the author's admittance of his own interest to write the kāvya and then the cause, his devotion for his patron, which in spite of his inability, induces him to compose the kāvya and secondly the occasional verses indicating future happenings.

What strikes us most in the *Tilakamañjarī* is inclusion in it of Kulakas (group of verses) which is neither recommended in a Kathā nor in an Ākhyāyikā. It contains many verses in the body of prose, describing the details of the description in hand. This is normally the practice in Campū kāvya. It is quite probable that the author followed the age of Campū kāvya; hence, he though conscious of composing a kāvya, had been influenced by the general practice of the age.

The inter-mixture of the characteristics of Kathā and Ākhyāyikā can be justified with Daṇḍin's view on the subject, as one

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thing with two different names.

Source of the plot and plot construction:—Dhanapāla seems to have derived the inspiration for the plot of his *Tilakamañjarī* from the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. In the *Tilakamañjarī* Dhanapāla's fertile imagination has transformed the plot into a fine piece of literature. His artistic genius is reflected in his presentation and transformation of what was already available and not in the material presented. The element of artificiality is also found in him, but that goes to add to his artistic genius. Long descriptions are added only as ornamentations to the plot. Punctuated on right occasions and in proper proportions they do not eclipse the story but give a beauty to it, providing change in the otherwise monotonous narrative.

The device of setting story within a story has been skilfully introduced. All its sub-narratives are essential for the development of the main plot and are indispensable for the whole theme. Though its structure is complex, yet there is no doubt that the plot is ingeniously arranged.

Like Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, the *Tilakamañjarī* too is defective. So far its constructive art is concerned, there is an entanglement of the past and present incidents which completely confuse the reader. It seems that such complicated plots were popular in Dhanapāla's time, and the author of the tale also spared no pains to fall in line with the authors of his age, who revelled in intricate plot construction. He claims himself as the composer of miraculous story.[1]

The author may also be criticised for introducing the heroine Tilakamañjarī very late. But here also the poet exhibits remarkable skill as she remarkably fits into the story and fascinates our attention.

Another flaw in Dhanapāla's plot construction is that he has given much attention to the story of Malayasundarī and Samaraketu—the side heroine and hero. Consequently, the story of the hero Harivāhana and the heroine Tilakamañjarī seems a sub-narrative. Taken independently this particular portion of the Kathā is a beautiful piece of art, but when seen as a part of the whole, this becomes discordant and the reader has to keep all his senses alert in order to avoid confusion between Malayasundarī and Tilakamañjarī.

Thus Dhanapāla has his own defects and flaws but these are quickly lost sight of before the skill of the artist.

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, verse 50, p. 7.

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Dhanapāla's Art of narration

Dhanapāla tells his story with a majesty and grandeur, all his own. Like Bāṇa's, his is also the grand style. He is not in a hurry to complete his story but proceeds surely and smoothly, in a grand and majestic way, scattering pearls of beauty in the form of descriptions and incidents.

His incidents are well connected and every incident has a beautiful climax. The hopes and despairs, joys and sorrows of the characters are so spontaneous and interlinked that they give an additional charm to the narration.

Dhanapāla's skill of narration lies in his ability to keep suspense and curiosity well maintained throughout the narration. Arresting situations keep the reader spell bound and the author does not employ sensationalism in order to obtain the desired result.

His art of narration consists of all the three types, viz. description, scene and summary. Out of these three, the first two, viz. description and scene have been effectively used by Dhanapāla. The descriptive element at times gets as an out of the way excursion of the author.

On the whole Dhanapāla's art of narration is unique and bears a touch of originality in the approach to the subject.

Kathopakathanas :—Dhanapāla has used Kathopakathana style to make his characters more forceful and realistic. The entire Kathā is narrated in Kathopakathana form between the speaker and the listener. Single question on the part of the listener is enough to set the speaker reeling out a long incident. All the major characters like Meghavāhana, Vegavāhana, Samaraketu, Gandharvaka resort to this device of Kathopakathana. The story gets smooth turns due to this style.

Style and language

Dhanapāla follows Bāṇa's pattern in his prose style. The most striking feature of his style is the appropriate vocabulary as suited to the description in hand. The wonderful accumulation of harsh and soft words in the descriptions of the Vetāla and king Meghavāhana respectively leave one surprised at his skill. His words are beautifully balanced, simple yet ornate, adorned with figures of speech that are at once appropriate and striking.

Out of the four varieties of prose, viz. Muktaka, Vṛttagandhi, Utkalikā and Cūrṇaka, Dhanapāla has used Utkalikā most. This is a grand combination of compoundlessness in the beginning, com-

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pounds of moderate size in the middle, and again long compounds at the end of the description. Description of Meghavāhana Madirāvatī, Āsthānamaṇḍapa, etc. are all the specimen of this variety of prose.

The small clauses are nicely balanced and even with a limited number of words the matter is properly delineated. The description of the city of Ayodhyā,[1] of Vidyādhara sage[2] are the fine examples of his appropriate choice of words and refined expression. The chaste and forceful words echo the sense to a remarkable degree. The single line of Meghavāhana clearly brings forth his deep love and affection for his wife Madirāvatī : इयमप्युपजातजन्मा महति मूर्वाभिषिक्तक्षत्रियाम्नाये माननीया समग्रस्यापि मत्परिग्रहस्य सर्वान्तःपुरप्रधानभूता मदिरावती नाम प्रेमपात्रं मे कलत्रम् ।[3]

Another feature of Dhanapāla's style is his laying stress on one particular word again and again in order to imply the intensity, and to describe an object in long epithetical series. The conversation of king Meghavāhana with the sage telling him his and his wife's details is the typical specimen of this device of Dhanapāla :

अहमपीक्ष्वाकुकुलसंभवो भूयसा विभवेन, भूयसा प्रभावेण, भूयसा सेनापरिच्छदेन, भूयस्या प्रभुशक्त्या, भूयस्या च भूपमण्डलावाप्त्या समेतो मेदिनीपतिर्मेघवाहनाख्यः ।[4]

—इयमप्युपजातजन्मा—अनयास्माकं विकला त्रिवर्गसम्पत्तिः...आकीर्णा महीस्पृहणीया भोगाः, सफलं यौवनम्, अजनितव्रीडः क्रीडारसः, अभिलषणीया विलासाः, प्रीतिदायिनो महोत्सवाः, रमणीयो जीवलोकः... ।[5]

In such descriptions we find him wielding a smooth, simple, facile, colloquial style. At times he writes vigorous, majestic, high-flown and ornate prose : "प्रसन्नयाऽप्यसन्निहितमदया विशालहृदयासादितस्वेच्छावकाशयेवातिदूरप्रसृतया प्रज्ञया सम्यग्ज्ञातहेयोपादेयविभागः...समिद्व्यतिकरस्फुरितप्रतापोऽप्यकृशानुभावोपेतः...सार्वभौमो राजा मेघवाहनो नाम ।"[6]

अर्हद्दर्शनस्थितिरिव नैगमव्यवहाराक्षिप्तलोका, रसातलविविक्षुरविरथचक्रभ्रान्तिरिव चीत्कारमुखरितमहाकूपारघट्टा, सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकौशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्था-

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 7-12.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 23-25.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 27-28.
4. *Ibid.* p. 27.
5. *Ibid.* p. 28.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 12-17.

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भिवाना नगरी ।[1]

His poetic art, richness of fancy and mastery over language are clearly seen in the above citations. Even his ornate descriptions are mingled with small words and phrases having their own charm. His diction is smooth and forceful and his imagery and fancy rich and varied.

The most striking feature of Dhanapāla's style is his use of proverbial sayings, which are scattered all through his composition. This device along with rendering charm to style bespeaks his ideal morals and ethical values.

His rich imagination and minute observation render charm to the theme, giving it entirely a new shape. He wanted to describe a 'miraculous Kathā' in all its details and proceeds slowly, giving lively descriptions of different situations, drawing pen-pictures of various scenes and spots. His artistic treatment of the subject, his ability in describing a situation, his lively portrayal of his characters, his knowledge of and appeal to human heart and the grandeur of his style, all have contributed in making his work a great piece of literature.

Another striking feature of Dhanapāla's style is his sense of propriety which he follows to make the style suit the particular subject in hand. Sometimes he writes in direct forceful language, adding simple but elegant diction in between when occasion demands. At another place he possesses an epigrammatic brevity, when he wishes to convey weighty truths or thoughts in simple words. His rhythmic language adds beauty to his diction. There is novelty and flow in it. It changes its appeal with the change in description. In the humming atmosphere of palaces, it hums sweetly; in gardens and pleasure groves, it chirps and dances with the birds and peacocks; in the gay festivities, it fully partakes in the festivities and tinkles with the tinkling of anklets of the ladies in harem. And yet in sad descriptions, the language too becomes languid. In the enthusiastic descriptions of army marches, the language is forceful and natural with the colloquial tinge in it :

"हत हत, उपसर्पतोपसर्पत—गृह्णीत गृह्णीत— रे विद्याधराधम न जानासि मे स्वरूपम्...गतोऽस्याधस्ताडनेन दुश्चेष्टितेन...क्व यासि...रे रे दुरात्मन् अनात्मज्ञ, निगतपारसंसारपल्वलपंकशूकर महापापकारिन्" ...।[2]

1. *Tilakamañjarī* pp. 7-12.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 93; 382-83.

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Dhanapāla's composition is beautiful specimen of Pāñcālī rīti. It is a simple fluent stream of words and ideas. His own ideas about the chaste and charming speech are reflected in his introductory verses.[1]

(i) अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात् ।
व्याघ्रादिव भयाघ्रातो गयाद् व्यावर्तते जनः ॥

(ii) वर्णयुक्तिं दधानाऽपि स्निग्धाञ्जनमनोहराम् ।
नातिश्लेषघना श्लाघां कृतिर्लिपिरिवाश्नुते ॥

(iii) सत्कथारसवन्ध्येषु निवन्धेषु नियोजिताः ।
नीचेष्विव भवन्त्यर्थाः प्रायो वैरस्यहेतवः ॥

His style has the skilful blending of the poetical excellences, especially of Mādhurya, which instigates the emotions, and renders charm and dignity to the diction. His diction is characterised by perspicuity of meaning (प्रसाद). The excellence of clarity of meaning (अर्थव्यक्ति) and evenness of diction (समता) achieved through absence of implicitness of sense also typify his composition. He is very fond of metaphorical expression which chiefly constitutes the excellences of समाधि and ओजस् which consisting of a profusion of compounds, stand unique in his *Tilakamañjarī*. This excellence is found in both the varieties of व्यस्त i.e. short sentences with compounds of similar length occurring here and there, and समस्त (opposite to the former). Between the two extremes stands the middle path, where both the varieties meet hand in hand in the same description. The examples are all the long descriptions of Dhanapāla where he follows the practice of starting a description with long compounds and ending with shorter ones.

Dhanapāla's skilled use of various figures of speech in his composition adds more charm to his poetic achievements. His employment of various figures of speech is graceful and natural. He is fond of both Arthālaṅkāras and Śabdālaṅkāras. His composition teems with different poetic embellishments like simile, metaphor, parisaṅkhyā, paranomasia and contradictions, etc. His similes are the products of his fine imagination, which teem with freshness of observation and subtlety of presentation. Various varieties of simile are scattered in the composion.[2] उत्प्रेक्षा,[3] काव्यलिङ्ग,[4] रूपक,[5] श्लेष,[6] अर्थापत्ति,[7]

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, verses 15, 16, 18, pp. 2-3.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 7-11; 23.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 9, 14, 22, 25.
4. *Ibid* p. 8.
5. *Ibid.* p. 14.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 15-16.
7. *Ibid.* pp. 10-11,

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विरोध,[1] परिसंख्या and उल्लेख[2] are some of the favourite Arthālaṅkāras of the author which he has used skilfully.

Fine melodious music is provided by his alliteration. The tinkling rhythm of language soothes the ears and refreshes the mind. Some of the fine specimens of his alliterations are :

(a) क्षणमप्युच्यमानमनोभवभवभवानीभवनैः ।
(b) प्रणुन्नैरप्रसन्नै रणन्मधुकरध्वनिना मन्दं मन्दं रणरणायमानैः ।
(c) ज्वलितज्वलनच्छटाजटालकुलिशकोटिकुट्टिमकुलाचलेन...
(d) किमर्थमेषा मदङ्कशय्याशयनलालिता ललिताङ्गी...

यमक too has the equal charm and effect so far as the elegance of diction is concerned. For instance :

(a) नलप्रधुप्रभोऽप्यनलपृथुप्रभः, न वेश्मनि नवेऽश्मनि ।
(b) तस्मिंस्तापमतापमातपानातपं तपनमतपनं दिवसमदिवसं ग्रीष्ममग्रीष्मं कालमकालं तुषारपातमतुषारपातं त्रिभुवनमत्रिभुवनं सर्गक्रममसंस्त—

Another striking feature of Dhanapāla's style is his descriptive element. As is usual in Sanskrit Kathā literature long winding descriptions preponderate in the *Tilakamañjarī* to the detriment of the narrative and are often complicated by conglomerations of intricate and basely constructed compounds of considerable length. There is, however, no doubt that Dhanapāla has at his command a rich variety of details and shows an intimate knowledge of diverse phases of the life of his times.[3] The conventional descriptions are mostly involved and artificial but there are others which are simpler and more effective. Being the follower of an ornamental style, his descriptions are decorated but his use of figures of speech does not hinder a real perception of scene depicted.

Sentiments :—Dhanapāla has skilfully delineated the sentiments keeping in view the traditional lines. The main sentiment of his Kathā is erotic in separation, but his treatment of marvel is also remarkable. He displays his talents in delineation of pathos, wonder and peace too to a considerable degree. His treatment of erotic is pure and refined. Through his representation of विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गार he has presented the controlled and pure love. He has reunited the couples only after making them suffer, till the perfect purity and

1. *Tilakamañjarī* pp. 9-10; 74-75.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 12, 13, 14, 15.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 12-22; 23-25; 27; 46-49; 54-55; 63-65; 70-71; 76-77; 96; 105; 116-18; 120-22; 255.

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serenity is reached. Thus Dhanapāla too like Bāṇa delineates शिवम् along with सत्यम् and सुन्दरम्.

The Hāsya of Dhanapāla is very subtle and refined but is rarely depicted. His Karuṇa is characterised by depth of thought and feelings. His delineation of pathos, though not as perfect as as that of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, is notable for its effectiveness. Heroic sentiment is treated as subordinate sentiment where the Yuddhavīra variety is depicted effectively.

The Furious (रौद्र) and the Marvel (अद्भुत) are clearly depicted in the *Tilakamañjarī*. In fact, it is a unique literary monument on the sentiment of Marvel. The writer himself claims this unique feature of his Kathā :—

निःशेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः
श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुतूहलस्य ।
तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतो
राज्ञः स्फुटाद्भुतरसा रचिता कथेयम् ॥[1]

In fact, the whole knitting of the plot is marvellous. At every step we see marvellous incidents which inspire suspense and wonder.

The Affection (वात्सल्य) teems with parental love and affection. Dhanapāla delineates the Affection (वात्सल्य) very skilfully to the best of his capacity.

The Śānta Rasa too finds scope in the *Tilakamañjarī*. As compared to Bāṇa's delineation of the Śānta Rasa in hermitages and sages Dhanapāla's scope is very limited. But whatever he has depicted, teems with perfection.

Thus Dhanapāla's treatment of sentiments is remarkable where all the rasas are harmoniously combined and the chief rasa has been brought out clearly and vividly.

Characterisation :—Like Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, Danapāla also possesses a power of vivid characterisation. His work depicts kings, princes, queens, princesses, ascetics and other minor characters. Though he portrays them more or less in a coventional way yet most of his characters are marked with some individuality.

The most striking feature of Dhanapāla's characterisation is its typical quality of delineating the characters on individual level as well as on mass level. There is intrinsic affinity of habits and manners in the characters. All the kings, princes, queens and princesses possess the same physical and intellectual accomplishments

1. *Tilakamañjarī*, verse 50, p. 7.

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and have the same attitude towards life. The author delineates the emotional balance of the characters. Though overpowered by emotions, they are always vigilant towards their duties.

Another feature of his characterisation is that he presents his characters in pairs. In spite of the similarities in activities, aims and virtues, the poet has succeeded in maintaining their individuality. Malayasundarī and Tilakamañjarī, both are beautiful maidens, both suffer a lot for the reunion with their lovers, yet we find a difference in their behaviours and attitudes.

Dhanapāla's characters are ambitious and enterprising, young and charming and have regard for religion. No character of Dhanapāla is atheist. The author portrays equally the inner and outer beauty. His characters are depicted as refined personalities striving for perfection. He gives much stress to intellectual achievements rather than the physical charm. His characters are 'Rasika' as well as 'Bhāvuka'. They are vigilant for virtues. Unlike Daṇḍin's characters Dhanapāla's characters bear the mark of nobility and simplicity of mind.

His female characters have their own uniqueness. Endowed with all womanly qualities, they aspire at high intellectual levels and are vigilant towards the moral virtues like nobility, generosity, charity and also the aesthetic values like perfection in arts of music, dancing and painting, etc.

Another striking feature of Dhanapāla's characterisation is that he names his characters according to the incidents connected with their lives. Harivāhana is appropriately named as he rides elephant, the elephant episode being the most important incident in framing his life. Again Samaraketu is so named because he was really a banner of victory in battle. Vajrāyudha is another character appropriately named. He is in fact a thunderbolt to the enemy. Even Tāraka is named after his efficiency in navy.

Not only the main characters, even the minor characters like the letter-bearer and messengers are very well named. One messenger is named Harṣa, who brings the happy (हर्ष) news of prince's welfare. The letter-bearer is named Paritoṣa as the letter he brought gave much satisfaction to the receiver.

This practice of Dhanapāla is highly significant with regard to his skill in characterisation.

The striking flaw of Dhanapāla's characterisation is that he depicts his characters, specially his princes with a tinge of imagination. He makes them perform some marvellous deeds which,

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besides depicting their adventurous spirit, lend artificiality to the characters. Most of the incidents of the composition do not appeal to the mind, if looked at logically and thus mar the skill in characterisation.

Apart from the human characters, Dhanapāla has sketched some divine and semi-divine characters also. In this connection, the characters of Vidyādhara sage, Śrī, Vetāla, etc. are noteworthy.

If seen from technical point of view, Dhanapāla's hero comes in the category of Dhīrodātta; the definition,

अविकत्थनः क्षमावानतिगम्भीरो महासत्त्वः ।
स्थेयान्निगूढमानो धीरोदात्तो दृढव्रतः कथितः ॥

perfectly goes well with the hero of the *Tilakamañjarī*. His heroine Tilakamañjarī comes in the category of Mugdhā. His female characters are either Mugdhās or Svakīyās.

Thus Dhanapāla's artistic treatment of the subject, the lively portrayal of his characters and his knowledge of and appeal to human heart and, above all, the grandeur of his style, all have contributed in making his work a great piece of literature.

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THE MONOGAMIST KṚṢṆA

ASHA GOSWAMI

The epical and Purāṇic accounts credit Kṛṣṇa with having married 16108 wives. Kṛṣṇa, according to popular belief and faith, had incarnated on the earth to lead the people on to the path of righteousness and duty (Bhg. IV. 8). Surely then he could not have been so fickle and frivolous about his marriage which in fact is a very important social event in human life. Polygamy is a moral weakness in a man. It is true that the ancient Hindus had allowed Polygamy but that was only in very rare and exceptional circumstances. Polygamy had been tolerated only as a defective social institution. Many instances of Polygamy are observable in the Purāṇas and the epics: Bhṛgu had two wives;[1] Dhruva thirteen; the Prajāpati Atri ten and Viśravas had four. Vasudeva the father of Lord Kṛṣṇa had thirteen wives while Satrājit, his contemporary, had ten. On the other hand, people of ancient times were generally monogamists and monogamy prevailed in the ancient social order. The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa bears an ample testimony to this practice when Śiva blesses Pārvatī to have a husband who has no other wife, "अनन्यभाजं पतिमाप्नुहि". It is, therefore, wrong to presume that people in ancient times were morally lax or indulged in Polygamy.

If, therefore, the Purāṇas and the Epics speak of a large number of Kṛṣṇa's wives there is something wrong in the recorded history or in its interpretation.[1] There are some legends which connect the fiction about so vast a number of his wives with

1. Dr. Bhagwan Dass remarks "Unfortunately there is little doubt that the current texts are full of misreadings and interpolations; at the same time, it is very difficult to determine the right wording and nail down the interpolations and also there is lot of mystical matter in them which on the one hand is not easy to throw as rubbish in view of its elaborate nature and on the other hand, it is even more difficult to interpret satisfactorily in the absence of "Super Physical knowledge." (*Kṛṣna* footnote 52)

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mythology.[1] There are differing and different views on the subject. Some scholars hold that this big number is an exaggeration[2] (अतिशयोक्ति). Others think that besides his eight married wives, which he had won by his feats of strength and courage he had accepted the love of many maidens in quite thoughtless moments after he had rescued them in one of his military expeditions in the far east.

The list of wives differs in different sources; their name and number is not always the same. Our source-books the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas differ widely in this respect. We shall, therefore, collect all accounts bearing on the subject and then reducing the number so obtained by the process of elimination subject these accounts to a critical analysis.

Account of Kṛṣṇa's wives: The Purāṇas are works of ancient History and strangely enough many[3] of them contain a vivid account of the event of the marriage of 16100 wives by Kṛṣṇa as a result of a military expedition towards the Far East (The modern Assam). The story about the same event is described in the various Purāṇas : "Earth had a son named Narakāsura[4] who was the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam). He stole the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother Goddess. On the complaint of Indra, Kṛṣṇa went to Prāgjyotiṣapura to recover the ear-rings. Kṛṣṇa killed Narakāsura and married 16100 daughters of Naraka" (PP. U. K. 276). Yet another version (Bh. P. X. 59. 42) shows : "The Lord slew in Prāgjyotiṣapura Mura and Naraka who had captured sixteen thousand one hundred maidens whom Kṛṣṇa liberated and married later on." It may be observed that the two accounts are quite inconsistent. According to one account they were the daughters of Naraka; according to another they were the captive daughters of Gods and men. Now the only question to be examined is regarding the historicity[5] of the event. The story looks quite fictitious, as Naraka according to this story is said to have stolen divine ear-rings.

1. *Mbh.* I.67.54. "The Apsaras referred to previously became the sixteen thousand wives of Vāsudeva in the mortal world."
2. Sri Ghosa in *Indo-Aryan literature and culture* (P.200) says "The Tale of his 16000 wives and all that is said about that multitude. whether individually or in gross, are so far removed from the natural that I reject them altogether as unreliable data...."
3. *VP.* IV. 15.19; V. 28; *Bhp.* I,11. 30; X. 80.17; XI,.6.18 19; X, 59. 42.
4. Narakāsura, according to the *Dictionary of the folklore and Hindu Mythology*, is an elephant who outdid the evils of all the other Asuras carrying off the daughters of men and Gods.
5. M.L. Sen while discussing the historicity of the Narakāsura event in his

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Detailed account of Kṛṣṇa's eight wives is also available in the *Bh. P.* Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Rukmiṇī is mentioned in the *Mbh*, *V. P.*, *H. V.* and *Bhp.* etc. Rukmiṇī the daughter of the king of Vidarbha was carried away by Kṛṣṇa on an expression of her desire to marry him. Jāmbavatī was married to Kṛṣṇa, vide the Syamantaka episode which also records the marriage of Kṛṣṇa with Satyabhāmā the daughter of Satrājit. Besides Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Kālindī and four others is celebrated in the *BhP.* Kālindī was a river goddess who herself begged Kṛṣṇa to marry her. Nagnajit, king of Kośala, had a daughter who was wedded to Kṛṣṇa after he tamed the seven sacred bulls. Śrutakīrti, the princess of Kekayas, also offered herself to Kṛṣṇa. Similarly, Kṛṣṇa married Bhadrā, Mādrī or Haimavatī.

NAMES AND NUMBER OF WIVES RECORDED IN THE SOURCE BOOKS

All the source-books of Kṛṣṇacarita refer to a vast number of Kṛṣṇa's wives in one way or the other. The statement given hereunder shows the discrepancy about the names and number of wives wedded by him :—

TABULAR STATEMENT SHOWING NAMES OF THE WIVES OF KṚṢṆA

Reference to source-books

S.N. Names	*VyPII.* 34, 233-34	*M.P.* 47 13-4	*V.P.V.* 28-32	*Dbh.* 1V. 24	*PP.* 276 38-	*A.P.* XII 31	*L.P.* 69 66	*H.V.* 118 67	*Mbh.* 18 7	*HV* 162
					UK					
1. Rukmiṇī	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Satyā	—	—	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	—

work *Lord Kṛṣṇa his tife and teachings*, Vol II, P 71-80 jumps to a hurried conclusion that this story which lies at the root of Kṛṣṇa's marrying so vast a number of wives is quite fictitious. He adduces the reason that during the Pāṇḍava-Kṛṣṇa period the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣapura was Bhagadatta and not Narakāsura. But this argument of M.L. Sen has been proved to be wrong by the Sylhat Copperplate found recently (P. O. Vol. XII.P.35) which says "Naraka had a son named Bhagadatta who had fought with Arjuna in the Kuru-War." It is probable that the slaying of Narakāsura by Kṛṣṇa is a historic fact.

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S.N. Names	*VyPII.*	*M.P.*	*V.P.V.*	*Dbh.*	*PP.*	*A.P.*	*L.P.*	*H.V.*	*Mbh.*	*HV*
3. Satya-bhāmā	—	—	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	—
4. Jāmbavatī	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	—	—
5. Rohiṇī	—	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
6. Śebyā	—	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
7. Sudevā	--	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
8. Mādrī	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
9. Suśīlā	—	—	—	×	×	×	×	—	×	×
10. Kālindī	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	×	—
11. Mitra-vindā	—	—	×	—	—	×	×	—	+	—
12. Lakṣmaṇā	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	—	×	—
13. Jālahāsinī	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—
14. Subhīmā	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
15. Gāndhārī	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
16. Kauśalyā	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
17. Vijayā	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
18. Bhadrā	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×
19. Prasvā-pinī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
20. Vratinī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
21. Kaikeyī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
22. Cāruhā-sinī	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
23. Nāgnajitī	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	×	—
24. Upasa-ṁgā	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
25. Kauśikī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
26. Suta Somā	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
27. Yaudhiṣṭ-hirī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
28. Hemavatī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×
29. Pauravī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—
30. Sudattā	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—
31. Bhāminī	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	—	×	—
32. Sātrājitī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×

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The Process of Elimination

If recourse is taken to eliminate the names which look quite unrealistic it would become clear that Kṛṣṇa had wedded only one wife. This is explained as follows :—

I. 16100 number is quite unreal in the light of the glaring discrepancy observed already, viz. one source-book says that they were the daughters of Narakāsura while the other says that they were the daughters of Devas and kings captured by him.

2. In regard to the remaining eight wives, an examination of the tabular statement would show that this number is also not real excepting Rukmiṇī, who was legally married to him. The source books differ widely in the matter of numbers and names; most of the names appear only as qualitative epithets i.e. सत्या, सुदेवा, सुशीला, लक्ष्मणा, विजया, भद्रा, सुदत्ता, भामा, etc. The following names are often associated with Kṛṣṇa but require special scrutiny. These a e (1) Rukmiṇī (2) Satyabhāmā (3) Jāmbavatī. The last two are connected with the general episode the historicity of which has been challenged.[1] Satyabhāmā does appear in the *Vana Parva* and *H.V.* of the *Mahābhārata* but these references are thought to be interpolations. Besides there are reasonable grounds to eliminate both these names as well. This leaves only Rukmiṇī in the field who was duly married by Kṛṣṇa and from whom he got children who played an active part in the history of that age.

Some Additional Arguments

1. Sons born of other wives unlike that of Rukmiṇī never take any active part in Kṛṣṇa's life-story. (2) Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī are associated with Kṛṣṇa only in those portions of the *Mahābhārata* which are taken to be quite later (Vanaparva, Mausala parva and H.V) (3) The epic *Mahābhārata* 1. 67. 54 56 strengthens the view that Kṛṣṇa had only one wife Rukmiṇī because it separates Rukmiṇī as the incarnation of Lakṣmī and not the other wives. (4) The Mbh. at V.CXVII 17-18 further hints out Kṛṣṇa as a monogamist where it has

1. Cri. Ed, *H.V.* Vol. 1. pp. 793, M.L. Sen *Lord Kṛṣṇa* and B. Chatterjee *Kṛṣṇa Carita.*

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enlisted Kṛṣṇa with the known monogamists of the age e.g., Rāma, Nala, Satyavān, etc.

Mystery behind the number of Kṛṣṇa's wives

The Purāṇas and the epics are full of many mythological, symbolic and allegorical accounts. The orientalists always attempt to seek new meanings and new explanations about these accounts. Here are some such attempts to solve the mystery behind the Purāṇic myth of the number of 16108 wives of Kṛṣṇa.

(1) Mr N.V. Thadani (*The mystery of the Mahābhārata* Vol. V. PP. 842-43) says "sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa are said to have plunged into Sarasvatī and been transformed into Apsarās. Sarasvatī is Prakṛti[1] characterized by the energy of heart and Apsarā is a form of Prakṛti (Apsarā). Number sixteen refers to the mind and the senses of knowledge and action and their objects, and Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika—all of which hold to Prakṛti as the chief creator of life—correspond to their character. The number hundred, thousand or hundred thousand, refers to something indefinitely large. Hence the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa are the different forms of Prakṛti[1] characterized by the energy of the mind and the senses; the idea of a gopī or a cowherdess beloved of Kṛṣṇa is the same. In this relation, we have shown that the relation between Puruṣa and Prakṛti is said to correspond to that between husband and wife and so Kṛṣṇa (God) has sixteen thousand Gopīs or forms of Prakṛti for his wives."

2. According to Kosambi Kṛṣṇa's wives originally represented local mother goddesses (Kosambi, P. 28. *Myth and Reality*).

3. F.S. Growse (*Mathura*, P. 66) while discussing the vexing point of Kṛṣṇa's marriage with 16100 girls and getting a hundred and eighty thousand sons out of them says : "These extravagant numbers are merely intended to indicate the wide diffusion and power of the great Yādava clan."

4. *Yogic interpretations* : The Yogīs say that sixteen thousand and one hundred nerves get united at a place near Suṣumnā. It is considered necessary for the Yogīs to control them. Kṛṣṇa, a great Yogi, had full control over his bodily nerves and

1. S.P. Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, says that the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa represent the multiple forms of the sixteen kalās of moon. चन्द्ररूपी मतः कृष्णः कलारूपास्तु ताः स्मृताः ।

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hence he was said to be the husband (Master-lord) of sixteen thousand nerves (later on thought to be wives).

5. Philosophically, the wives of Kṛṣṇa are the manifold forms of Prakṛti. The fact that Kṛṣṇa married eight wives represents that Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the universe, became wedded to the eight-fold energies of Prakṛti.[1] These eight energies are : (a) Rukmiṇī is Mūla Prakṛti, (b) Jāmbavatī is Mahat or Universal Mind, (c) Satyabhāmā is Ahaṁkāra, (d) Kālindī is Ākāśa-sound, (e) Mitravindā is Vāyu (touch), (f) Satyā or Nāgnajitī is Agni or fire, (g) Bhadrā is Ap (Taste or water), (h) Lakṣmaṇā is Kṣiti (Smell). The last named one represents the Spiritual Energy of Earth.

6. According to a Symbolic interpretation all the eight wives of Kṛṣṇa are his Vibhūtis. Rukmiṇī is sattva; Satyabhāmā rajas; Jāmbavatī tamas; Kālindī the Ganges; Haimavatī the Himālayas; Śrutakīrti the Sāmaveda; Nāgnajitī the naked soul; and Bhadrā the peace of God.

7. *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad* speaks about the wives of Kṛṣṇa as representing the Vidyā constituting the 16000 Ṛks of the Vedas and 108 Upaniṣads (*K. Upaniṣad.* 13) अष्टावष्टसहस्रे द्वे शताधिक्या: स्त्रियस्तथा । ऋचोपनिषदस्ता वै ब्रह्मरूपा ऋच: स्त्रिय: ।

8. *Gopāla Tāpinī Upaniṣad* (43) speaks about only Rukmiṇī the wife of Kṛṣṇa as primeval Nature : कृष्णात्मिका जगत्कर्त्री मूलप्रकृती रुक्मिणी ।

The number sixteen thousand one hundred and eight of wives which Kṛṣṇa is said to have married is really something which is quite fantastic and extravagantly fanciful. It is against all canons of morality and social order prevailing in any age. Why then is the Lord credited to possess so many wives ? As has been already discussed, the number 16108 can only be assigned some symbolic and mystic meaning. They all are the multitudinous forms of Eightfold Prakṛti according to an interpretation which looks most plausible. Besides, one more philosophical hint can be grasped showing that He (Kṛṣṇa) is the husband of all women, the weaker sex in the society. Thus this vast number of 16108 wives with hidden mystic meanings was connected with Kṛṣṇa just to prove that He was the Lord of all the ladies of the world and father

1. P.P.P.K. 70.9. अष्टौ प्रकृतय: पुण्या: प्रधाना: कृष्णवल्लभा: ।

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of all men, (the second makes the first inevitable). This is about Kṛṣṇa, the supreme, but the historic Kṛṣṇa was only possessed of one wife, Rukmiṇī, who after his identification with the Supreme Viṣṇu came to be represented with eight-fold Prakṛti which is also depicted in the symbolic representation of Lakṣmī endowed with eight attendants.

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KĀLIDĀSA'S VISION OF THE CLOUD IN HIS MEGHADŪTA

DHARMENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

The *Meghadūta's* cloud figures as an immortal character in Kālidāsa's poesy. Apart from the natural phenomenon it represents, the cloud in his lyrical poem appears before us as a living soul throbbing with human emotions and sobbing in human sorrows. The great visionary in Kālidāsa has invested it with a distinct personality which impresses us for its sensitive reactions to things emotional in human life. The poet, before he chose on his Yakṣa's behalf the monsoon cloud of the Rāmagiri as a messenger to the love-lorn Yakṣī at the city of Alakā on the Himālayas, was fully aware of the responsible nature of the job of conveying a message, and was also conscious of the defective nature of the device of employing a cloud, a mere congeries of smoke, fire, water and air, as a messenger. This is why he has cared to offer an apology for that, and the apology is the almost demented condition of the Yakṣa in separation. A man stricken with love, he has said, is unable to discriminate between the sentient and the insentient (5).[1] The apology offered is convincing, and it has been conceded, though with some inhibition, by as severe a critic as Bhāmaha.[2]

Even if there were no apology offered for the device, the things would have been as appealing as they are now for the simple reason that the cloud appears in the poem as a living being endowed with sensitive mind and a feeling heart. The poet has in fact enrobed it through his Yakṣa in a personality which is distinct and independent, before he has devolved on it the delicate task. Clothed in this personality, *he* is no longer a lifeless combination of certain physical elements; instead, *he* is a creature or rather a

1. A figure within brackets, here and hereinafter, refers to the verse number according to the Sahitya Akademi edition (ed. S. L. De, New Delhi, 1957) of the work.
2. Cf. *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (ed. Devendranath Sharma, Patna, 1952), I. 42-4.

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human being with sharp intelligent faculties fully capable of discharging the difficult and delicate duty assigned to *him*.[1] And it is significant that the Yakṣa, before requesting him to carry his message to his beloved, pays him his obeisance with the offer of fresh *kuṭaja* blossoms and directs to him his sweet words of welcome (4) and of praise (6-9, 15). Again, he addresses him as a friend (22, 38, 96, 97) and a brother (91, 110), and refers, in his elaborate entreaty to him, to his own wife, the Yakṣī, as his (the cloud's *bhrātṛjāyā*, 'brother's wife' (10), and *sakhī*, 'friend' (75, 85, 91).

One of the important aspects of his personality is his high lineage; the Yakṣa traces his birth to the world-renowned line of the Puṣkarāvartakas, (6), the large clouds born, according to a mythological legend, from the wings of the mountains which were cut off by Indra.[2] His glorious family line is fittingly matched with his equally dignified social status, for he is the chief executive officer of Indra, the rain-god (6). The high birth and the eminent position he enjoys in social life render him worthy of the trust the Yakṣa so confidently reposes in him.

Besides, the cloud has other qualities too to his credit. He is active and smart; he can fly in the heights of the sky at good speed. He commands a great skill in arts and in particular in music, and this makes him attractive and endearing to all. He is, above all, *kāmarūpa*, one who could assume any form at will (6). This quality lends him the rare property of flexibility and adaptability to all conditions, and enables him to become elusive in an hour of need. Thus, he could take the form of a flower-cloud in order to besprinkle with flowers his favourite god Skanda at Devagiri (43) or the form of his own reflected image in order to enter near Ujjayinī into the waters of the river Gambhīrā (40). Again, he could easily convert his physical form into a flight of steps with a view to facilitating Pārvatī's pleasure movements on the mount Kailāsa (60) or assume the form of long thin lines of smoke to escape from the seven-storeyed mansions of the plutocrats through their latticed windows after having spoiled the wall-paintings therein (68). In order to effect his soft-landing, he could even reduce his huge body to the size of a young elephant (78). His being a *kāmarūpa* is not merely a poetical description; it is rather a real and a living phenomenon

1. In keeping with Kālidāsa's poetic concept of the cloud, I have henceforward used for *him* (the cloud) the *masculine* personal pronoun.
2. Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Trans., p. 231.

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in his nature. We can very well observe a floating cloud frequently changing not only its form, size and shade of colour, but also its mood and behaviour in the infinite vault of the sky.

While representing the physical form of the cloud the poet has constantly kept in view his *kāmarūpa* character, and this has resulted into a grand variety show in the work with the cloud in his myriad forms as the leading figure. The poetic vision of Kālidāsa has drawn a number of miniature paintings of his numerous forms, and there is perhaps no aspect of his personality which could have escaped its notice. The cloud's dark but glossy face gets a prominent representation in almost all his pictures, but the background and the setting always differ, and this has necessitated the use of differing lines and shades of colours in imagery in the form of varied standards for similitude. Thus, the swarthy and presumably vertically stretched cloud with the multi-coloured rainbow haloing him in the background has been gracefully visioned as the cowherd Kṛṣṇa wearing around his head the rich 'motley plumage of a peacock' (15). His large and longish body spread out in a slanting position over the slopes of the Himālayas has on the other hand been fancied as the stretched out feet of the lord Viṣṇu ready to bind the demon Bali (57). A thick and dark mass of cloud, which is neither longish nor tall in appearance, has, when looked at from a distance, been appropriately conceived more than once as a dark wild elephant (2, 51, 78). Thus, the cloud settling on the Rāmagiri peak has been viewed by the Yakṣa as an elephant in sportive rage stooping to strike at the river bank with his tusk (2). The cloud, on the other hand, which droops over the lofty Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī and is tinged red with the crimson of the setting sun, has been aptly portrayed as the dark elephant-hide, tainted red with fresh blood, worn by the lord Śiva during his cosmic dance (36).

The long and glossy locks of hair of a maiden appear as another standard for the thick dark cloud in his stretched out and falling form (18). The cloud laden with heavy drops of transparent water and hanging over the lofty palaces of Alakā bears resemblance to a damsel's tresses of hair interwoven with a net of brilliant pearls (63). The simile appears in its reverse form in the portrait of the Yakṣiṇī whose curly hair that is scattered on, and has partially covered, her face resting on the palm of her hand presents the likeness of a curly and confused line of clouds enshrouding the bright, full moon (81).

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Some of the pictures of the cloud have apparently been drawn as if focused from a long distance. In such pictures the figure of the cloud appears in a smaller but darker and thicker form. Thus, a large amorphous fragment of the cloud hung on the snow-clad cliff of the Himālaya mountain appears in a nicely-drawn picture as a thick mass of mud dug by, and slung on the horn of, Śiva's white bull, Nandin (52). Similarly, a cloud gently gliding round the high slopes of the white mountain Kailāsa has been aptly visioned as the dark-coloured mantle loosely thrown, and waving, over the shoulders of the white-complexioned Balarāma (59).

All these pictures have been sketched as if viewed by the poet from the su face of the earth. There are, however, a few others which have been visualised and portrayed from above the region of the clouds. These, imagined to be kenned by the heavenly beings from afar, present an aerial view of the vast landscape spotted in the centre with the figure of the cloud. Thus, the dark cloud settled on the summit of the mountain Āmrakūṭa, the vast expanse of which is covered with mango groves laden with ripe yellow fruits all around, is viewed from afar and visioned by the divine couples as the dark nipple of the Earth's plump and palish breast (18). The dense mass of cloud floating over the Mahākāla temple is taken by Śiva's attendants stationed high in the sky to be their master's dark-spotted neck (33). The celestial Gandharvas, viewing similarly from a distance his figure in a mass form bent down upon the shining waters of the river Carmaṇvatī in order to quench its thirst, take it to be a big sapphire gem strung in the middle to a long necklace of pearls (46). Once we have the cloud's close-up also, drawn from above, in his horizontally longish form bent down upon the bright waters of the Gaṅgā; the shade of his swarthy and long-ish form has been fancied here as the dark river Yamunā uniting with the white stream of Gaṅgā and presenting the view of the famous Prayāga confluence much before its actual location (51).

Some of his pictures drawn by the poet are marked by an elaborate representation of minute detail of the natural phenomena attendant upon his appearance in the sky. One such portrait which in fact is meant to depict the lofty palaces of the city of Alakā finely details the paraphernalia of the sky-licking lines of clouds. The simile comparing the tall palaces with the clouds floating aloft though highly poetical, is deeply real. If the palaces, pens the poet, have beautiful and bright damsels peeping through their windows, the clouds have the streaks of lightning flashing through

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their dark figure; if the walls of the palaces are tastefully decorated with frescoes in different colours, the clouds are finally adorned with multicoloured rainbow lines; if the palaces are resounded with the music of the tabors, the clouds rumble in deep and sonorous voice (and thereby create music); and if the palaces have jewelled pavement shining in all splendours, the clouds have the pavement of the watery crystal which is lustrous and glossy (64). At another place, the poet fancies (through his Yakṣa) the cloud's figure with the intermittingly glimmering lightning to be the peak of the Yakṣiṇī's pleasure-mountain paved with sapphire gems and nicely lined with golden plantain trees (74).

The cloud has been depicted in most of the above pictures in his stationary form. There are, however, some pictures which represent his figure in a conspicuously mobile form. In these paintings also the poet has taken care to be accurate in delineating his natural colour and form. In one of such pictures, the large mass of cloud, being carried away in the heights by a strong wind, is described as taken by the innocent Siddha women to be a mountain peak being flown away by the hurricane (14). The mobile aspect of the cloud is to be greatly loved by the Yakṣa who would hardly allow him to be static or lingering on the way. The sorrowful lover requests him over and again to move on at swift pace and not to tarry at any point for long (16, 19, 20, 22, 38, 78). The only long break he allows him is that to be observed at Ujjayinī, a city which, though much away from the straight line from Rāmagiri to Alakā, he must visit in order to play with the sportive eyes of its womenfolk (27). This special consideration for the city might well reflect the poet's own emotional attachment to the place born of a long and happy association with it.

The musical aspect of the cloud deserves a separate mention. The deep and sonorous thunder of the cloud has close resemblance to the sweet music of the tabor (64). The Yakṣa requests the friendly cloud to complement the god Śiva's music by producing a deep, rumbling sound, like that of a tabor, resounding in the mountain caves, to make it to accompany the ballad sung in the glory of the great god by the Kinnara ladies in the Himālayas and to be in tune with the sweet sound of the bamboos filled with air (56). The louder and the deeper thunder of the cloud has been equated to the sound of the larger drum known as *paṭaha* (34, 66). Thus, the cloud has once been called upon to perform the function of the large *paṭaha* drum beaten on the occasion of the evening

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worship at the Mahākāla temple (34).

It is under the cover of the dense clouds that the *abhisārikās* move to meet their lovers at night, and they have, therefore, to brave the loud thunders of the clouds who become more vociferous when they are heavy with waters. Sympathetic to the plight of the timid *abhisārikās*, the Yakṣa takes care to caution the cloud not to frighten them away with his thundrous uproar. He rather asks him to guide them through their dark path with occasional flashes of lightning (37).[1] In case, however, the Apsarases in the Himālayas tease him and detain him long and he finds it difficult to get rid of them, he must of necessity scare them away and proceed on his journey (61). At the end when he reaches his (Yakṣa's) palace in Alakā, says the separated lover, and finds perchance his beloved Yakṣī reposing in sound slumber after prolonged sleeplessness, he should avoid disturbing her with his thunder, est she should be deprived of his company she might perhaps be enjoying in a dream (94). He should, when she has had her full sleep, gently awaken her with cool breeze wafting fresh drops of drizzling water, and then convey his message to her in a low and melodious voice (95).

An important aspect of the cloud's personality is his discharging rain water. Emitting the water makes him lighter (even as shedding tears makes the human heart lighter), and accelerates his speed (19), and it is for this reason that the Yakṣa asks him to lighten his burden by showering water and to proceed at a swifter pace. The rain-drops, especially the first of the season, have a pleasing and soothing effect on the people. The Yakṣa tells his cloud friend that the courtesans, weary on account of their having incessantly waved the chowries over their lords and afflicted with nail-marks on their limbs, would, when comforted with his cool and soft rain-drops, cast their loving glances on him (the cloud) (35). These drops have a soothing effect on the heat-scorched Earth also which on her first contact with them expresses her joy by emitting a sweet fragrance from her bosom (42).

The rain-drops have more than once been referred to in the work as symbolising tears shed by human beings in sorrow and in sympathy (12, 90). The cloud has been described by the poet as *ārdrāntarātman* 'one whose inner self is wet (with tears)' and hence who is 'possessed of a compassionate heart' (*karuṇāvṛtti*) (90).

1. Cf. *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (Chowkhamba ed., 1962), II. 10.

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Human attributes have so skilfully been interwoven with the texture of the cloud's personality that we become at times fully oblivious of the natural phenomenon he represents. We are completely lost, for instance, in his human behaviour in expressing through warm tears his deep affection for his dear friend, the mountain Rāmagiri, whom he meets after one full cycle of a year, and in hugging him in close embrace and then in bidding him adieu (12). His human behaviour reveals itself in his light-hearted, as in his sober, mood also, and we notice him sportively indulging, as a light-hearted lover, in joyful play with the curious and tremulous glances of the *belles* of the towns on his way (27).

He plays as a lover a double role; he is simultaneously a sincere and a pretentious lover—sincere to one, the lightning and pretentious to many, the numerous rivers. The lightning always lives with him (40) in the heights of the sky, and the rivers are his beloveds in separation, grown thin and emaciated and languishing in the depths of the earth below. His constant company with the lightning, his chief love, has been beautifully conceived as the result of the blessing the Yakṣa bestows on him in anticipation of his doing the favour of communicating his message to the Yakṣiṇī (111). The metaphor of the rivers as his beloveds in separation has been finely pursued by the poet who describes the cloud as their *dakṣiṇa* (courteous and clever) lover. The fond lover now drinks up the watery mouth of the river Vetravatī with her swinging billows forming her eyebrows (24) and now casts his amorous glances on the Nirvindhyā slowly gliding on as if in delirium (the rippled waters of the stream with the birds sweetly warbling over them has been fancied here as the girdle strings making a pleasant jingling sound, and the whirlpool that appeared on her person has been represented as her navel region) (28). Again, the courteous lover enriches, with delight and affluence, his beloved Sindhu whose face had turned pale and limbs had grown emaciated in separation (29), and indulges in amorous play with the river Gambhīrā entering, as his own reflected image, into her lucid and raptured watery heart (40-1). The last-mentioned river has been elegantly personified here as a graceful damsel casting her playful glances under the pretext of the tremulous movement of the *śaphara* fish upon her stream, and holding in sport the hem of her watery garment of bluish hue by her hand in the form of a heavily inclined bough of the cane growing on her bank. Her watery garment having slipped down from her hips, that is, the banks, the gay lover in the

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cloud is excited to remove the garment a little more, and is detained there for a while.

Only a lover can feel the pulse of another's love and can sympathise with him in his hour of distraction. The poet's representation of the cloud as a lover has a meaning in this context. But, then, a lover may be lost in his own love, and forget his friend's. The Yakṣa apprehends this, and it is for this reason that he pleads with him to remain mindful and unswerving, for, as he strongly impresses upon him, true friends, once they have accepted a task to accomplish for those they love, do not tarry in the matter (38 : *mandāyante na khalu suhṛdām abhyupetārthakṛtyāḥ*).

The poet is conscious of the psychological impact the sight of a friendly cloud makes on the hearts of living beings and in parcular on the human heart. It was at the sight of a cloud that closely embraced a mountain peak on the first day of the Āṣāḍha month that the Yakṣa, who had patiently braved eight long months in separation from his beloved, suddenly feels distracted and helpless (2). The sight of a cloud deeply affects the mind even of one who is in sweet company of his beloved; not to speak of those who are languishing in separation[1] ? The appearance in the sky of the first monsoon clouds makes the separated lovers to set out, if they are free to, on their homeward journey, and gives in consequence their beloveds at home a solid assurance of their love's return (8). The Yakṣa is conscious of this welcome aspect of the cloud; and he, therefore, asks him to introduce himself to his beloved as "one who with his loving voice urges those away from their home to hurry back" (96 : *yo vṛndāni tvarayati pathi śrāmyatām proṣitānām*).

The sight of a cloud is welcome for other reasons too. The female flower-gatherers (*puṣpalāvīs*) in the groves of the city of Vidiśā feel overjoyed to stand under a fresh cloud's cool shade (26). The *belles* of Ujjayinī and Daśapura look at his noble figure with keen curiosity and immense delight (27, 35, 47), while the innocent peasant women of the countryside shower their sweet affection on him, for he assures them of a rich crop (16).

Not only the human beings but other creatures also are sensitive to his fascinating influence. The *cātaka* bird is unable to con-

1. Cp. *meghāloke bhavati sukhino' py anyathāvṛtti cetaḥ /*
kaṇṭhāśleṣapraṇayini jane kim punar dūrasaṁsthe //
also Cp. *Ṛtusaṁhāra* II. 4; *Vikramorvaśīya* IV. 7-11.

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tain in its heart the abundant joy the cloud bestows on it, and is soon lost in sweet musical note (9). The cranes, it is said, conceive at his sight (9), and the king-geese when they hear his pleasant sound, are urged by a strong desire to visit the Mānasa lake, their retreat for the rains (11).[1] The happiest at his sight is perhaps the peacock which begins to dance in tune with the cloud's music that resounds in the mountain caves (44).

The enchanting influence of the cloud is widely felt on the trees and creepers and other plants. The *kadamba* flowers open their hearts, as it were, at his soft and soothing touch (25) and the *yūthikā* (*juhī*) plants, when gently sprayed over with his fresh drizzles, become green with joy (26). The wild *udumbara* fruits mellow at his soft touch attended by a cool breeze (42). The mushrooms here and there stand in attention as it were to hear their master's commanding voice (11).

The poet has a sensitive eye for various natural phenomena and a sensitive ear for their sweet music, and he has through his supreme poetic vision given a forceful expression to his tender feelings with regard to them. Of the varied and myriad phenomena of nature, the cloud has made a special appeal on his heart for his moving beauty and inspiring character. He through his immortal Yakṣa chooses him as a messenger, and immortalises him. He invests him with life and clothes him in a personality which commands a variety and a charm that make him all the more human and sensitive to human sufferings. No one among those innumerable poets who imitated his poetical device could produce a messenger so life-like and so effective.

1. Cp. *Vikramorvaśīya* IV. 30.

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KĀLIDĀSA AND SHAKESPEARE— THEIR COMMON DRAMATIC TRADITION*

URMI B. GUPTA

The comparative study of any literature has its own value in the sense that it gives a new and wider perspective and a better understanding of the culture and traditions of different regions and languages. It opens the field of critical and analytical approach to literatures and authors. Sanskrit literature and its comparative study in the late nineteenth century is an example of this method which not only unfolded a new field of comparative philology but brought before the world a rich literary and cultural heritage of the past consisting of the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Epics, Purāṇas, Mahākāvyas and also great Sanskrit works composed by the masters like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Bhavabhūti, Harṣa, etc. A comparative study of the dramatic traditions of the classical Sanskrit and the Elizabethan period in England could possibly produce similar results. Undoubtedly, during these two periods, though separated by many centuries, drama reached its highest point of development both in India and England. It seems the words of Nicoll "this is the period which created our greatest national treasure, a treasure which has become the heritage of all mankind", are applicable not only to the Elizabethan but the Sanskrit drama as well.

These two rich dramatic traditions, in two far away lands and in two completely different ages, flowered independently, and yet there seems to be some basic common link between the two. A possible reason for this can be that both these periods are marked by a Renaissance; when the two countries reached their highest land-mark in social, political and literary spheres. Maybe the circumstances were such that the poets reacted in a similar manner, so much so that one felt each had borrowed from the other or had influenced the other, which obviously is not the case. Probably,

* This is a part of the Study made at the Shakespeare Institute, Department of English, University of Birmingham.

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this is the reason why Shakespeare has been so popular on the Indian stage and has influenced the revival of the theatre here in the late 19th century. It appears that through Shakespeare, once again we were attracted towards our own poetic Sanskrit drama. It is on account of this common ground between the Elizabethan and the Sanskrit plays, probably, that Kālidāsa is called Indian Shakespeare and vice versa. It would, therefore, be quite fruitful not only to trace the similarities between these two dramatic traditions but also to come to an understanding of their greatness which can thereby bridge the gap between the East and the West and lead us on to a drama more subtle and appealing.

Basically, this common ground between the plays of Shakespeare and those of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, results from certain elements of the dramatic formula, e.g. the development of the plot, the delineation of characters from all the strata of society, the mixture of prose and poetry, the variety of speech, poetic fancy and imagination, the pantomime, song, melodramatic atmosphere, etc. That is why, probably, *Mid-Summer Night's Dream* has been so popular in India, and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* seems to be breathing the atmosphere of the Elizabethan stage. In both these dramas, which are full of fantasy and gaiety, destiny plays an important part and we find a rare combination of gods and mortals, princes and traders, fairies from folklore and mythological deities. Similarly the frequent simultaneous use of the natural and the supernatural elements of colloquial prose, and the lyrical verse of easy dialogue and the most artificial poetry, give both these dramatic writings their unusual charm. This poetic quality of the Shakespearean and the Sanskrit plays is really one of the most remarkable features through which the realities of life, the human nature, the sorrows and sufferings, the mental conflicts, etc., are all expressed in a remarkably sensitive and significant manner. It is the exquisite poetry of their works more than the technique of Marlow and Shakespeare as well as of great Sanskrit playwrights like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Śūdraka, that has made them live through the ages. Both portray court life and yet express popular sentiment.

But in the field of dramatic technique also the Sanskrit plays have some very interesting features common to the Shakespearean drama. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes in detail a number of rules of dramaturgy and theatrical conventions or dramatic devices, which are also found in Elizabethan plays such as conventions of

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invisibility, soliloquy, asides, plays within plays, off-stage voices, song, dance, background music, overheard conversations, and symbolic costumes. The similarity of the structure of Acts in these plays is another common feature worth noting; the prologue or 'viṣkambhaka' of Sanskrit plays finds more or lesss similar counterpart in Shakespeare's plays. Similarly, the Shakespearean romantic comedy can find surprising and fascinating echo in the Sanskrit plays like *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

Undoubtedly, along with these common features there are many important differences too regarding the spirit and philosophies of the two traditions. While the Elizabethan drama is conflict-oriented, the Sanskrit drama seeks to evolve through Rasa, a kind of bliss and harmony. Similarly, while the Shakespearean plays are realistic in the sense that the suffering expressed in them is physical and distressing, the Sanskrit plays are more idealistic and fate predominates over human actions and life. Or on a different level can be compared the Vidūṣaka of Sanskrit plays and the Jester of Shakespearean plays, where the former presents kindlier humorous pictures, the latter has the combination of satire and humour. But these and many other differences, vital as they are, only make this comparative study a really exciting and challenging adventure, requiring serious critical effort to investigate, sift and evaluate the entire material. As it is not possible to discuss here in detail all the aspects of the entire Elizabethan and classical Sanskrit drama, an attempt is being made, therefore, to concentrate on some of the basic elements common to both the traditions, particularly in Kālidāsa and Shakespeare who certainly are the best representatives of their respective periods.

Much has been said about Kālidāsa and Shakespeare and yet a lot more remains to be said because literature is like a fathomless ocean, the deeper one goes the greater becomes one's quest. But one thing we all know is that Shakespeare's plays have been very popular on Indian stage and *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa has had a very wide appeal in the West. As already mentioned, there are many reasons for the kinship between these two, but it is appropriate that this study confines itself only to themes, characterisation, aesthetic considerations, poetic qualities and some other general aspects.

From the thematic point of view, the last Romances of Shakespeare (*Pericles, Cymbeline, Tempest, Winter's Tale*) are very near to most of the Sanskrit plays, particularly, Kālidāsa's plays which have

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similar themes of love, separation and reunion. According to rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy, the plays should end happily. Thus we have no tragedies or comedies in the strict sense of the term, but plays which may be called tragi-comedies. Here the theme can be serious, where the hero and heroine might have to undergo misfortunes and sufferings, and get separated from each other but ultimately they are reunited and live happily ever-after. In this respect, the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Abhijñana-Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa can be compared generally to all the four Romances of Shakespeare, but especially the former to *Pericles* and the latter to the *Tempest*.

In *Paricles* the story deals with the misfortunes of prince Pericles, his marriage with Thaisa, his separation from his wife and child, their sufferings, and finally, in the end, the re-union of the husband, wife and the child, when they achieve whatever they wanted to lead a settled life. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* are described the adventures of king *Purūravas*, his love with Urvaśī, their marriage and then their separation, their sufferings in love, and finally their re-union along with their child (whom he had not even seen before), having all their wishes fulfilled to live for ever in bliss and happiness.

Similarly, the *Tempest* can be compared to the *Abhijñana-Śākuntala*. Miranda is a child of nature looked after by her father Prospero, as Śakuntalā, a child of nature, is brought up by the sage Kaṇva. Suddenly Ferdinand appears on the scene, as does Duṣyanta, both fall in love with the heroines at first sight, and after a few set-backs in their love finally get married. In the *Śākuntala* we have further separation of the hero and the heroine for quite some time till they are re-united. In the *Tempest* there is no separation of the hero and the heroine as such, but they too live through an acute mental agony for some time, due to the intervention of Prospero who tries to test their love. In this respect, the curse episode of the *Abhijñana-Śākuntala* also, besides serving as a punishment, is a means to test the depth of love between Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā.

Thus, these plays of Shakespeare and Kālidāsa—as also some other Sanskrit plays like Bhavabhūti's *Uttara-Rāma-carita*, etc. develop within the framework of tragi-comedy and we have the action passing from felicity to misfortunes and troubles and back to felicity again. There is complete forgiveness, reconciliation and happiness in the end with the heroes and heroines saying, as in the Sanskrit plays, "now that we have achieved whatever we wanted and all our wishes are fulfilled, is there anything else left to be done" ?

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Evidentiy, it is nothing other than the final Bharatavākya or benediction of the Sanskrit plays which confers happiness and well-being on the audience and the whole world.

In this way, as far as the story element is concerned, the three plays of Kālidāsa and some of the plays of Shakespeare bear close resemblance. In spite of many other differences, they do have a common thematic pattern in presenting the ups and downs of life with all its sweetness and sorrow.

But there are some other features also because of which the plays of Kālidāsa—the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Abhijñana-Śākuntala* and Shakespeare's—especially, the *Tempest* and *Mid-summer Night's Dream* seem to breathe the same sort of atmosphere. These plays are set in the world of fantasy, magic and romance, where spirits, sylvan deities and super-natural elements play an active part in shaping the destiny of human characters. The heavenly nymphs and the forest deities constantly protect Śakuntalā and are somewhat like Oberon and Titania, Ariel or Puck of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the *Tempest*, trying to help the true lovers. The myth of invisibility and swiftness in the movement is the gift of these spirits, which makes their task easy. The granting of rich garments and ornaments to Śakuntalā by the forest deities, and later, heavenly nymphs carrying her away on being rejected by the king, the casting of the veil of fog and mist in *Mid-summer Night's Dream* and the help rendered by Puck in the *Tempest*, are some such examples.

In all these plays, we have a peculiar mixture of reality and illusion of the human world and ethereal existence. The romantic poetic drama and the folklore become one along with the elements of symbolism, mythology, magic and supernaturalism which create a happy and soothing effect. The heavenly nymphs and forest deities of the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* have a close bearing on the fairies of the folklore in *Mid-Summer Night's Dream* such as Titania and Oberon, Puck and their train and the deities from ancient mythology blended with the realistic world of the lovers. In almost all the Sanskrit plays and the romantic comedies of Shakespeare, there is a sort of moon-lit atmosphere in which the heroes and the heroines discourse only on love, and when separated from each other, endlessly sigh and pine for their love. Everything else in life is governed by this basic theme of romance. This is one of the main reasons why Shakespeare appears so familiar to the Indian audiences and Kālidāsa's *Abhijñana-Śākuntala* has attracted a number of Western scholars.

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Another striking feature is the handling of the source material for these plays by both the playwrights. We all know that Shakespeare has borrowed his plots from many sources and many times his language and ideas can be traced to his predecessors and contemporaries like Plutarch, Holinshed and Lyly, etc. But by his extraordinary genius, imagination and artistry he has made them completely different and fresh works. There are touches of personal taste, observation and perception. By his mastery over the language, use of stage conventions, and dramatic skill he has given a new range and depth to old situations. He has created entirely original works out of the conventional and unpromising borrowed material. "Lyly is rigid, Shakespeare is flexible, where he is artificial, Shakespeare is natural, when he is stale, Shakespeare is fresh."

Similarly, Kālidāsa has drawn his themes from well-known popular stories and great epics which, in fact, is part of the convention for all the works in classical Sanskrit literature. However, Kālidāsa also, like Shakespeare, moulded and changed his source material according to his dramatic purpose and gave a completely new look to his works by his poetic genius, imagination and mastery over the language. For example, the plot of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* is based on a story in the Ādi Parva of the great epic *Mahābhārata*. But there the story is very uninteresting, prosaic and dull, out of which Kālidāsa has created a most fascinating and lively drama which is easily counted among the best known plays of the world. It is said he has "created a beautiful monument out of a rough stone". Thus both the playwrights, by their unique sensibility, artistic perception, deep insight, have left their sources far behind and what they have produced are great original works of art to be remembered for ages, whose universal appeal would forever remain imprinted in our memory.

This is also true of the construction and development of the plots in their plays. Both have followed nearly the same pattern, namely, the evolution of the plot from a single seed into an organism. This can broadly be divided into three stages in Shakespeare's plays whereas in Sanskrit plays we have five stages of development known as five *Sandhis* (alongwith five *Artha-Prakṛtis* and *Avasthās*). The first stage in the Shakespearean play is the situation or the state of affairs out of which the conflict arises, and it is the place where the seed is laid, like the first *Sandhi* of Kālidāsa's plays. The second stage deals with the growth and vicissitudes of the conflict,

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with sub-plots creating obstacles in the final achievement, which can be termed as entanglement and then the final section where all the loose ends are tied up together towards the final document or the solution, like the Nirvahaṇa *Sandhi*. For this development Shakespeare divides his plays into five acts and Kālidāsa into five and seven. Within this framework we have all the scenes of love, separation, human struggle, sorrows and laughter, action, prologues and epilogues, soliloquies and bold speeches, movement on earth and in Heaven, mixture of fairy world and myth. These disparate parts are harmonised into one complete whole, without disturbing the basic pattern of plot construction. It is also interesting to note how the main plot and the sub-plots are cleverly woven towards the climax within this basic pattern, which make both the Shakespearean and the Sanskrit plays diverse yet very compact and which help in keeping the audience engaged throughout the performance.

In a dramatic work, the treatment of theme and the plot construction are clearly related to characterisation. In this respect, while there are strong divergences in the approach of the two masters, there are some interesting similarities also. Both Kālidāsa and Shakespeare are keen and subtle observers of life and everything around them and this has found expression everywhere in their works marked with rich suggestive power. In the field of characterisation they have shown deep insight into the working of human mind and their expression. They have keenly observed the diversity of human nature with all its nobility and failings, strength and weakness, goodness and evil, particularly, the heroines of Shakespeare's comedies like Rosalind, Viola, Miranda, Helina and Portia, will always represent the sweet, soft, innocent, kind-hearted yet courageous womankind in the same manner as Śakuntalā, Urvaśī are the examples of ideal Indian womanhood with all their grace, innocence and courage willing to bear all the hardships of life. These characters are not merely all puppets in the hands of their creator but are pulsating with an ever vibrate life. Both Kālidāsa and Shakespeare have been able to bring a balance between their characterisation and plot, the inner conflict of human mind being beautifully and most naturally portrayed through these characters.

Besides there is a variety of other characters—fishermen, gods, fairies, courtesans, merchants, kings, queens and people from all the strata of the society, all presented convincingly and with utmost

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ease and naturalness. From among them have come out heroines like Miranda, Imogen, Perdita, armed with bravery, youthful courage, representing chastity, faith in love and spirit of sacrifice, and yet naivety and innocence like Miranda and Śakuntalā, and the heroes like Duṣyanta and Ferdinand true in their love.

Technically, there are some interesting similarities in the utilisation of dramatic conventions and devices in these two traditions which are evident both in Kālidāsa and Shakespeare. The prologues and epilogues, soliloquies, asides, off-stage voices, imaginative choreography, the pantomimic creation of scenes through rich descriptive poetry, simultaneous speaking, stylistic acting, foreshadowing through dialogues, lack of stage properties and so on—all these elements are strikingly common between the Sanskrit and the Elizabethan theatres. They had no curtains or scenery. The stage consisted of only platform where the characters came in and went out in full view of the audience. To indicate the end of an 'act' all the actors would make an exit and enter afresh for the next 'act' as suggested by such stage directions in the Sanskrit plays: "Then enters Śakuntalā, busy, as described with two female companions" or at the end "exit all." The conventional pattern of the number of actors present on the stage, their entrances and exits showed that there was no curtain, otherwise there would have been no need for the above stage directions. Similarly, the description of various scenes through powerful dramatic poetry, creating a vivid word-picture, point to the lack of scenic elements. The storm scene in *King Lear* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the hermitage scene in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* show intrusion of the lyric on drama. The action was carried on at two levels to solve the problem of scenic effects. This is the reason why the reader also feels that he has seen the drama. There is pleasure for both eyes and ears. The dialogues contain the stage directions, as in the first scene in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*. The soliloquies and asides are utilised for the purpose of taking the audience into confidence suggesting that the theatre was quite an intimate affair. There was remarkable communication and cooperation between the audience and the actors. This can also account for the length of the Sanskrit and Shakespearean plays where the audience would sit for hours together and enjoy the show, so unlike the modern theatre which though realistic remains far removed from the audience. The usage of other dramatic conventions like Viṣkambhaka and Praveśaka of Sanskrit plays and the Epilogue and Prologue of Shakespearean plays, helped in avoiding presentation

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of episodes or events which could not be shown on the stage, but about which it was necessary to inform the audience.

Similarly, the mixture of prose and poetry is another interesting feature of the Sanskrit and Shakespearean plays. Here a proper balance is maintained between the two, so that the verse gives lyrical and emotional touch to the plays and prose serves the purpose of the dialogues, with sayings and narration of the story. Further, the variations in form of expression i.e. speech and also the coloquial varieties of speech give a variety to the plays. In both Shakespeare and Kālidāsa, characters from different strata of the society speak in different dialects e.g. the illiterate characters in Shakespeare's plays like Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream* and Curate in *Love's Labour Lost* or Shepherd in *As You Like It*, speak in different dialects and in Kālidāsa's plays the king and the ministers speak in Sanskrit, the queens in Śaurasenī Prākrit, and maid servants and the fisherman speak in other form of Prākrits. This not only gives a variety to the dialogue in a drama but also brings it nearer to the audience which consists of persons from the various sections of the society.

Here the point regarding the unities of time, place and action can also be added. The first two : namely the unities of time and place are not observed in any of these theatres. These dramatic poems are essentially descriptive and depend on the imagination of the audience. It is presumed that while sitting in a theatre, they would readily imagine ambassadors coming from distant lands, kings visiting heaven in aerial cars to help Indra and then return to earth. There are wars and exiles, one scene is in Alexandria, the next in Rome and so forth. The same is true of the unity of time which too is not observed either in Sanskrit or Elizabethan plays. But both Kālidāsa and Shakespeare are very careful regarding unity of action which is necessary for the proper development of the play. The action has a definite pattern within the framework of plot with a proper beginning, middle and the end. This gradual advance towards the final denouement requires the unity of action and is responsible for the powerful effect produced at the end of the performance.

One of the most fascinating qualities common to both Kālidāsa and Shakespeare is the lyrical quality of their plays. There is frequent use of rhyming dialogues, pure lyric poetry with music, songs, rhetorical verse, and imagery. In fact, the plays of both the playwrights are half plays, half poems. There are puns, metaphors, imaginative fusion of events, dream-images, music and intense

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poetry and many other similar elements. The Last Romances of Shakespeare and his other plays, such as *Love's Labour Lost*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and nearly all the Sanskrit plays of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, *Svapnavāsvadatta* of Bhāsa, *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka and others are such dramatic poems as abound in emotional tension rather than in action. In the words of Halliday, "It is the wedding of the early lyricism to the mastery of maturity that gives the strange atmosphere of spring in Autumn to the Romances".

It is due to this poetic quality that Shakespeare and Kālidāsa's plays appeal more to the heart than to the mind. They have a wide universal appeal, not confined to any particular place, society or time. They present human emotions, conflicts, tensions and joys which belong to every individual. Even after centuries, Rāma's mental sufferings remain real; Sītā and Śakuntalā in their love and understanding continue to be representatives of Indian womanhood as much as Miranda and Desdemona remain innocent maidens to suffer in their cause of love. On the level of this profound humanity—Shakespeare is very near to Sanskrit playwrights as both acquaint us with human actions and sentiments, blending lyricism and pure dramatic art.

Here, something can be said about the imagery of these poets in which there is both variety and subtlety. As individual poets they have reacted to different things in their own way but what is remarkable is that their images have a wide range and vary from ordinary objects of everyday life—indoor life with its daily routine, eating, washing, children, birth, death, marriage, etc.—to objects of natural beauty and of metaphorical significance.

"The image is a sort of word picture used by a poet or writer to illustrate, illuminate and embellish his thought." It is a description or an idea expressed by metaphor or simile or any other rhetorical device and conveys the meaning of something which is otherwise difficult to explain. In this respect both the dramatists have shown great spontaneity, originality of imagination and suggestive power. Besides other objects, Shakespeare, like Kālidāsa, has drawn a number of images from nature—the country-side, seasons, sunrise, dawn, gardens, flowers, birds, or some abstract ideas like growth, decay, etc. Kālidāsa is well-known for his images especially the similies drawn from nature, which are very subtle, suggestive and beautiful. This form of imagery in the plays of Shakespeare and Kālidāsa has given a great aesthetic excellence and

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beauty to their works. Their aesthetic sense is unique and they seem to have an artist's insight into things, which gives their works an unfathomable depth. They touch deeper chords of human experience and their art gives pleasure, satisfaction, a revelation which seems to be missing elsewhere. Every time one reads their dramatic works or witnesses their performance, one finds a new meaning, a new joy. It is a new kind of experience. This is great art indeed.

And not only poetry, there is a plenty of music, dance, pantomime in their plays. Kālidāsa has introduced songs and dances and pantomimes in all his three plays and shows a liking for music, e.g. the dance by Mālavikā, the song of Haṁsa-padikā in the *Śākuntalam* and the pantomime in the *Vikramorvaśīya* (Act IV). In similar manner, Shakespeare has many songs in his plays, particularly in his comedies and the Last Romances; there are also masques, dumb shows, and in *Love's Labour Lost* a sort of allegorical dance.

To sum up, these are some of the aspects where Kālidāsa and Shakespeare though far off yet appear so near to each other. The two great playwrights belonging to different culture and periods present two different aspects of the same essential humanity. Their works with all simplicity and profundity, represent a peak of aesthetic creation. Their plays treat man as a significant entity; and their sensitive perception of human emotions gives their plays a universal dimension—a quality of timelessness. The greatness of their art lies in producing a drama which is a fusion of the intellectual and the lyrical, the realistic and the symbolic, the imaginative and the simple. Probably to-day the world also needs this sort of synthesis, a harmonious blending of different types of elements which is so remarkably evident both in Kālidāsa and Shakespeare.

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THE PUPIL THE EMBRYO

S. G. KANTAWALA

Purāṇas form a vast bulk of the Sanskrit literature and "are rooted in Vedic literature."[1] They are said to constitute the "fifth Veda"[2] and are said to explain, expound and elaborate the meaning of the Veda[3] by quoting the Vedic stanzas, or by paraphrasing them or by means of legends.[4] Sometimes, the Vedic idea is transplanted and grafted in a different context or environment in

1. Winternitz M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 518.
2. *Cf.* (i) इतिहासपुराणानि पञ्चमं वेदमीश्वरः ।
सर्वेभ्य एव वक्त्रेभ्यः ससृजे सर्वदर्शनः ॥ *Bhāg. P.* 3.12.39.
(ii) पुराणं पञ्चमो वेद इति ब्रह्मानुशासनम् ।
Sk. P. Revā., 1.18.
3. *Cf.* (i) पुराणपूर्णचन्द्रेण श्रुतिज्योत्स्नाप्रकाशिना ।
नृणां कुमुदसौम्यानां कृतं बुद्धिप्रयोजनम् ॥
Mbh., Ādiparvan, Appendix 1, p.885.
(ii) इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥
Mbh. 1.1.204.
(iii) वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः पूर्वं पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥
Sk. P. Revā 1.21.
(iv) आत्मा पुराणं वेदानां पृथगङ्गानि तानि षट् ।
यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद् दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ॥
Sk. P. Revā, 1. 22.
(v) उभाभ्यां यत्तु दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ।
पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणाः स्मृतम् ॥
Sk. P. Revā 1, 23.
(vi) वेदवेदाङ्गशास्त्राणां सारभूतं मुनीश्वराः ।
जगद्धितार्थं तत्सर्वं पुराणेषूक्तवान् मुनिः ॥
Nārada P. 1.1.21.
(vii) Note also in this connection that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.1.3) describes itself as "*nigamakalpataror galitam phalam.*
4. *Vide* also Upādhyāya, Baladeva, *Purāṇavimarśa* (Hindi), pp. 243 ff.

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Purāṇas and elaborated. In this paper, it is proposed to discuss how the Vedic thought is elaborated in a Purāṇic legend, in case of transplantation and grafting, with special reference to the concept of the pupil as the embryo of the teacher "The whole of the *Atharvaveda* XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolical laudation of the brahmacārin (Vedic student) and brahmacarya".[1] The third stanza of this hymn, *i.e. AV.* XI. 7 runs as follows :

आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः ।
तं रात्रीस्तिस्र उदरे बिभर्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभि संयन्ति देवाः ॥

i.e. The *ācārya* taking (him) in charge makes the *brahmacārin* an embryo within. He bears him in (his) belly three nights; the gods approach to see him when born.[2] Thus, "the *ācārya* is in the milieu of the poet already an important and mighty personage : he is able to effect a 'rebirth' of his pupil....."[3] The *ŚB.* (11.5.4.12) also expresses a similar idea in the following *śloka* :

आचार्यो गर्भीभवति हस्तमाधाय दक्षिणम् ।
तृतीयस्यां जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥

1. Kane P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 270.
2. *ācārya* means "literally the man who knows, adheres to and (or) practises the traditional good behaviour, customs, practices, established rules or institutions". (Gonda J., *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, p 235). The rendering of the vocable *brahmancārin* as 'Vedic student' by Whitney (The *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā*, Volume II, 1962, p. 636) is 'inapt' (Gonda J., *op. cit.*, p. 286). Honouring the accent of the vocable *brahmacārin* S. S. Bhawe proposes to render it as "one who acts or deals with *i.e.* composes or recites *brahman* or prayer". (An Interpretation of *RV* 10. 109, *Studia Indologica, Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel*, 1955, pp. 20, 23). According to J. Gonda (*op. cit* , p.235), he is "the man who occupies himself with or applies to *brahman* or seeks to realize it". *Vide* also *ibid.*, pp. 284ff. *Vide* also Sāyaṇa on *AV.* 11.7.3 :

ब्रह्मचारिणं माणवकम् उपनयमानः स्वसमीपम् उपगमयन् आचार्यः अन्तःविद्याशरीरस्य मध्ये गर्भं कृणुते करोति । उपनयमान इति । 'सम्माननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरण० (पा. १. ३. ३६) इति आत्मनेपदम् । तं गर्भीभूतं ब्रह्मचारिणं तिस्रो रात्रीः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । तावत्कालपर्यन्तं त्रिरात्रमुदरे आत्मीये बिभर्ति धारयति । चतुर्थे दिवसे जातं विद्यामयशरीराद् उत्पन्नं तं ब्रह्मचारिणं द्रष्टुम् अवलोकयितुं देवा अभिसंयन्ति अभिमुखं संभूय गच्छन्ति । उपनयनसंस्कारेण माणवकस्य आचार्यसकाशाद् उत्पत्तिं भगवान् आपस्तम्बोऽपि आह स्म स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति । तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म । शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः (आ०ध. १.१.१५-१७) इति ।

3. Gonda J., *op. cit.*, p. 235.

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i.e. "the preceptor becomes possessed of a foetus (in the form of the pupil), by placing (his) right hand (on him); in the third (night) he is born a Brāhmaṇa with the Sāvitrī."[1] The ŚB. (11.5.4.7-12) states also that the *ācārya* imparts to the pupil the Sāvitrī (RV. 3. 62. 10) after one year, six months, twentyfour days, twelve days, six days, or three days or immediately to the Brahmin student. It metaphorically also states that the embryos are born after lasting for one year;[2] *i.e.* the pupil is likened to an embryo and the teacher gives birth to him from *vidyā*[3] (*i e.* by imparting Vedic knowledge).[4] Thus, the initiate symbolises the embryo and the teacher, the one possessed of the embryo. The imposition of the right hand symbolises the transference of the power[5] and the ultimate 'rebirth' of the pupil with the acquisition of the power or the lore.

The above Vedic idea, *viz.* the pupil as the embryo of the teacher, is met with in the immortal legend of Kaca and Devayānī occurring in the Mbh. and the MP.[6] According to the Epic and the Purāṇic versions, Kaca approached Śukra for learning the lore of resuscitation; he was accepted by Śukra as the pupil; he observed the *brahmacarya*[7] and waited upon Śukra for a period of one hundred years and having obtained the coveted lore he repaired to heaven (MP. 25. 22-23, 30, 65-66). According to S. A. Dange, "the legend of Kaca represents principally the rite of *Upanayana*'

1. *The Śrauta Reader* (edited by A.B. Gajendragadkar and R.D. Karmarkar, 1934), Part 1, p. 66. *Vide* Sāyaṇa on *ŚB.* 11.5.4.12)
आचार्यो माणवकमुपनीय समीपवर्तिना तेन गर्भीभवति गर्भवान् भवति । किं कृत्वा ? आत्मीयं दक्षिणं हस्तं शिष्यमस्तके निक्षिप्य । स गर्भरूपो माणवकस्तृतीयस्यां रात्रौ व्यतीतायां जायते, आचार्यादुत्पद्यते । जातश्च आचार्योपदिष्टया सावित्र्या सहितः सन् ब्राह्मणो भवति । सावित्रीरूपं च ब्रह्म अधीत इति ब्राह्मण इति व्युत्पत्तिः । ब्राह्मणजातित्वमस्य सम्पन्नमित्यर्थः ।

2. *Cf.* also :—
तां खल्विमां सावित्रीं संवत्सरादेक आहुर्द्वादशरात्रादेके त्रिरात्रादेके सद्य एके ।
Bhāradvāja Gṛhya. 1.9.

3. *Cf.* स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति । तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म । शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः ।
Āpastamba Dharma. 1.1.1.16-18.

4. Kane, P.V.. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.II, Part I, p. 189.

5. *Cf.* Gonda, J., *op. cit.*, p. 235, fn. 32; p. 238, fn. 42.

6. *Mbh.* Ādiparvan 71, 72; MP. 25ff; *vide* also Chitrav Shastri, *Prācīna-caritra-kośa* (Hindi), 1964, pp. 109-111, 294-296.

7. On the concept of *brahmacarya vide* Gonda, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 284ff. Śukra is addressed as *guru* by Kaca (MP. 25.23, *vide* also MP. 25-56. 57 59, 66. *etc.* On the concept of *guru*, *vide*, Gonda, J. *op. cit.*, pp. 229ff.

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in the nature of it."[1] The necessary portion of the legend from the MP. may be summarised as follows :

It is well-known that after great pondering and counsel, Kaca the son of Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, approached Śukra, the preceptor of the demons as a disciple for learning the Sañjīvanīvidyā which Bṛhaspati did not know, when the gods suffered routing defeats repeatedly in their conflict with the demons (MP. 25. 8ff). Śukra accepted him as his pupil and he waited upon him and his daughter Devayānī who came to develop absorbing passion and maddening love for him. Noticing this delicate position and situation the demons conspired to slay him and offered the pieces of his flesh to hyenas. In the evening on finding the arrival of the cows without Kaca, Devayānī told her father that she would not be able to live without Kaca. On hearing these dismaying words Śukra resuscitated Kaca with the power of the Sañjīvanīvidyā. Seeing their attempt foiled, the demons assassinated Kaca once again, burnt him to ashes and offered a goblet of wine admixed with the ashes of Kaca to Śukra who quaffed unknowingly. In the evening on seeing the cows returning without their guardian (Kaca) Devayānī told her father that she apprehended the murder of Kaca and that she would not survive without him. Hearing these touching words of hers, he (*i.e.* Śukra) called upon him (*i.e.* Kaca) by the Sañjīvanīvidyā and the latter replied from within the former's belly.[2] Now Śukra was on the horns of a dilemma, as Kaca's resuscitation meant his death which, even, Devayānī did not like. Ultimately Śukra adjured him that he, if not Indra in disguise and a Brahmin, would learn the lore of resuscitation while in his (*i.e.* Śukra's womb) and further that after acquiring it he would emerge out tearing asunder his (*i.e.* Śukra's) belly and thereby become his son. With the lore newly acquired by him, he would revive him. Accordingly, after having learnt the lore he tore open

1. Dange, Sadashiv Ambadas, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, p. 200. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p.155) he observes : "The main motif in the legend of Kaca is the swallowing and disgorging of the initiate by the preceptor with the gain of new life on the part of the initiate. The legend represents a fine blending of the sacrificial rite of consecration described in the Brāhmaṇas and the initiation rites of Savages". *Cf.* his remarks also (*ibid.*, p. 211). "The legend is a finished product of the ancient Vedic rites of consecration and initiation". For the other comments on the legend of Kaca and Devayānī, vide Kantawala, S.G., *Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa*, pp. 21, 54ff, 86.
2. *Cf. śanair vācaṁ jaṭhare vyājahāra* MP. 25. 49; *cf.* Mbh. 1, 71. 41 *mamodare tiṣṭhasi brūhi* MP. 25.49; *cf.* Mbh. 1. 71, 41.

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Śukra's belly and emerged out[1] and revived him.

The following points emerge from the above summary :

1. Kaca's approaching Śukra as his disciple for acquiring the Sañjīvanīvidyā (under political exigency).
2. Kaca's stay in the womb of Śukra.
3. Kaca's acquiring the lore while in Śukra's womb.
4. Kaca's emerging out with the lore.

(*Cf.* *savidyaḥ*, MP. 25. 56; Mbh. 1.71. 48; *samavāpya vidyām*, MP. 25. 57; Mbh. 1. 71. 49).

The salient points of the Vedic thought as expressed in the AV and ŚB are as follows :

1. The teacher makes the *brahmacārin* his embryo.
2. Hence, the teacher becomes pregnant[2] with the pupil.
3. The pupil is born then (*i.e.* is disgorged out) with the Vedic lore.

It may also be noted, as mentioned earlier, that Kaca (*i.e.* his ashes) is swallowed up by Śukra unknowingly and thus comes to stay into his (*i.e.* Śukra's) belly; thus he can be said to be Śukra's *garbha* and Śukra can be said to be *garbhībhūta*.[3] In the Vedic version the pupil is born with the Sāvitrī-mantra,[4] whereas in the Epic and the Purāṇic version, the pupil is born with the acquisition of the lore of resuscitation.

From the aforegoing discussion, the following are the common points in both the versions :

1. The relationship of the pupil and the teacher.
2. The pupil becoming the embryo.
3. The teacher becoming possessed of the embryo.
4. The emergence of the pupil with the attainment of the vidyā.

Thus, we find how the Vedic idea of the embryo is transplanted and grafted in the Epic and the Purāṇic legend in a different environment and it tends further to illustrate how the Vedic idea is worked out in the Epics and the Purāṇas.

1. *Vide* MP. 25.54-57; Mbh 1.71. 46-49, 57.
2. Eggeling renders *garbhībhavati* in ŚB. II.5.4 12 as "becomes pregnant". (*The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE, XLIV, 1968., p.88). J. Gonda also renders it the same way (*Op. cit.*., p. 125).
3. *Cf.*
   यत्नोपितं विशालाक्षि त्वया चन्द्रनिभानने ।
   तत्राहमुषितो भद्रे कुक्षौ काव्यस्य भामिनि ।। MP. 26. 13;
   Cf. Mbh. 1. 72. 13.
4. On the *Sāvitryupadeśa vide* Kane, P.V., *op. cit.*, pp. 300ff.

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DHVANI AND RASA

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

In the history of Indian aesthetic thought, the concept of Rasa is the oldest since Bharata himself gives in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* some citations from earlier works which already refer to *rasa*. His greatness lay in giving it a vital and central place in his scheme of tenfold plays and explaining it in terms of *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāva* schematically. It appears that all the elements in a play, viz., plot, characterization, style, setting and acting are governed by the dictates of *rasa*. His famous *rasa-sūtra* led to diverse explanations at the hands of later philosophers, the chief of whom are Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta. We also know for certain that poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and Māgha were quite conversant with the general outlines of the *rasa* theory. Nor need we have any doubt that early theorists like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa accepted by and large the value of *rasa* in poetry too. In their rough and ready analysis of poetry, which was by definition beautiful they had only two heads *śabda* (sound) and *artha* (sense); and all aspects of beauty had to be subsumed under the one or the other head. Thus, beautiful sound comprised of *śabdālaṅkāras* involving the principles of alliteration and rhyme. The beauty of sense or meaning could primarily lie in the poet's artistic turn of thought or imaginative creation called *vakrokti* and a number of figures of speech were defined and illustrated. In such a scheme there is no wonder that the beauty of emotional content due to *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. also came to be recognised only as certain *alaṅkāras*, viz. Rasavad, Preyas, Ūrjasvin, Udātta and Samāhita or as certain *guṇas*. In general terms the ancient theorists also affirmed the desirability of infusing Mahākāvyas with all the *rasas* to sustain interest.

It will be seen that this broad idea of beauty in literature, analysable into *alaṅkāra* or *guṇa* is in no way adequate to explain the

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unique essence of all literature. If we want a dependable yardstick to distinguish graduations in poetic success, the *alaṅkāra-cum-guṇa* scheme cannot take us far. Even the doctrines of *mārga* or *rīti* or *saṅghaṭanā* will be found insufficient to arrive at precise literary estimates of poetics of varying degrees of achievement. The more we study *alaṅkāras*, the more puzzled we become when asked whether they are merely means of ornamentation or form the resulting beauty itself. This is the famous distinction between *alaṅkāra* and *alaṅkārya* which we owe to the searching philosophy of *Dhvani*, formulated for the first time in the *Dhvanyāloka* by Ānandavardhana. The differentia of poetry cannot be rendered precise until it can mark off the boundaries of poetic language from other uses of language. We have common parlance as well as scientific use of language. We may utilise some *alaṅkāras* and *guṇas* in our daily conversation as well as scientific writing. Would our activity be really poetic on such occasions? In fact, we all know that while every educated man can understand ordinary human talk as well as scientific discourse, not all educated men can appreciate poetry. Again, what about the varying temperaments and moods of poets? What exactly do they want to achieve by their work; and can we know when they have succeeded or when they failed? Such are some of the considerations which prompted Ānandavardhana to reinterpret the earlier concepts and to propound the theory of *Dhvani* as the best and most adequate explanation of aesthetic experience or *rasa* in literature. The new principle of *dhvani* or suggestion is so formulated that it not only solves all these issues effectively but also meets with the approval of accredited experts in linguistics, logic and semantics.

It is Ānandavardhana's contention that only the *Dhvani* theory can logically explain all the facts of the poetic process to the satisfaction of the creative poet on the one hand and the appreciative critic on the other. When we say logic, we should not forget that the logic of poetry is not the same as logic in other fields; it is a magic indeed which eludes the logic we are used to outside poetry. But to establish it with unassailable arguments to the satisfaction of confirmed sceptics is no easy task and the several threads of argument that lie scattered in the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana* all converging to the one centre of *rasa* are more often than not mixed even by a wary student. I propose to indicate some of them in the course of this article.

Rasa indeed is the corner stone of the arch of *Dhvani*. It is

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first and foremost an aesthetic canon. *Rasa* is that which initially inspires the poet into creativity and ultimately ensures the aesthetic delight of the critic. In life there is ample joy and pain, but no *rasa* or pleasurable relish of them. Impersonal, disinterested and universal delight is exclusive to poetry and termed *rasa*. Even spiritual bliss, termed sometimes *rasa* in the Upaniṣadic language (cf. *Raso vai saḥ*) differs from *kāvyarasa* in so far as it does not follow any prescribed course of *yoga* but is more or less a result of inborn taste. If poetry is thus *sui generis*, it is only because of *rasa*; and it is this paramount status of *rasa* which has to be emphasized in any adequate analysis of poetic beauty. We shall see how only the theory of *Dhvani* answers to this description.

The thesis of the *Dhvani* theorist can be simply stated :— *Dhvani is the quintessence of poetry*; *and rasa is the quintessence of dhvani*. What then is *Dhvani* ? *Dhvani* is an exclusively poetic feature concerned with exploiting the beauty of every element in the medium of the language like *alaṅkāra*, *guṇa* and *rīti* to serve the ultimate artistic end of *rasa*. In other words *Dhvani* is the name of the whole poetic process itself which for want of a better equivalent in English is usually rendered as 'suggestion'. This marks it off from the conventional capacity of language to give accepted meanings, i.e. meanings shared by all the community in their social or intellectual intercourse. It marks it off from the secondary or figurative usage of language too whose province does not include *rasa*. In other words, *dhvani* is that meaning in poetry which is appreciated by the critic as most beautiful, knowingly or unknowingly. The beauty of *vācyārtha* or explicit meaning and *lakṣyārtha* or implicit meaning is only an outer aspect of poetic beauty. Words and common meanings in poetry are no doubt used by the poet with an eye to beauty. This is exactly what is described by the ancient concepts of *alaṅkāra*, *guṇa* and *rīti* or *vṛtti*. But the soul or core essence of poetry is not adequately explained by any or all of them. The concept of *alaṅkāra* or embellishment demands an *alaṅkārya* or a subject to be embellished. The concept of *guṇa* too requires a subject which it qualifies. The doctrines of *rīti* and *vṛtti* too become meaningful only in relation to the essence of poetry and not otherwise. The ancients in their theorisings were getting gradually wiser about the special and unique status of *rasa*, but none pitched upon the only complete explanation, viz. *Dhvani*. Thus, to speak of *rasa* as an *alaṅkāra* of a special class, called *rasavadādi* shows only a very vague awareness of the problem; regarding *rasa* as a *guṇa* is an

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improvement upon it. To associate it with *rīti* and *vṛtti* is certainly further improvement, since both these are more abstract than *alaṅkāra* and *guṇa*. But the logical culmination of aesthetic theory is an open recognition of the inmost essence of poetry as exclusively *rasa*; and this is done only by the concept of *dhvani*.

If the task of the *dhvani*-theorist is rendered easy in a way by the concepts already in the field, it is also hampered in another way because the beauty already analysed has to be accommodated properly in the new explanation in a scientific manner. In the analytical method of the ancients, poetry is seen in its elements of *śabda* or sound and *artha* or sense. So *alaṅkāras* or *guṇas* are features, outer or inner, of only *śabda* or *artha* or both. All that their synthetic grasp could formulate was *rīti* or *racanā* or style and *vṛtti* or mode of acting in drama and mode of alliteration in poetry. The new theorist had to arrive at a new perspective to urge the claim of *rasa* to greater recognition in its own right, without underestimating the value of the earlier findings in the field. That the *Dhvani* theory meets the challenge boldly is indeed its best claim on our attention.

Unless this new perspective of *dhvani* is realised, we miss the very message of the *Dhvanyāloka*. What is wanted is a finer analysis in our general notion of beauty itself. That beauty or *cārutā* exists at many levels is the first theorem of Ānandavardhana. Grant this and the rest will follow as corollaries. The beauty of *vācakaśabda* and *vāćyārtha* is no doubt explained by the concepts of *alaṅkāra* and *guṇa*; but this beauty is quite distinct from the beauty of *vyṅgyārtha* whose most celebrated representative is *rasa*. We should not commit the mistake of thinking that the two are exclusive in the best passages of poetry. On the other hand, they mostly co-exist. But what is incumbent on the critic is the exercise of his aesthetic judgment in arriving at a clear decision about the relative prominence of the two kinds of beauty in any given passage. If the critic feels that the beauty of the expressed element (*vācya*) outshines the beauty of the suggested (*vyaṅgya*), it helps him to rate that passage as second-rate poetry. If on the other hand, he is convinced that the suggested beauty surpasses the beauty of the expressed, he will rate it as *dhvani-kāvya* or first-rate poetry. If the suggested element is almost negligible in appeal, it will be third-rate poetry (*citra-kāvya*).

It is only from such a perspective involving the criterion of *vyaṅgya-prādhānya* that the nature and scope of *rasa* can be realised

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fully in the *dhvani*-theory. Only when all the elements of *vācya-vācaka* charm stop attracting attention to themselves and participate generously in contributing to the supremacy of the *vyaṅgya* effect, viz. *rasa* we get real *dhvani* :—

"वाच्यवाचकचारुत्वहेतूनां विविधात्मनाम् ।
रसादिपरता यत्र स ध्वनेर्विषयो मतः ॥"

(*DA.* II 4.)

Though theoretically sound, this canon involves some practical difficulties. When there is clear recognition of diverse elements of beauty like *alaṅkāra* and *rasa*, it may go difficult to decide their relative superiority. So Ānandavardhana gives us an unfailing guideline to show the way out :—

"प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः ।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलङ्कारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः ॥"

(*DA.* II. 5)

One need not despair that all *rasa*, *bhāva*, etc. are as a rule suggested and the suggested must be superior to the expressed beauty. Ānandavardhana says that *rasādis* also may be suggested and yet remain *aṅga* or subsidiary to the *aṅgin* or principal beauty of *vācya*. This is the famous *aṅga-aṅgi-bhāva* extended to the relation, between *rasa* and *alaṅkāra* for the first time by Ānandavardhana. Before his time, theorists were aware of this relationship between two *alaṅkāras* only (as in *Saṅkara*) or between two *rasas* only. But in Ānandavardhana's system it can hold good between an *alaṅkāra* and *rasa* too.

The implications of this indeed are far-reaching. If *rasa* is principal, it is called *dhvani*; if *rasa* is subsidiary, it loses its claim to the title of *dhvani* and acquires the lower status of *rasavadalaṅkāra*. It means that *rasa* has a dual role in poetry. It may be both *Dhvani* and *alaṅkāra* depending on the intention of the poet. From this followed the dictum that the status of an *alaṅkāra* is always lower than that of *dhvani*. This is the most intriguing and confusing part of the *Dhvani* argument. Again and again, we are told that what is suggested in poetry is more intrinsic and aesthetic than what is merely denoted, that *vyaṅgya-cārutva* is *ipso facto* superior to *vācya-cārutva*. We are also told that *rasādis* are never *vācya* but exclusively *vyaṅgya*. How then can the beauty of *vyaṅgya rasa* be ever subordinated to any other ? Is it not a contradiction in terms to speak of *rasādis* as *alaṅkāra* which is only a *vācyasaundaryaprakāra* ?

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Such an apparent contradiction is dictated by the exigencies of facts in poetry and cannot be rated merely by considerations of logic. If the intrinsic status of *rasa* is one thing, its functional status in poetry may be another. A mere presence or touch of suggestion (*vyaṅgya-saṁsparśa*) does not constitute *Dhvani*; what constitutes *Dhvani* is that *vyaṅgya* which is also exclusively important in relation to other elements of beauty in the poem. It must be realised at the outset that various elements of beauty will be co-existing in any instance of good poetry. Some of them will be *vācya* and some of them may be *vyaṅgya*. The relative prominence of the *vācya* over the *vyaṅgya* or *vice versa* will alone be the decisive factor in deciding whether something is *alaṅkāra* or *dhvani*. Thus, we have a new philosophy of *alaṅkāra* also in the *dhvani* system which is different from that of the old school. Any element of beauty which subserves the beauty of another comes to be styled *alaṅkāra*. According to this new definition, *rasa* can be deemed *alaṅkāra* in examples like *kṣipto hastāvalagnaḥ*. The mistake of the ancient theorists lay in the fact that they deemed even principally suggested *rasādis* as *alaṅkāras*, though logically they could only remain *alaṅkārya*, totally distinct from *alaṅkāras*.

Apart from *rasādis*, coming to the *vācya-alaṅkāras* themselves, it may be asked what their *alaṅkārya* is. This is a question raised by Ānandavardhana himself. His answer is that it is mostly *vastu* or idea intended by the poet. Every poem has a theme or a subject or an idea which is its *vastu*. This may be conveyed directly or figuratively, or suggestively. Thus, we can speak of *vācya*, *lakṣya* and *vyaṅgya-vastus*. It is not impossible that two or more of these co-exist in a poem. What involves the exercise of the critic's judgment is the task of deciding which of them provides the final resting place (*saṁvid-viśrānti*) in his understanding of the poem. Now it may be the one, now the other. This freedom and impreciseness is of the very essence of poetry. It cannot be ordered to any logical rule. All that the *Dhvani* theory states is that the *vācya vastu* or *alaṅkāra*, howsoever beautiful in itself, must be reckoned as inferior to the *vyaṅgya-vastu* or *alaṅkāra* or *rasa* in respect of appeal to men of taste.

It will be seen how the *vyaṅgya* element is regarded as three-fold as against the *vācya* element which is only two-fold. That is so because of the unique nature of *rasa* which can never be *vācya*. By reciting the names of *rasas* like Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya, Karuṇa, we do not feel love, mirth or sorrow. They can only be suggested by a pro-

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per manipulation of the antecedents, consequents and incidental moods of characters in a situation suited to the sentiments concerned. So, then, though *rasa* is never *vācya*, *vastu* and *alaṅkāra*, however, can be both *vācya* and *vyaṅgya*.

What we have in poetry is the varying juxtaposition of *vācya* and *vyaṅgya* elements. Let us look at the logical possibilities :— The two *vācya* elements and the three *vyaṅgya* ones make five in all. In all poetry, the first *vācya-vastu* must be invariably present. It may be associated with either a *vācya alaṅkāra* or a *vyaṅgya vastu* or a *vyaṅgya alaṅkāra* or a *vyaṅgya rasādi*. Now *vācya vastu+vācya alaṅkāra* is only *alaṅkāra* in the new system, because the two belong to the same functional order. But when the two orders are interposed, the resultant beauty demands the exercise of the critic's judgment. Thus, in *vācya alaṅkāra+vyaṅgya vastu* it will be regarded as *alaṅkāra* only if the beauty of the *vyaṅgya vastu* is subsidiary to the beauty of the *vācya*. This is known as the principle of *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* which adequately explains all the *alaṅkāras* without denying the suggested element in them. On this principle indeed *vyaṅgya rasa* too is regarded as *rasavadalaṅkāra*. But if the *vyaṅgya vastu* or *alaṅkāra* or *rasa* is not subsidiary to the *vācya*, but surpassing the rest in beauty, then these come to be raised to the highest state of *dhvani*. This is the functional philosophy underlying the three divisions of *vyaṅgyārtha* into *vastu-dhvani*, *alaṅkāra-dhvani* and *rasa-dhvani*. Unless something is exclusively and relatively all-important it won't be classed as *dhvani*. However, of the three, the province of *Rasa-dhvani* is not only the largest but also the sweetest. Its nature is such that it cannot but colour every minute ingredient or aspect of poetry on the one hand and every class of *dhvani* on the other. In poetry, language is used uniquely because the poet endeavours to convey emotions, moods and feelings in addition to mere facts and actions. Even such hard and dry things like stones and bones become associated with some mental feeling like anguish; and therefore even in seemingly *rasa*-less passages of poetry, a perceptive and sensitive reader will experience some shade or the other of *rasādi*. So the logically distinct categories of *vastu-dhvani* and *alaṅkāra-dhvani* cannot be deemed to be totally exclusive of *rasa* anytime. Once we theoretically admit that *dhvani* is the essence of best poetry to do full justice to the claims of *rasa*, we cannot rule out logically the application of that definition to *vastu-dhvani* and *alaṅkāra-dhvani* also. These latter too are definitely more aesthetic than their *vācya* counter-parts and they also, in some measure at least, partake of

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the healing touch of *rasa* which is not however prominent enough to be classed as *rasa-dhvani*.

Such a wide theory embracing all varieties of *vastu alaṅkāra* and *rasa-dhvani* in the category of best poetry is also practically more serviceable than a theory restricted to *rasa*. In Prakrit folk-poetry abounding in examples of subtle wit and clear hints to love assignations, the canon of *rasa* cannot apply *in toto*, though their appeal to the intelligent reader is unquestioned. These are best explained as *vastu-dhvani* suggested by the unique nature of the characters and the situation in question. Similarly, great poets have shown their preference in leaving certain figurative ideas and images suggested instead of openly expressing them as in prose. Actually, the term *alaṅkāra-dhvani* is a misnomer. What is suggested now is only a *vastu* and it should be strictly called *vastu-dhvani* only. But to distinguish this *vastu* which is due to *kavisamaya* from other *vastus* we refer to its general status elsewhere as *alaṅkāra* and call it *alaṅkāra-dhvani* after the analogy of *Brāhmaṇa-Śramaṇa-nyāya* which is similar to our reference to some as Brahmin-Christians today.

Theoretically too, exclusion of *vastu-dhvani* and *alaṅkāra-dhvani*, would land us in a hopelessly miserable state in establishing the aesthetic value of *vyaṅgya* as superior to *vācya* when we are confronted in argument by learned logicians and grammarians and the like who can be presumed to understand only *vyaṅgya-vastu* as distinct from *vācya-vastu* and not also *vyṅgya-rasa*, because *vyaṅgya-rasa* is by definition something that can be felt only by the few gifted ones called *sahṛdayas* or *rasikas* and outside the reach of merely learned specialists. Hence, *vastu-dhvani* examples only are cited to convince such hard-boiled sceptics and *rasa-dhvani* illustrations are avoided.

All this carries the implicit assumption that there is such a unique function of language as suggestion over and above the two well known functions called denotation and indication. The Mīmāṁsakas and other philosophers who are supposed to be experts in this matter have nowhere spoken of this function. Even in Bhartṛhari's philosophy of Sanskrit grammar, there is a sort of prediliction to assume an almost mystical 'revealing power' to explain the evolution of all meaning from sound forms in terms of *sphoṭa* or *śabda-brahman*. If what is exclusive to poetry is a unique speciality, a speciality not figured out by all philosophers of language, there is no wonder at all; and that speciality can be none other than *rasa* or aesthetic experience of the reader as ably pointed out by Abhi-

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navagupta while dismissing the *bhāktavāda*. The theory of secondary meaning is differently held by different schools and can be conveniently widened to include all meanings other than conventional one; yet it cannot explain or cover the fact of *rasa-dhvani*, showing its inadequacy to explain literature. Even the best advocate of *lakṣaṇā* can only plead for some varieties of *vastudhvani* (viz. *avivakṣita-vācya*) as covered by forms of *lakṣaṇā*; but the vast bulk of literary charm lies outside that limited sphere.

While classifying *dhvani* varieties, Ānandavardhana gives such significant titles as remind us of the relative status of *vācya* all the time. Under this logical scheme *Rasādi-dhvani* comes to be styled *asaṁlakṣyakrama-vyaṅgya*. That is to say, the vyaṅgya rasa is felt almost simultaneously with the comprehension of the *vācyārtha*. The logical time sequence between the two becomes so thin as to escape notice. This is compared to the quick piercing of a hundred lotus leaves placed one above the other with a needle in the shortest span of one second. Abhinavagupta is our authority on aesthetic psychology and on the state of the reader during *rasāsvāda*. But Ānandavardhana spares us from any account of these. By the term *rasa* he refers not only to the reader's aesthetic response and to the poet's creative afflatus which are both subjective but to the permanent states or *sthāyibhāvas* objectively embodied in the poem through characters and plot. The characters are the seat of such *rasas* and there can be opposition between two *rasas* like love and detachment when they are only *rasavad-alaṅkāra*. The fleeting mental states or *vyabhicāribhāvas* of Bharata are simply referred to as *bhāvas* without any epithet. The other constituents of *rasādi* group are the *ābhāsas*, *uddīpana*, *praśama*, *sandhi*, *śabalatā*, etc. of the *rasas* and *bhāvas* with varying degrees of intermixture and pitch. We have no space to dwell on their details here.

Ānandavardhana criticises the summary treatment of *Rasavad* Alaṅkāra by the ancients. He hoists them on their own petard. It is their credo that the province of each alaṅkāra must be different without any room for overlapping and hence their definitions are carefully constructed from this point of view guarding against the fallacies Too Broad and Too Narrow. But when *rasa* is primarily felt in a passage replete with human emotional behaviour and it is characterised as *rasavad-alaṅkāra*, either they should mean that other figures like the simile have no scope there or if their co-existence is admitted, they will have to give up the postulate that figures like the simile have an exclusive field of their own. For, in litera-

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ture, sentient emotional behaviour of some sort or the other will be attributed even to inanimate objects in nature and figures like the simile will have no scope at all left to them uncovered by *Rasavadalaṅkāra*. If, on the other hand, they deny such attributed sentiment the name of *Rasavadalaṅkāra*, they will be branding some of the best examples of *rasa* as *rasa*-less, exposing themselves to the charge that they are lacking in taste. They are thus cornered by the two horns of the dilemma. The only way out is to distinguish primarily beautiful *rasādi* which is *dhvani* from *rasādi* subserving another element in the poem and which is *rasavadalaṅkāra*. Thus, in the new scheme, even other *alaṅkāras* like Preyas of the early theorists will come to be designated as *rasavadalaṅkāra* only.

Such a realisation of the vital role of *rasādis* entitling them to the rank of *dhvani* will help immensely in the revaluation of the other concepts also. It will at once stand out how *guṇas* stand apart from *alaṅkāras*. The *guṇas* though felt as inhering in *śabdārthas* really belong to *rasas* only in their variety. Some *rasas* like Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa melt the hearts of readers and are styled *madhura* or soft and sweet. Some others like Vīra, Raudra and Bibhatsa rouse our hearts and are styled as characterised by '*ojas*' or brilliance. Besides these two, only one more *guṇa* is enough to explain the common effectiveness of all *rasas* and all *racanās* and that is *prasāda* or lucidity.

Ānandavardhana dwells on the *vyañjakatva* or suggestive charm of each minute element in poetry like syllable, base, affix, termination, word, gender, number collocation of compounds or otherwise, sentence, paragraph, canto and whole work—only in relation to *rasa-dhvani*. From the minute attention of early theorists to parts of *vācya-vācaka*, he turns our attention to the much more profitable task of analysis of *vyaṅgya-vyañjaka* from parts to the whole. He affirms that beauty so detected alone is the most significant aspect of beauty in poetry. If the *vācya* aspect is also taken into account, the only significant charm detected will be of *prasādaguṇa* or lucidity in addition. If we leave out *vācya* also from consideration, the only charm holding our attention would be alliteration and so forth :—

> रसादिसमर्पणसामर्थ्यमेव नैसर्गिकं शब्दानां विशेष इति व्यञ्जकत्वाश्रय्येव तेषां मुख्यं चारुत्वम्। वाचकत्वाश्रयाणान्तु प्रसाद एवार्थापेक्षायां तेषां विशेषः। अर्थानपेक्षायां त्वनुप्रासादिरेव।
>
> *DA.* P. 360, Bālapriyā Edn.

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All this clarification by Ānandavardhana is meant to render more cogent Udbhaṭa's idea that particular words alone are suited for particular *rasas*. We are indebted to Abhinavagupta for citing *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* by name in this context (p. 358). To what extent Udbhaṭa had gone beyond the early theorisings in his *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* is unknown; but it is clear that Ānandavardhana was not fabricating anything preposterous or very new and which was not already hinted at in glimmering flashes of earlier thinkers.

Only the implications of this general theory on poetic creation and critical appreciation remain to be glanced at in conclusion. The testimony cited in the *Dhvanyāloka* of the most celebrated Ādikavi Vālmīki himself as unburdening his *śoka* or sentiment of pathos through the outlet of a spontaneous outburst, viz, *śloka* is more than clinching. It proves that the creative process is spurred into activity at all because of *rasāveśa*. The spell of *rasa* or overmastering passion is an aesthetic experience to the core and is to be carefully distinguished from raw personal emotion familiar to all in life. Vālmīki did not have the worldly and personal emotion of sorrow when he saw the surviving bird crying piteously and wallowing in the blood of its mate just killed by the hunter. In that case he would have just wept and acted like any one of us and not composed a rhythmic verse. This intense constructiveness of vision goes beyond objects of physical sight. In Blake's much quoted words it can see the world in a grain of sand and Heaven in a wild flower. But howsoever sombre the theme, it brings to the artist no grief in the usual sense of the word. For grief disables, but this kind of vision empowers. It has been said that God is a person who feels all the pain there is in the world without being disabled by it at all. And thus much of divineness there is in a great artist."[1] We thus come to the conclusion that *Rasa* in poetry is *alaukika* or something quite unique, impersonal and super-normal, something all sweet and beautiful, an end in itself, aesthetically satisfying. Poets can wring out this *rasa* or joy even out of pain itself in the world. The poet's *pratibhā*, in other words, is directly conditioned by *rasāveśa* whose nature is creativity at once vivid and beautiful or रसावेशवैशद्यसौन्दर्यनिर्माणक्षमत्वम् in the words of Abhinavagupta. When the vision is clear and deep, the poet will effortlessly achieve the task of marshalling all his material towards the one goal of *rasa* and devises his plot, characters and style in due regard to the principle of unity of *rasa* in the midst of a variety of shifting *rasas* and *bhāvas*.

1 C. E. Montague, *A Writer's Notes on his Trade*, Penguin Books, London 1930. p. 189.

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Vālmīki's concentrated attention to the principal sentiment of Karuṇa or pathos and Vyāsa's all-out emphasis on Śānta or tranquillity are instances in point. The main thread of *aṅgi-rasa* is never allowed to be lost in the midst of a thousand and one *aṅgas*. But they are epic sages. Even among later poets, Kālidāsa provides the best example of a *rasakavi* in his poems as well as in his plays. He never repeats himself or echoes his predecessors. What makes him truly himself is his devotion to the claims of *rasa* at evey step. Though a genius, he desists from the temptation of too many *alaṅkāras* and will keep various *aṅga-rasas* and *bhāvas* within the limits of propriety so that the *aṅgi-rasa* shines out in full splendour. The detection of this propriety or *aucitya* in the treatment of *rasa* by the poet is alone the primary business of the critic and not the labelling in term of *alaṅkāras*. Even lapses will be ignored and his *rasa* admired by critics if the poet's genius is strong.

Thus, the philosophy of *dhvani* which gives the most adequate and searching explanation of *rasa* will be found to bear many a parallel in the thought of modern writers like I.A. Richards, Christopher Caudwell and Susan Langer. It touches the inmost depth of poetry on the one hand and illumines the most serviceable procedure for practical literary criticism on the other. The best supporters of Ānandavardhana are his worst critics because they all tacitly admit that *Rasa* is the Soul of poetry though they demur to the new name *Dhvani*. Let me close with this nice tribute to him paid by Rājaśekhara :—

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना ।
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ।।

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KṢEMENDRA'S GRUDGE AGAINST INDISCIPLINED STUDENTS OF 11th CENT. A.D.

VED KUMARI

Kashmir was a great seat of learning in ancient times and many students from various parts of the country were drawn to it in search of knowledge. Hiuen Tsang had spent two years in Kashmir and studied various Śāstras and copied the valuable manuscripts. He informs that there were more than one hundred monasteries and five thousand brethren living.[1] Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to a large number of Vihāras and Maṭhas built by kings, queens and ministers of Kashmir.[2] Vihāras were mainly for Buddhist monks while Maṭhas were meant for those who followed the Brahmanical system. All these Vihāras and Maṭhas were centres of culture and religious life and had gradually developed into educational institutions. Free board and lodging was provided to students so that they could pursue their studies without any worry. The puritanic austerity of student life as prescribed by Dharmaśāstras was to be practised by students but there were some among them who were interested more in merriments than in their studies. Ordinarily a student was expected to wear coarse clothes, avoid the use of perfumes, garlands, ornaments, collyrium, shoes, umbrella, etc. He was not to participate in musical concerts and dances. Unnecessary conversation with ladies was to be avoided. He was enjoined upon to keep himself free from envy, anger, covetousness, false pride and sexual desire.

But there were some chaps who never obeyed these moral injunctions and turned their Maṭhas into centres of rogueries of low characters. Kṣemendra, the greatest satirist of Sanskrit literature, was perturbed by the ugly behaviour of students of lax virtue

1. S. C. Roy. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 145.
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I.103, 147, 169; III.9.14, 464, 476; I.170, 191; III.460, V.38.40; VI. 223, 243, 300, 303, etc.

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and tried to draw the attention of the society to their mean vices. With the keen insight of a shrewd observer, he examined their daily life and presented satirical sketches in *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*. In the 6th chapter of *Deśopadeśa* he describes astutely the vicious activities of a student from Bengal. The aim of Kṣemendra is neither to hurt any individual nor to amuse the reader through licentious writings. As he himself has pointed out in verses 3 and 4 of *Deśopadeśa*, his aim is to uphold morality.

He knows the special power of the satirist and hopes that people put to shame by scornful ridicule might abstain from vices and thus be benefited by his efforts.

ये दम्भमायामयदोषलेश-
लिप्ता न मे तान्प्रति कोऽपि यत्नः ।
किन्त्वेष हासव्यपदेशयुक्त्या
देशोपदेशः क्रियते मयाद्य ॥

हासेन लज्जितोऽत्यन्तं न दोषेषु प्रवर्तते ।
जनस्तदुपकाराय ममायं स्वयमुद्यमः ॥

Alexander Pope, an English writer of the 17th century A.D., had expressed exactly similar views in the Epilogue to his Satires :—

> Yes I am proud; I must be proud to see Men not afraid of God, afraid of me : Safe from the Bar, the pulpit, and the throne, Yet touched and shamed by Ridicule alone. O sacred weapon, left for Truth's defence, Sole Dread of Folly, Vice and Insolence.[1]

Kṣemendra has used well this sacred weapon of satire to strike his blows on hypocrisy and corruption which had polluted the society of Kashmir in his days.

In the 6th chapter of *Deśopadeśa*, he pays ironical homage to a student who like Śiva is the usurper of the pleasing half at the free feeding house (सत्रे वामार्धहारिणे), is terrible (उग्र), Poison-eater विषभक्ष), and armed with spear at night (शूली). When he comes to Kashmir from another part of the country he is just like a skeleton and people avoid his contact fearing him to be a ghost.[2] While eating at

1. William K. Wimsatt, T R and Cleanth Brooks; *A short History of Literary Criticism*, p. 209.
2. कालकंकालसदृशश्छात्रो देशान्तरागतः ।
करंकशंकया दूरात् सज्जने वर्ज्यते जनैः ॥
Deśopadeśa. VI.2.

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different houses by turn, he sits downfaced waiting eagerly for food after having observed a fast.[1] But after sometime the same thin Gauḍa student changes altogether like a serpent who becomes young after throwing away his old skin.[2] Honoured with *tilaka* at the free feeding house, he grows fattish with festive food and fragrant unguents. With bright-coloured dress and with his nails nicely cut and painted with red paint, he is ashamed of holding in his hand the first page of a manuscript as he roams about in the company of those who hold discus and iron arrows.[3] He is proud of his new shoes producing a hard cracking noise and walks slowly looking at his waist girt with a red belt for keeping the knife.[4]

He wears triple made golden ear-rings and looks like Kubera, the lord of wealth.[5] Puffed up with his self importance, he makes the bards sing false praises of his beauty though with the dark complexion of his face resembling a black vessel he surpasses even *Śanaiścara* the god of Ugliness.[6] With black face and white teeth and a big turban on his head, he appears like a monkey when he smiles in the company of courtesans.[7]

1. गृहवारेषु भुञ्जानः स्नातकः संयितव्रतः ।
प्रणतश्चान्नसंकांक्षी जपति प्रहरद्वयम् ॥
Ibid. VI.4.

2. अवाप्ततिलकः सत्रे भोज्यैरुद्वर्तनैश्च सः ।
भुजङ्गकञ्चुकमिव त्यक्त्वा संजायते नवः ॥
Ibid. VI.5.

3. अलक्तकाङ्कितोदघृष्टनखश्चित्राम्बरोऽथ सः ।
लज्जते मलपत्रेण चक्रनाराचसञ्चये ॥
Ibid. VI.10.

4. उपानत्कुत्सितारावगर्वितः स शनैर्व्रजन् ।
लोहितक्षुरिकापट्टवेष्टितां वीक्षते कटीम् ॥
Ibid. VI.12.

5. चञ्चत्कर्णसुवर्णाङ्कः स्थूलत्रिगुणवालकी ।
प्रभाते घनदाकारस्तूर्णं निर्याति दैशिकः ॥
Ibid. VI.23.

6. निर्दीपपात्रतुल्यास्यकान्त्या जितशनैश्चरः ।
गीयते रूपकन्दर्पश्छात्रो दुर्गतगायनैः ॥
Ibid. VI.15.

7. शीतकाले शिरःशाटी वेश्यावेश्मसु दैशिकः ।
हसन् कालमुखः शुक्लदशनो वानरायते ॥
Ibid. VI.20.

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HYPOCRITE

Highly fradulent, the Gauḍa student pretends to be very pure. While walking he avoids the touch of any body and tucks up his upper cloth in his armpit.[1] He cries aloud if anybody happens to touch him and does not eat food prepared by others.[2] The water of the whole river is regarded insufficient by him for cleaning his body but actually he has no hitch in eating residue in the dish of the prostitute and no scruples in drinking wine first tasted by her.[3] When he collects butter, sweets and rice cooked in milk in his vessel at the free feeding house, one must be sure that this rich food is finally offered by him to gods in the form of courtesans.[4] If he excels the sages in do-not-touchism, he competes them in five penances also. His five penances are indulgence in prostitutes, gambling, spying, hunger strike and stabbing others.[5] His is a special Āśrama, entirely different from the four Āśramas, namely, *brahmacarya*, *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsa* as prescribed by Dharmaśāstras.[6] He poses to be very innocent in the presence of ladies and asks as to why they are laughing and what they are talking about as if he understands nothing, but in his heart of hearts he is in search of widows and other young ladies for his enjoyment.[7]

1. स्पर्शं परिहरन् याति गौडः कक्षाकृताञ्चलः ।
कुञ्चितेनैव पार्श्वेन दम्भभारभरादिव ॥
Ibid. VI.9.

2. क्षत्रिणः सपवित्रस्य स्पर्शहुङ्कारकारिणः ।
लज्जन्ते मुनयोऽप्यग्रे गौडस्यापरपाकिनः ॥
Ibid. VI.3.

3. यस्योपस्पृशतः शौचे पर्याप्ता नाभवन्नदी ।
स एव भुङ्क्ते वेश्याभिरुत्सृष्टं मधुभोजनम् ॥
Ibid. VI.19.

4. सत्रे छात्रेण पात्रेण कृते भोज्यपरिग्रहे ।
तुष्यन्ति देवता वेश्याः क्षीरिणीघृतमोदकैः ॥
Ibid. VI.30.

5. वेश्यासक्तो द्यूतकरश्चाक्रिकः प्रायकृत् सदा ।
कुक्षिभेदी मठवने छात्रः पञ्चतपा मुनिः ॥
Ibid. VI. 31.

6. न ब्रह्मचारी न गृही न वनस्थो न वा यतिः ।
पञ्चमः पञ्चभद्राख्यश्छात्राणामयमाश्रमः ॥
Ibid. VI.32.

7. हसन्ति किं भणन्तीति मुग्धोक्त्या परयोषितः ।
विश्वास्य सेवते धूर्तः सत्रभोजनवर्णनैः ॥
Ibid. VI.22.

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As regards family, he announces himself to be a Thakkura[1] but Kṣemendra feels that in his own country the chap must have been a barbar or shoemaker or fisherman or butcher because he does not know even *saṁdhyā*.[2] Children of good families are expected to know *saṁdhyā* atleast by heart. He is not acquainted well even with alphabets but is still arrogant about his scholarship. Not to speak of *Svastipāṭha*, he hardly knows *Oṁkāra* but is bent upon defeating the old Kashmīri scholar.[3] With no back-ground at all, he commences the study of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, *Tarkaśāstra* and *Mīmāṁsāśāstra*.[4]

Interested in gambling, feasting and the company of prostitutes, he looks for meat in festive dinners, inquires about the fee of courtesans and the amount gained in gambling.[5] But when he squanders everything in gambling by the end of the day, he, bereft of clothes and besmeared with dust is ashamed and appears like a *Piśāca*.[6] When he has money, he is bereaved of that by a gambler, a bawd, a prostitute, a shoemaker and a barber.[7] One can see him in evenings roaming in the streets in front of the houses of courte-

1. गौडो गर्वोन्नतग्रीवष्ठक्कुरोऽस्मीति भाषते ॥
Ibid. VI.36.

2. नापितश्चर्मकारो वा धीवरः सौनिकोऽपि वा ।
स्वदेशे दैशिको नूनं सन्ध्यापाठं न वेत्ति यत् ॥
Ibid. VI.29.

3. छात्रः प्रवृत्तः पाण्डित्ये वृद्धकीरजिगीषया ।
कष्टेन जानात्योङ्कारं स्वस्तिज्ञाने कथैव का ॥
Ibid. VI.7.

4. अलिपिज्ञोऽप्यहंकारस्तब्धो विप्रतिपत्तये ।
गौडः करोति प्रारम्भं भाष्ये तर्के प्रभाकरे ॥
Ibid. VI.8.

5. भाटीः पृच्छति वेश्यानां द्यूतं पृच्छति निर्जितम् ।
मांसं संपृच्छति भोज्ये व्रतखिन्नेषु दैशिकः ॥
Ibid. VI.6.

6. स पिशाच इवाभाति दिनान्ते द्यूतनिर्जितः ।
नग्नो भग्नमुखः पांसुलिप्तसत्रपसत्रपः ॥
Ibid. VI.24.

7. कितवः कुट्टनी वेश्या चर्मकारः सनापितः ।
पञ्चगौडशरण्डस्य करण्डग्रन्थिभेदिनः ॥
Ibid. VI. 14.

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sans and making amorous gestures with hands and eyes.[1] The courtesans who take offence to his rude behaviour do not agree to accept his offer of three times more fee.[2]

ROWDY

Most ill-mannered, he treats all discourteously at the lodge and at the free feeding house. Behaving like a goblin at the Maṭha, like a demon in the bathrooms and like a Bhairava at the free feeding house, he scolds everybody without any reason for provocation.[3] No one dare oppose him whose belly is already marked with injuries made with a knife and who would not shrink from using it against his fellow boarders.[4] Under slightest provocation, he beats and throws out the servants of the Maṭha and tolerates only that servant whose wife is young.[5] With a cloth around his belly, with his hair arranged in a knot and with a rod in his hand, he seems to be bent upon the extinction of the Maṭha.[6] Just as the bigger fish eat the smaller, so he snatches away umbrellas, baskets, clothes, woollen blankets from the weak boys.[7] Early in the morning

1. लीलाञ्चितलतापाणिर्भ्रूविलासविकारकृत् ।
वेश्यावेश्माग्ररथ्यासु सायं भ्रमति दैशिकः ॥
Ibid. VI.13.

2. त्रिगुणेनापि मूल्येन वेश्यां नाप्नोति दैशिकः ॥
Ibid. VI 16.

3. मठश्मशाने वेताला: पिशाचा: स्नानकोष्ठके ।
घटयन्ति जनं छात्रा: सत्रे सन्त्रासभैरवा: ॥
Ibid. VI.42.

4. अनेकक्षुरिकाघातक्षुण्णकुक्षेः क्षयैषिणः ।
को नाम गौडयक्षस्य सत्रे याति विपक्षताम् ॥
Ibid. VI.2 '.

5. क्रुद्धः कर्मकरान् सर्वान् निरस्य लगुडाहतान् ।
तमेव सहते दासं तरुणी यस्य गेहिनी ॥
Ibid. VI. 11.

6. उदराबद्धवस्त्रेण ग्रन्थिजूटेन नादिना ।
लगुडोद्धतहस्तेन छात्रेणोन्मूल्यते मठः ॥
Ibid. VI. 25.

7. मत्स्या मत्स्यमिवाश्नन्ति भागीकृत्यातुरं क्षणात् ।
छात्राश्छत्रकरण्डादिपटशाटककम्बलैः ॥
Ibid. VI.39.

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he approaches a shopkeeper and demands much by paying little.[1] Hunger strike is another weapon misused by him. He cannot be persuaded to take food either by love or by fear or by regard and it is very difficult to tackle him.[2] Whosoever makes friendship with him after drinking in a common pot is stigmatized by him with the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.[3] No medicine is effective enough to cure him of the fever of prostitutes, *Sannipāta* of the free feeding house and tuberclosis of Maṭha.[4] With such students residing in it, the Maṭha is no more a Maṭha; it has become an abode of rogues and appears to be a cave in the wooden mountain full of old demons.[5] With this pungent picture of an indisciplined student drawn with piquant skill, Kṣemendra has detected and brought to light the loopholes in the educational institutions of his day. The aim of education, as he points out in his other work *Darpadalana*, is formation of good character. An educated person should develop a liking for doing good to others, be free from arrogance, and covetousness, and develop the qualities of forgiveness and patience. Knowledge is useless if it is devoid of right judgment and if it is afflicted with envy, anger and arrogance.[6] Kṣemendra regards

1. याचते पण्यमधिकं मूल्यमल्पं प्रयच्छति ।
वणिजस्तिष्ठति पुरः प्रभाते दैशिकः कलिः ॥
Ibid. VI.38.

2. भुक्तं करोति न प्रीत्या न भयान् न च गौरवात् ।
गौडश्चरति लोकेऽस्मिन् दुर्ग्रहोऽपि सविग्रहः ।
Ibid. VI.27.

3. दैशिकः कृपया येन पीतकोशः प्रवेशितः ।
तस्यैव लिखति प्रायो ब्रह्महत्यां विषाशनः ॥
Ibid. VI.33.

4. वेश्यावारज्वरः सन्नसन्निपातो मठक्षयः ।
न सङ्ग्रहैर्नं हृदयैः साध्यतामेति दैशिकः ।।
Ibid. VI.34.

5. नायं मठः शठमठः प्रांशुर्हुंठमठोऽपि वा ।
वृद्धराक्षसपूर्णेयं घोरा दारुगिरेर्गुहा ॥
Ibid. VI.41.

6. शीलं परहितासक्तिरनुत्सेकः क्षमा धृतिः ।
अलोभश्चेति विद्यायाः परिपाकोज्ज्वलं फलम् ॥
विवेकरहिता विद्या द्वेषरोषोष्मशोषिता ।
दर्पाशनिनिपातेन हता वल्लीव निष्फला ॥
Darpadalana III.24, 24.

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that knowledge as mean knowledge which makes one change justice into injustice and injustice into justice on account of avarice.[1] He is, therefore, pained to see that vulgar attitude of the Gauḍa student and condemns it in his satirical style.

1. अन्यायः प्रौढवादेन नीयते न्यायतां यया।
न्यायश्चान्यायतां लोभात् किं तया क्षुद्रविद्यया॥
Ibid. III.29.

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KĀLIDĀSA AND THE CATURBHĀṆĪ

A. N. PANDEY

Caturbhāṇī is a collection of four *Bhāṇas* (amorous farces) : *Padmaprābhṛtaka* by Śūdraka, *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* by Īśvaradatta, *Ubhayābhisārikā* by Vararuci and *Pādatāḍitaka* by Śyāmalaka. In these plays the life of Veśa (house of prostitutes) has been depicted in a very fascinating manner and many technical terms have been used. From the study of these plays it is evident that their authors are indebted to Kālidāsa, because they draw upon his descriptions and ideas. Here I produce some parallels from the works of Kālidāsa and the *Caturbhāṇī* and conclude that the authors of the plays in question flourished after Kālidāsa.

In the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* the following line occurs : 'तां वृक्षाः साधयन्ति स्वकुसुमहृषिताः पल्लवाग्राङ्गुलीभिः.'[1] The idea contained herein seems to have been borrowed from the line. 'एष वातेरितपल्लवाङ्गुलीभिः त्वरयतीव मां केसरवृक्षकः'[2] of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*.

'आक्षिप्तन्नस्तवस्त्रां प्रशिथिलरचनां मुक्तनीवीं विहस्ताम्'[3] of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and 'नीवीबन्धोच्छ्वसितशिथिलम्'[4] of the *Meghadūta* contain similar ideas.

In 'वासन्तीकुन्दमिश्रैः कुरबककुसुमैः पूरितः केशहस्तः'[5] of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* we read that hair was decorated with the Kurabaka flowers. In 'चूडापाशे नवकुरबकम्'[6] of the *Meghadūta* too the same idea appears.

'चन्द्रोदयविरहात् कुमुद्वती निःश्रीका संवृत्तेति'[7] of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and 'अन्तर्हिते शशिनि सैव कुमुद्वतीयं दृष्टिं न नन्दयति संस्मरणीयशोभा ।'[8] of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* are similar in ideas.

1. *Caturbhāṇī* (ed. Dr. Motichandra and Dr. V. S. Agrawala), p. 2.
2. *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (ed. R. M. Bose), Act. I, p. 65.
3. *Chaturbhāṇī*, p. 24.
4. *Meghadūta*, part II. V. 7.
5. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 36.
6. *Meghadūta*, part II, V. 2.
7. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 40.
8. *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, 413.

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The idea of 'उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य निक्षिप्य वीणाम्'[1] of the *Meghadūta* is reflected in 'तत्किमिदानीं निर्मुक्तभूषणतया विविक्तशरीरलावण्या मलिनप्रावाराधंसंवृत-शरीरा.....ङ्काधिरूढां वल्लकीमीषत्करुहैरवघट्टयन्ती.....तिष्ठति।'[2] of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka*.

'हस्तप्रत्यस्तगण्डे प्रशिथिलवलये भिन्ननिःश्वासवक्त्रे'[3] of the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* may be compared with 'निःश्वासानामशिशिरतया भिन्नवर्णाधरोष्ठम्। हस्तन्यस्तं मुखम्'[4] of the *Meghadūta*.

In both 'प्रचलितेन्द्रगोपका नवहरिततृणाङ्कुराः'[5] of the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* and 'प्रसन्नवैदूर्यनिभैस्तृणाङ्कुरैः समाचिता प्रोत्थितकन्दलीदलैः विभाति शुक्लेतररत्नभूषिता वराङ्गनेव क्षितिरिन्द्रगोपकैः॥'[6] of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* the earth is described as covered with shoots of green grasses and the Indragopaka insects.

'कलुषसलिलवाहिन्योऽविभावनीयतीर्थाः शठा इव नार्यो दुरवगाहा नद्यः।'[7] of the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* follows 'निपातयन्त्यः परितस्तटद्रुमान् प्रवृद्धवेगैः सलिलैरनिर्मलैः। स्त्रियः सुदुष्टा इव जातविभ्रमाः प्रयान्ति नद्यस्त्वरितं पयोनिधिम्॥'[8] of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*. In both the river with turbid water has been compared to the woman during menses.

In 'निवृत्तसङ्गीतमृदङ्गसन्निभाः'[9] of the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* the thunder of clouds is compared to that of the tabor. 'सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्ध-गम्भीरघोषम्'[10] of the *Meghadūta* carries the same idea.

'काञ्चीतूर्यमसक्तपीनजघनं.....मदवशादाज्ञारतं विस्मरेत्।'[11] of the *Dhūrtaviṭa-saṁvāda* contains the thought we find in 'ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः।'[12] of the *Meghadūta*.

'आपूर्याभिनवाम्बुजद्युतिहरे नेत्रे प्रयातोऽधरं तद्भ्रष्टः कठिनौ गतः स्तनतटौ तत्राप्यलब्धा-स्पदः। बाष्पस्ते तनुरोमराजिलुलितः शोकप्रसङ्गोज्झितः नाभिं पूरयति प्रियाङ्गुलिमुखप्रक्षेपलीलो-चितम्॥'[13] of the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* and 'स्थिताः क्षणं पक्ष्मसु ताडिताधराः पयोधरो-त्सेधनिपातचूर्णिताः। वलीषु तस्याः स्खलिताः प्रपेदिरे चिरेण नाभिं प्रथमोदबिन्दवः॥'[14] of the *Kumārasambhava* contain similar ideas. In the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda*

1. *Meghadūta*, Part II, V. 26.
2. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 44.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
4. *Meghadūta*, Part II, V. 24.
5. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 66.
6. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 215.
7. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 66.
8. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 217.
9. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 67.
10. *Meghadūta*, Part II, V. 1.
11. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 73.
12. *Meghadūta*, Part 1, 45.
13. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 82.
14. *Kumārasambhava*, 5.24.

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the poet says that the tears, from the eyes, fall on the lower lip and then on the hard breasts. Thence slipping through the lines of hair on the abdomen they reach the navel. In the *Kumārasambhava* the poet describes the first drops of water of the rainy season. The drops rest for the moment on the eyelashes of Pārvatī, then strike against the lower lip and then break as they fall on her elevated breasts. Thence stumbling through the folds of her belly they reach the navel after a long delay. In the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* we find the description of tears, while in the *Kumārasambhava* that of the drops of first water of the rainy season.

The influence of 'त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम्'[1] on 'ये च प्रणयकुपितासु कामिनीषु तत्कालोत्कण्ठानुरूपान् रम्यान् प्रसादनोपायान् मित्रैः सह चिन्तयतः'[2] of the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* is quite visible.

'क्वचिदुद्घाटितगवाक्षेषु प्रासादमेघेषु रथ्यावलोकनकुतूहलाः शोभन्ते प्रमदाविद्युतः कैलास-पर्वतान्तर्गता इवाप्सरसः ।'[3] and 'विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः.. प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥'[4] are similar in ideas. In both the mansions have been compared to the clouds and the women to the lightning.

Śyāmilaka borrows the idea and language from 'पिवत्यसौ पाययते च सिन्धूः ।'[5] of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and constructs the sentence 'पिवत्वथ च पाययत्वधरमात्मनस्त्वां प्रिया ।'[6]

Here only a few parallel lines have been produced to show the influence of Kālidāsa on the *Caturbhāṇī*.

On the authority of cultural materials that glisten in these plays[7] and on the ground that Kālidāsa influenced the authors of the *Chaturbhāṇī* and on other grounds also,[8] it may be said that the plays were written in the post-Kālidāsa period.

1. *Meghadūta*, part II, V. 45.
2. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 117.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
4. *Meghadūta*, part II, V. 1.
5. *Raghuvaṁśa*, 13.9.
6. *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 187.
7. Motichandra, Introduction to the *Chaturbhāṇī*.
8. Cf. (i) F. W. Thomas, *Four Sanskrit Plays*, JRAS (Centenary Supplement, 1924), pp. 123-136.
   (ii) J. Burrow, *The Date of Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka*, JRAS (1946), p. 53.
   (iii) S. K. De, *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, pp 1-26.

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CHĀYĀ NĀṬAKA (SHADOW-PLAY) IN SANSKRIT

K. C. Pandey

In Sanskrit there is a distinct type of drama, called Chāyā Nāṭaka, though this type is not recognised by Bharata and his commentators : nor is it included in the list of Uparūpakas given by such a late writer as Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*.

According to the statements occurring in the works themselves the following are the Chāyā Nāṭakas :—

1. *Dūtāṅgada* by Subhaṭa Kavi. The prologue runs as follows :—

Mahārājādhirājaśrīmattribhuvanapāladevasya Pariṣadājñayā prabandhaviśeṣamupakramamāṇosmi.....Adya vasantotsave devaśrīkumārapāladevasya yātrāyām.....Śri Subhṭena vinirmitaṁ *Dūtāṅgadaṁ* nāma chāyānāṭakamabhinetavyam.

It tells us that the drama was written at the suggestion (order ?) of the dignitaries in the court of Tribhuvanapāla, (probably the Caulukya Prince, who reigned at Aṇhilvād in the 5th decade of the 13th century A. D.) : that it was staged on the occasion of spring festival, held in commemoration of the restoration of the Śaiva temple of Somanātha by king Kumārapāla. And Colophon runs as follows :—

Iti Subhaṭakavipraṇītaṁ *Dūtāṅgadaṁ* nāma Chāyānāṭakam.

But it may be clearly noted here that the Dūtāṅgadam is not the type of Shadow-play, in which shadow-pictures are produced by the projection from puppets on the reverse side of a thin white curtain, a reference to which has been made by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.[1] The stage-direction on page 9 makes it clear that in it different parts were acted out by human beings. The stage-direction runs as follows :—

tataḥ praviśya paṭākṣepeṇa

(Then having entered, pushing the curtain aside.)

1. *M. Bhā*, I. xii. 294. 5.

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The technique, employed for the presentation of this type of drama, seems to have been similar to that given in the Saṅgīta Cūḍāmaṇi (a MS. referred to in the Triveṇī, P. 722). According to this, there are two curtains on the stage. The first is the thick front drop, which is removed as soon as the show begins. The second is mist-like, behind which the actors act or the dancer performs the dance.

It may be pointed out here that some authorities are of the view that the thin curtain was not for reflecting the shadow of what was being done behind it, but for obscuring the presentation to some extent.

2. *Dharmābhyudaya* by Meghaprabhācārya.[1] It is a Jain drama, presenting the story of conversion of a king to Jain faith. It is recognised by some scholars to be a typical instance of shadow-play in which puppets were used. For, it contains the stage-direction:—

"yavanikāntarād yati-veṣa-dhārī putrakastatra sthāpayitavyaḥ" (P. 15).

(As the king takes the vow to become ascetic, from the innerside of the curtain a puppet, wearing the dress of an ascetic should be placed on the stage)

3. *Subhadrāpariṇaya*[2]

4. *Rāmābhyudaya*

5. *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*

These three dramas are, according to the colophon, Chāyā Nāṭakas. They are from the pen of Rāmadeva Vyāsa (15th century A. D.)

The Shadow-plays, similar to the Indian Chāyā-Nāṭakas of the type of *Dharmābhyudaya* are found in Indonesia also. They are called "Wayang". In their presentation the stage-manager (dalang) projects the shadows of puppets of leather or wood on to a screen. The subject-matter of these dramas is mainly borrowed from the great Indian epics the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as refashioned with distinctive local features.

There is difference of opinion among scholars on the meaning of Chāyā-Nāṭaka. Some hold it to mean 'shadow-play' but others interpret it as 'imitation of Drama', some hold that Sanskrit Drama has evolved out of Chāyā Nāṭaka : others maintain the

1. Ed. *Jain Atmanand Granthmola*, Bhavanagar 1918.
2. Edited by Narain Shastri Khiste in *Saraswati Bhavana Sanskrit Series*.

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contrary. The Chāyā-Nāṭakas discovered so far and references to them occurring in Sanskrit literature are not of so early date as may justify the view of the evolution of Sanskrit drama from them. The technique of Sanskrit drama was well developed before the time of Pāṇini as is clear from references to two works on dramaturgy by Pāṇini himself, one by Śilāli and the other by Kṛśāśva.[1] In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* there are references to dramas such as *Kaṁsabadha* and *Balibandhana* as also to the ways and means of staging them.[2] Thus, there is not much doubt about the existence of Shadow-plays of different types, but the evidence in hand does not support the view that Sanskrit drama of the type of which Bharata talks evolved out of Chāyā-Nāṭaka.

1. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः। (4.3.110)
.....शैलालिनो नटाः
कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः। (4.3.111)
भिक्षुर्नटसूत्रयोरित्येव.....कृशाश्विनौ नटाः।

2. (अ) आख्यातौपयोगे, 1-4-29 उपयोग इति किमर्थम्, नटस्य शृणोति, ग्रंथिकस्य शृणोति, उपयोग इत्युच्यमानेऽपि अत्र प्राप्नोति। एषोऽपि हि उपयोगः। अतश्च उपयोगो यदारम्भकाः रङ्गं गच्छन्ति नटस्य श्रोष्यामः ग्रन्थिकस्य श्रोष्याम इति।

(ब) In हेतुमति च 3. 1. 26 पतंजलि quotes specimens of prose utterances of the actors as follows :—
गच्छ हन्यते कंसः, गच्छ घानिष्यते कंसः, किं गतेन, हतः कंसः।

(स) प्रजादेर्द्वितीयस्य 6.1.2 व्यंजनानि पुनर्नटभार्यावत् भवन्ति। तद्यथा नटानां स्त्रियो रंगगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः।

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A STUDY OF MADHURĀVIJAYA

CHANDRA PRABHA

Madhurāvijaya is a historical *mahākāvya* in eight cantos. It deals with a period, of which little is satisfactorily known. The colophons to the first and the second cantos mention Gaṅgā-devī as the author of the poem. Verses 39-41 of the seventh canto mention the author to be the queen of the Prince Kampana, the hero of the poem. Here, she has described the achievements of her husband and narrated the history of his expedition to the south.

With regard to the date of the composition of the work there is no controversy as such. It has already been mentioned above that the author of the poem was a queen of Prince Kamparāya who was in power from A.D. 1361-62,[1] according to the inscriptions of his reign. In the Ranganatha Inscription of Gopaṇa,[2] dated Ś. 1293, we are told that Kampana, not only wrested Srirangam from the Mohammedan invaders but also the kingdom of Madhurā during Ś. 1293=1371 A.D. Since the existence of a dynasty of Mohəmmedan chiefs of Madhurā during the 14th century A.D. is testified by chronicles and coins,[3] the victory of Kampana over the same is not doubtful. Now Gaṅgādevī must have composed the present work to celebrate the victory of her husband over the Mohammedan chief of Madhurā. On the basis of this it can be well assumed that the composition of the work must have taken place after A.D. 1372 i.e. during the second half of the 14th century A.D.

Madhurāvijaya was first published in the journal 'New India', Madras, in 1915. In 1916 it was edited by the commendable and

1. *EI.* Vol. VI. p. 325.
2. *EI.* Vol. VI. p. 324.
3. Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 42.
   Swell's *List of antiquities*, Vol. II. 222f;
   Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin collectors in Southern India*, p. 32f & p. 66ff;
   JASB. Vol. LXIV. pt. I. p 49ff.

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sincere efforts of Pandit G. Harihar Shastri and Pandit V. Srinivasa Shastri as a text, with an introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Rav.

The edition of the work is based on a single palm leaf manuscript belonging to Pandit N. Ramaswami Sastriar. Since the manuscript was found in an extremely worn out condition numerous blanks were left out by the scribe and as a result there are large gaps in the verses. The first five cantos of the work are, to some extent, continuous but the remaining portions are fragmentary. In the present condition it ends with the defeat of the Mohammedan chief of Madhurā by Kampana. But, if any significance is to be attached to the title *Madhurāvijaya* it should not be inferred that the poem must have had many more cantos. Even then the portions that are brought to light are full of interesting information regarding the conquest of Madhurā by Kampana.

STORY

I. *Madhurāvijaya* of Gaṅgādevī begins with an invocation addressed to Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī and Parameśvara, Sarasvatī, and Kriyāśakti-guru. Then mention is made of the poets of the past viz. Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti Karṇāmṛtakavi, Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha.

King Bukka, the brother of Harihara, is said to have been reigning at Vijayanagar situated on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. His vassals and generals are very respectful and loving. Due to the growing power of the king, his enemies are always in a disturbed state of mind. He is a very pious and a generous king. Kings ruling in all the directions owe allegiance to him.

Then follows a short description of the city of Vijayanagar, to which river Tuṅgabhadrā serves as a moat. In its suburb there is a temple of Virūpākṣa.

The rule of Bukka is very peaceful. People regard him as Manu. His chief queen is Devāyī.

II. Devāyī, the queen of Bukka, gives birth to three sons namely Kampana, Kampa, and Saṁgama, who resemble the three eyes of Lord Śiva. According to Gaṅgādevī, the first prince is named Kampana because he rendered his enemies quaky with fear at the very mention of his name.

III. Soon after the completion of *caula* ceremony of prince Kampana, the eldest son of Bukka, he is shown to be quite

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proficient in all the branches of learning. He is said to be well trained in the use of arms. While Kampana is yet young, his father discourses to him on the evils of indulgence in women, gambling, hunting, drinking and so on. He advises him to avoid even the thought of them. Bukka advises him on the duties of the royal princes and points out to him the work that lay before him. He asks Kampana to march against Campārāya, the ruler of the Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala and reduce Kāñcī to subjugation. When in a good position he should subdue the several forest chiefs and then proceed against the king of the Turuṣkas who has made his headquarters at Madhurā. After this advice Kampana resolves to lead an expedition to the south.

IV. Next day, due ceremonies having been performed Kampana starts for his expedition against the king of Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala with a huge army. He crosses the country of Karṇāṭa in five or six days and reaches the town of Kaṇṭakānana. Then he crosses the river Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī and stations his camp at Viriñcīpuram. From there he enters the country of the Dramida king and a fierce fight takes place between the two. Forces of Campārāya are defeated. In a dual between Campārāya and Kampana, the former is killed and the latter proceeds victoriously to Kāñcī and rules at Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala.

V. Kampana makes Marataka, the capital of his newly acquired province and rules in a way as to be loved by all. Various kings from Magadha, Malava, Sevuna, Siṁhala, Dramila, Kerala and Gauḍa wait at his gate for their turn to pay their homage. Kampana spends the rainy and the winter seasons there.

VI. It describes the life of Kampana in camp.

VII. It describes some conversation between the prince Kampana and his consort Gaṇgādevī, the author of the book. Prince asks her to describe the spring season. Then follows the beautiful description of the sunset and the moonrise. In this part of the poem, the narrative is interrupted due to a break in the manuscript.

VIII. A strange lady appears before Kampana who describes to him the disastrous consequences of the Mohammedan invasion of the south and the sad plight of the southern country and its ancient glory requesting him to extirpate the invaders and restore the country to its ancient glory, presenting him at the same time a divine sword. Kampana proceeds against Madhurā and, in a battle,

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kills the Sultan ruling in the place. He makes a grant to several temples.

At this point the manuscript breaks off and the narrative is left incomplete.

Critical Appreciation :

In accordance with the rules of a *mahākāvya*, the present edition of the work contains eight cantos of moderate length. There are a few verses more but they do not carry any canto number. They may well belong to the eighth canto. The hero of the poem is Kampana, a *kṣatriya* by caste. He is a *Dhīrodātta nāyaka* being self-controlled and magnanimous.

The poem is full of heroic sentiment. It is enriched with vigorous and forceful descriptions of wars and battles. Expedition by the hero for conquest puts it in bold relief. Even, the erotic finds enough scope in the various descriptions of seasons, water-sports etc. Specially the fifth canto abounds in it.

The author appears to have been conversant with the ancient tradition of learning. She has referred to the recitation of mantras from the *Atharvaveda* at the departure of Kampana for his southern expedition.[1] She also refers to the performance of various rites as *Caulakarman*,[2] *Puṁsavana*,[3] and *Jātakarman*.[4] Her work abounds in mythological references from the *Purāṇas*.[5] Various incidents have been picked up from the epics and introduced into the poem.[6]

The author by way of paying her respects to the old poets—Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti, Karṇāmṛtakavi, Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara, and Viśvanātha, has attempted to impress upon the mind of the readers that she is conversant with their works and at times she has actually drawn upon them.[7]

The poem is composed in the *Vaidarbhī* style marked by perspicuity. Gaṅgādevī's thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her choice of words is apt and happy. She avoids obscure words. Her composition is free from long compounds. Though she uses *Yamaka* and *Anuprāsa*, her construction is nowhere laboured. She does not indulge in the use of puns. She prefers to use figures of sense

1. IV. 19.
2. III. I.
3. II. 13.
4. II. 33.
5. I, 41, 62, 73, 74; VII. 9, 12; VIII. 29; IX. 23.
6. I.42; VI .5; VIII. 35; IX. 3, 22.
7. I. 7; II. 2, 3.

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like *Upamā*,[1] *Utprekṣā*,[2] *Hetu*,[3] *Pratīpa*,[4] *Apahnuti*,[5] *Atiśayokti*,[6] *Mālopamā*,[7] *Rūpaka*,[8]; *Parisaṁkhyā*,[9] *Vyatireka*,[10] *Bhrāntimān*[11] and *dṛṣṭānta*.[12] She has used as many as twelve metres : *Anuṣṭubh* (I, IV), *Upajāti* (II, IX), *Vaṁśastha* (III), *Drutavilambita* (V), *Puṣpitāgrā* (VI) *Viyoginī* (VII), *Mālabhāriṇī* (VIII), *Vasantatilaka* (I. 15), *Mālinī* (II. 42), *Hariṇī* (III. 48), *Śikhariṇī* (VI. 69), *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (IV. 83). Sometimes her composition is such that a group of verses go to make a single grammatical sentence. This sort of composition is technically known by different names as *Kulaka*, *Kalāpaka*, etc.

Historicity :

The contents of *Madhurāvijaya* are of great value for the construction of the history of Vijayanagar kingdom for a short time after its foundation. It brings to light those facts which were hitherto unknown.

The kings of Vijayanagar were guided by their family priest Kāśī-vilāsa Kriyāśakti Paṇḍit, an ardent śaiva. This has been well proved by an inscription of the Mysore State,[13] which records that Immdi Bukka II son of Harihara II, made a grant of land to Vidyā Śaṅkara with the knowledge of Kriyāśakti. This shows that Kriyāśakti was the Kulaguru of the kings of Vijayanagar and that he occupied a distinguished position. From the *Madhurāvijaya* we come to know that Harihara I, son of Saṁgama was the first ruler of Vijayanagar Empire.[14] Though there is controversy as to who was the founder of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, yet the historians and the inscriptions support the statement of *Madhurāvijaya*. The first ruler of Vijayanagar, however, did not style himself king nor did even the composers of the text of his early inscriptions give him the royal title. In an inscription of A.D. 1340, Harihara is referred to as Hariyappa Uodeya—Harihara chief. He is given the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*—great lord, and not king.[15]

1. III. 5; IV. 78; IV. 19.
2. I. 68; III. 33, 47; V. 37; VII.
3. III. 27; IV. 45; VII. 5-6.
4. III. 12; V. 52;
5. I. 36.
6. V. 10.
7. I. 27, 29, 73; III. 12.
8. III. 40.
9. I. 65.
10. I. 61:
11. I. 55.
12. I. 19-20.
13. *E. C.* Vol. X. Kolar dt. Mb. No. 11.
14. *MV.* I. 26.
15. *EC.* Vol. X. Kolar dt. Mb. No. 11.

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Harihara I was succeded by his brother Bukka I,[1] a sovereign ruler, who ruled over all the feudatory kings. There is great controversy regarding his accession to the throne after Harihara I, as according to inscriptions Bukka I had another elder brother Kampa, who should have occupied the throne after Harihara I. But, from a colophon at the end of the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* we come to know that at that time Kampa held the Government of the province of Udayagirirāja[2] and that he was content with his administration in Nellore.[3] Another view is that Kampa seems to have died sometime before the death of Harihara in Ś 1268-69, and the accession of Bukka I.[4] But Sewell is of the opinion that Bukka 1 was a warlike man and usurped the throne.[5] In the face of these controversies it is difficult to give the exact reason of Bukka's succession but it is certain that he was the real successor of Harihara I.

Besides being a warrior, he was a generous ruler. He made liberal grants and gave fillip to religiosity.[6] Gaṅgādevī calls him another Indra.[7] People regarded him as Manu, as he helped in the well being of his fellow beings.[8] He established his capital at 'Vijaya' after conquering it. It was situated on the bank of Tuṅgabhadrā, which served as a moat to the city.[9]

In *Madhurāvijaya*, Devāyī is said to have been the queen of Bukka I.[10] This name appears to be new, as no inscription mentions such a name, while the name of Gaurī another queen of Bukka I is recorded in an inscription.[11] Bukka I had three sons from his queen Devāyī named Kampana, Kampa and Saṁgama.[12] None of the chroniclers records these names. But the inscriptions mention the name of Kampana II. Whereas, chroniclers record the name of Harihara II, the successor of Bukka I, the son of Gaurāmbikā.[13] Since the chroniclers do not give the history of the other sons of Bukka 1, Gaṅgādevī, by writing *Madhurāvijaya* has added new information.

1. *MV.* Vl. 26.
2. *E.I.* Vol. III P. 23.
3. *SH. VP.* 93.
4. *MV.* Indt. P. 32.
5. *A forgotten Empire*, P. 28.
6. *MV.* I. 37. EC. Vol. X. Mb. TL. No. 158 Vs. No. 16.
7. *MV.* I. 67.
8. MV. I. 68.
9. MV. I. 43-44.
10. MV. I. 73.
11. *EI.* III. P. 36.
12. MV. II. 40. 41, 42.
13. *EI.* Vol. III. P. 37.

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According to *Madhurāvijaya* Kampana was an expert in all the arts, use of arms, archery and sword fight.[1] While Bukka I, was seated on the throne of Vijayanagar, he advised Kampana to defeat king Campārāya of Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala, reduce Kāñcī to subjugation and defeat the kings of Vanyarāja and the Turuṣka ruler.[2] From the epigraphical evidence we come to know that it is only in the year Ś-1282 i.e. A.D. 1360 that Kampana is seen to be the Governor of the Mūlvāgilurājya.[3] But in *Madhurāvijaya* no mention is made of Mūlvāgilurājya.

According to *Madhurāvijaya*, Kampana, in course of his expeditions, crossed the border of the Karṇāṭa country and reached the town of Kaṇṭakānana.[4] Kampana's army moved on to the banks of the river Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī and entered Viriñcipuram. Kampana made it his military base. Campārāya or Sambhuvarāya, seeing his army in Viriñcipuram, opposed and a fierce battle took place. Campārāya's army suffered defeat and fled towards the capital. Kampana pushed Campārāya to his capital and made it his camp. King Campārāya with a few selected soldiers took refuge in the strong fortress on the Rājagambhīra hill which was surrounded by the enemy. A fierce battle took place between the two armies and Campārāya came out to fight in person. In a single combat he was killed by Kampana.[5] Now, *Madhurāvijaya* is the only work which says that King Campārāya was killed by Kampana at Rājagambhīra rājya. But other works like *Rāmābhyudaya* and *Sāluvābhyudaya* never mention Campārāya as having been killed. But these agree in asserting that Campārāya was defeated and re-instated.[6] Kampana reduced Campārāya to the position of a tributary king and proceeded victoriously to Kāñcī, modern Conjeevaram. Then he started to rule at Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala.[7] This is supported by an inscription of Kampana dt. Ś 1287, found in Tirupputkulli near Conjeevaram which says that Kampana became stabilized on the throne after taking possession of Rājagambhīrarājya.[8] According to *Madhurāvijaya* he made the city of Marataka the seat of Govern-

1. *MV.* III 1-2.
2. *MV.* III. 42-43.
3. *EC.* X. Kolar dt. Bp. No. 31, 203.
4. *MV.* IV. 47.
5. *MV.* p. 24.
6. *MV.* IV. 83.
7. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1899 No. 18.
8. *MV.* V. I.

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ment of newly acquired province.[1] In the end the poem gives a vivid description of the encounter between the armies of Kampana and the Sultan of South in which the Turuṣka ruler was killed by Kampana.[2] This incident finds strong support from the accounts of the chroniclers and inscriptions.[3] Thus, we see that *Madhurāvijaya* is not merely a *mahākāvya*; it supplies significant historical facts regarding the history of the Saṁgama dynasty of Vijayanagar.

1. *MV.* VIII. 23-29.
2. *Srirangam Koyilolugu old* ed. PP. 53.
3. *MV.* Intd. P. 28. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* 1903, No. 106, 111.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE CONCEPT OF LOVE IN KĀLIDĀSA

NARENDRA NATH SHARMA

The great Indian poet Kālidāsa has drawn in letters some marvellous sketches of human emotions on the charming background of nature. Of these numerous sketches. those of passionate love can be ranked supreme. Nowhere in Sanskrit literature has the emotion of passionate love found such a touching media for outlet as it is revealed through the spontaneous outpourings of the pair—Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, Mālavikā and Agnimitra, Purūravas and Urvaśī in his plays, or of Yakṣa and his consort, Śiva and Pārvatī, Aja and Indumatī in his poems.

On the surface, the objective sketches seem to be limited in range and narrow in outline but, when we reflect we find that they go deeper, inasmuch as they represent moods, not persons. Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta, Mālavikā and Agnimitra and for that matter, all the pairs of lovers, in plays and poetry, appear to be symbolical, for they represent the poet's concept of love as an ideal for all men and women. The objective art of the poet, thus, becomes a media for conveying his feelings and emotions. It needs little effort to to see therein not only the wealth of suggestion but a clearness of outline and the greatest harmony of motives intermingled with emotion.

When we analyse the main episodes of Kālidāsa's works, we find that there is a desire of the soul to join itself to what is akin to it. We seek akinness of the form and body at first, whence we rise to the akinness of the mind and then to the akinness of the spirit itself.

To illustrate the foregoing statement, we shall take up here the works of Kālidāsa for study. In the *Abhijñanaśākuntalam*, the famous play of the poet, for instance, we see that the animal soul of Duṣyanta craves for the union with his beloved as evidenced by

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the description of her outward form. Here, at first, the physical aspect is the source of attraction, since the hero is captivated by the personal charm of the heroine. Says he :

अधरः किसलयरागः कोमलविटपानुकारिणौ बाहू ।
कुसुममिव लोभनीयं यौवनमङ्गेषु सन्नद्धम् ॥[1]

"Her lips are red as the fresh mango leaves, arms as tender as a creeper. And her youth pervading all her body is as attractive as a flower."

The animal soul of Duṣyanta hankers after its kinness but is hampered in its progress by the doubt that its kinness to the soul of his beloved might be illusive, a mere shadow. But, then the logical soul comes to his rescue and he immediately jumps to the idea that his animal soul is perfectly justified. It could not have been otherwise attracted to it. Says he :

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा
यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥[2]

He bases his knowledge upon experience and intuition. The discovery of his beloved's genealogy convinces him of the purity of his mind. Love, thus, becomes his guiding principle, and joy its own security.

The unity of the two souls, as for instance of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, is thus accomplished through the agency of the logical soul of the lover.

But the animal soul has dwelt too much upon the outward aspect of his beloved, so it has to undergo a penance and live a purgative life for sometime, effected by a gradual detachment from the things of the sense and by a desire for the things of the spirit. So there is a complete estrangement through the supernatural agency such as Durvāsā's curse in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* where Duṣyanta has to undergo a series of sufferings before he can attain a complete and final union with his beloved's intellectual soul.

Thus, we see that separation as a form of purification is enjoined by a divine will such as Durvāsā's curse, it being determined or caused by the excessive impluse culminating in the neglect of

1. *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*, Act I. V. 18.
2. *Ibid.* Act I. V. 19.

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duty on the part of the beloved. Separation softens the impulse which becomes a regulation by law. The divine agency, again, in the person of Mātali, Indra's charioteer, brings about their union. But this is the union of two intellectual souls purified in the heat of suffering. Now, love does not rest on the blood in the lips of the beloved or on the rosy hue of her cheek, nor does it dwell in the fickle heart of the lover. It lives in and by the soul and not in the matter known only to the sense. Says Duṣyanta :

वसने परिधूसरे वसाना
नियमक्षाममुखी धृतैकवेणिः ।
अतिनिष्करुणस्य शुद्धशीला
मम दीर्घं विरहव्रतं बिभर्ति ॥[1]

In the *Vikramorvaśīyam* too, love emerges through the co-operation of two kin souls, as it were a chemical process but, its progress is checked by a temporary separation. The lover's emotion in separation from his beloved gets so high that he begins to act like a mad person. We may read his address to the swan :

हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्तां गतिस्तस्यास्त्वया हृता ।
विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥[2]

Here too the union is effected by a divine agency and the loving couple settles to a happy conjugal life.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* the King Agnimitra is drawn towards Mālavikā. He is impulsive. But here too, he does not transgress the bounds of propriety. The queen Dhāriṇī parts the couple as the night parts a Cakravākī from her mate. Says Agnimitra :

अहं रथाङ्गनामेव प्रिया सहचरीव मे ।
अननुज्ञातसम्पर्का धारिणी रजनीव नौ ॥[3]

The chief queen Dhāraṇī is the controlling power. The king's impulse is rationalized. Agnimitra and Mālavikā bind themselves to a wedded life but not till Dhāriṇī is pleased and not till they have suffered and undergone the pangs of suspense. Thus, we notice, the poet has amply demonstrated through the behaviour of his characters that there is a proper justification for the element of suffering in love which is considered prima facia, to be an essential ingrediant. Almost all the heroes—Duṣyanta. Purūravas, Agnimitra,

1. *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*, Act VII. V. 21.
2. *Vikramorvaśīyam*, Act IV. V. 33.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act V. V. 9.

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Yakṣa and the rest have undergone pangs of separation from their beloveds. This is because the experience they had gained through the media of the senses was likely to degrade their soul's pure essence into the gross corporeal form. And they had to purify themselves in the fire of suffering before their love transformed itself into a pure thought.

Kālidāsa welcomes sufferings even resulting in death rather than approve the union of the two souls of which one is suffering from the anguish of love and the other is quite indifferent.

अनातुरोत्कण्ठितयोः प्रसिध्यता
समागमेनापि रतिर्न मां प्रति ।
परस्परप्राप्तिनिराशयोर्वरं
शरीरनाशोऽपि समानुरागयोः ॥[1]

Love begets love : अनुरागोऽनुरागं प्रतीच्छति[2] is the maxim on which Kālidāsa has built the edifice of love. The lovers are put on the anvil of suffering, hammered and crushed till they are cleaned and their outer self is merged in the inner self. This concept is nowhere so prominently declared as in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*.

This brings us very close to the concept of love as found in Western literature. The element of love has been the theme of almost all the poets in the West. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries of the Christian Era, under the influence of religious reformists, love in the hands of English poets attained the pedestal of morality. It built its nest in and by the soul in preference to the matter known only to the senses. In Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton and Donne love begins in the eye but ends in the soul. Of course it expresses itself through the media of outer senses, but finally it dissolves itself into the ocean of spirituality.

"My soul in thine eye, thine in mine appears."
"Love that imparts in everything delight
Is fancied in the soul, not in the sight."

Judged by this standard, Kālidāsa stands at the height of poetic excellence. There is an intense longing of the two souls for their mutual merger. But love's surfeit is followed by the immense suffering which the lovers, such as Yakṣa, Duṣyanta, Purūravas,

1. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, III. 15.
2. *Ibid.* Act IV. Bakulāvalikā's speech to Mālavikā.

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undergo before they emerge from the fire, purified, transformed and chaste.

Kālidāsa's concept of love stands at the classical level. There is sincerity, openness and simplicity. His is an artless art. Though the method employed by him is that of sensuous suggestions, it nowhere becomes immoral or indecent. All the cases of love end in harmonious conjugal relation.

When all this is said, there still remains a side of love, of which, perhaps, Kālidāsa was not aware or, if aware he consciously avoided it. That is the side of love which needs no base to build its nest upon or, if it has any, it does not require response. When affection develops for a particular person, in the process, the body, mind and words are concentrated on him, all affectionate actions are showered on him, without a desire for return. Thus, for instance, a lover says to his beloved: 'I love you but what is that to you.' But Kālidāsa does not pretend to be so airy. He does not ignore the physical aspect of the soul. He needs love to be responsive. He is as much a realist as he is a romanticist. In his hands even the simplest of feelings find their ornamental, decorative garb. He takes recourse to the various figures of speech and poetic embellishments to give an outlet to his feelings. The emotion does always stand in need of response though it is fully controlled by reason. Says Duṣyanta :

"अनुयास्यन्मुनितनयां सहसा विनयेन वारितप्रसरः ।[1]

This is quite in artistic conformity with the principle governing the state of mind of the lover.

We know that for some of his plays and poems, Kālidāsa availed himself of the material that already existed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, he could have presented the materials, though in the poetic form, with the same detail as he found therein. But he does not. He chooses a theme, polishes it, embellishes it and adapts it to his principle. His range is, however, restricted by the existing structure. Still he demolishes a part of it when it does not suit his ideal and he raises a new one on the old site. The incident of love between Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā he discovered in the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. He found in the old story the principle of bargain—Śakuntalā's offer of love to Duṣyanta in exchange for the kingdom for their would-be son. He found the guiding principle of love in the *Mahābhārata* as not

1. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Act I.

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in consonance with his cherished theory of love. His range was limited by the old story but in proportion to the narrowness of his focus he added the intensity of his own experiences and thus widened the focus. Durvāsā's curse in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* was such a device. It was his innovation. He demolished and pounded to pieces the idea of bargain in love and raised it to the spiritual level. Durvāsā's curse he invented as a necessity. He could not otherwise have rescued Duṣyanta from the sin of moral depravity. The same device of curse he has exploited in the *Meghadūta* where Yakṣa is externed, in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* where the celestial nymph Urvaśī is cursed to descend on earth, in the *Raghuvaṁśa* where Dilīpa is cursed by the celestial cow for his neglect of respects to her. Kālidāsa thus appears to have been familiar with the element of curse. But nowhere does he exploit it so much to his credit as in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* where its enforcement helps in the movement and the economy of the plot and where too, it has a living purpose of raising the moral tone, transcending the corporal form and of reaching the spiritual height not attained by any.

We have now arrived at the stage where the device of Durvāsā's curse would call for an explanation about the justification of the use of 'Make-believe' in the treatment of love. Love is a passion treated by Kālidāsa as true, noble and beautiful. On the face of it, any deviation from this noble purpose would be quite detrimental to the fame of the poet. It is bound to affect his composition adversely. The episode of Duṣyanta as discovered by Kālidāsa in the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata* was interspersed with many such deviations. In order to avoid these pitfalls, Kālidāsa introduced the element of 'Make-believe' and succeeded in improving upon the existing material. The new element was then the accepted principle in normal life. In the Brahmanical thought of the time, people believed in the spiritual efficacy of the ascetics whose curses or blessings, it was thought, would take effect immediately. There was no straining of effort upon the intellect of his audience to credit such events as might appear abnormal these days.

To conclude, in brief, the passion of love in Kālidāsa is spiritual and not sensuous. It is based upon the theory of mutual attraction due to the kinness of souls. But as the method employed for the manifestation of that passion is that of sensuous suggestion—lips, cheek, breasts, so on and so forth—the animal soul has to undergo a penance, live a purgative life and wean itself away from the objects of sense. Divine agencies are at work, whether they be

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Kuberas, Indras or Durvāsās to enforce the complete estrangement of soul from the entanglement of the senses, as expressed in the *Bhagavadgītā*[1] :

विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसवर्जम्

"The objects of sense withdraw from a person who refuses to dwell on them but his taste for the same remains."

Duṣyanta, therefore, weeps; Yakṣa pines for his beloved; Purūravas turns mad. But they all emerge from suffering as pure gold and they all reach the state where love attains its cherished goal. A slight turn from the exterior focus to the interior self might awaken the consciousness of the lovers and culminate in the total release of their soul. But, that state is not reached in Kālidāsa and only short of that, Kālidāsa has achieved in the treatment of love the true ideal of a Kāvya :

चतुर्वर्गफलप्राप्तिः सुखादल्पधियामपि ।[2]

1. *Bhagavadgītā*, II. 59.
2. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 1. 2.

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PRAMEYACARCĀMṚTA OF VIDDANĀCĀRYA

P. Sriramamurti

The Kākatīya period marks an epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature in Andhra. There is ample evidence to show that poets and scholars of considerable merit flourished at that time who produced several works on general literature and technical subjects. The inscriptions of this period themselves form a great contribution to Sanskrit literature. These Epigraphical writers exhibit mastery of language and form and other literary qualities. Some of them were great scholars and poets of the time. From these evidences we can say that there has been an unbroken tradition of scholarship and literary production in the different śāstras and types of literature in this part of the country.

Acintendradeva who was the author of an inscription at Hanumakonda dated 1163 A.D. was a disciple of Advayāmṛtayati. He was a Śaiva by faith and had resolved to devote his entire life to the propagation of the faith. Guṇodayabhaṭṭa who was a brāhmaṇādhikārin in the court of Pratāparudra was learned both in the Veda and the Śāstra. He was the son of Rājamahendrasomayājin, a distinguished Vedāntin of the time. He inherited his great love for Vedānta from his father and wrote a commentary on the most difficult Advaita classic of Śrī Harṣa called the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*. Other epigraphical poets are there who were well-versed in Vyākaraṇa and were adepts in composing difficult poems of the Citrabandha (configurative) type. Among them we may mention Īśvarabhaṭṭopādhyāya, the author of three Bodhpur inscriptions, dated 1276 A.D., who was a great scholar and poet. He mastered *Yajurveda* in its pada-order, the Pāṇinian grammar and difficult types of Citrakavitā.

Kolani Rudradeva, son of a Pradhāni of Pratāparudra is also accredited with the authorship of a grammatical work called *Rājarudrīya* which is a commentary on the metrical dicta (*Ślokavārttikas* quoted by Patañjali). He is said to have the title Vyākaraṇabrahma.

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There is a work called *Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇaprapañcavṛtti* by Rudrapaṇḍita patronised by Pratāparudra. Sākalyamalla was a scholar in grammar and a poet who wrote Udārarāghava which is a poem like the Bhaṭṭikāvya, and the two treatises. *Ākhyātacandrikā* on verbs and *Avyayasaṅgraha nighaṇṭu*, a lexicon on indeclinables in Sanskrit. Jayasenapati who was the commander of the elephant forces of Gaṇapatideva wrote a famous treatise nṛttaratnāvalī on the dance forms in vogue at that time. He is also known to have written *Gītāratnāvalī* and *Vādyaratnāvalī* on Vocal and instrumental music respectively. Vidyānatha is a well-known author of the *Pratāparudrīya*—a convenient manual on Alaṅkāraśāstra. Narasiṁhakavi whose *Siddhodvaha*, a small poem, a portion of *Kākatīyacarita* and *Malayavatī*, a gadyakāvya are found inscribed on stone at Hanumakonda—was an accomplished scholar in Vedas and Śāstras. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Ṛgveda* and some works on śāstras. Among other distinguished scholars we may mention Palkuriki Somanātha, the famous Vīraśaiva philosopher, Aghoraśivācārya, a Śaiva religious teacher and Agastyapaṇḍita who wrote seventy-four works according to Gaṅgādevī.

Besides these well-known facts we now have further glimpses of the scholarly and literary activities of this period from a few more hitherto unknown copper plate inscriptions. The Uttareśvarapuram copper plate grant dated 1289 A.D. belongs to a period when Pratāparudra was a conjoint ruler with queen Rudramadevī.[1] This inscription is important for the literary history of Sanskrit in Andhra not only for its inherent poetic qualities but also for the light it throws on the scholarly activities of the time.

The inscription starts with an invocation to Vighneśvara and other deities in high soaring poetic fancy. Then the city of Orugallu in Andhramaṇḍala is described. The description of Vīrarudra, the prince, follows. A relation of his was Viṣṇuvardhana, whose descendant was prince Induśekhara who was a munificent donor. He gave away a village by name Uttareśvara to a scholar Rudradeva who in his turn gave it to his preceptor Viddanācārya who was a great scholar. The village was situated on the banks of Godāvarī. There is a description of the village throwing light on the scholarly and literary activities there. There lived a Vedic scholar

1. This inscription is registered as C. P. 19 of *Indian Epigraphical Reports* for 1961-62.
This C. P. inscription is now available with the department of History and Archeology, Andhra University, Waltair.

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well-versed in Ṛk, Yajus and Sāman as well as conversant with grammar, mīmāṁsā and nyāya. They performed many yāgas. Pinnayācārya, the father of Rudradeva, the donor, is described as the foremost among the somayājins of the village and is compared to Vasiṣṭha. The family was not only learned but also rich and munificent in giving gifts to learned Brahmins. Rudradeva was famous for his patronage of poets. He was also an adept in dialectics and when he set forth an objection in scholarly disquisitions no one could answer him. Nor could any one raise any objection against his statements. In Tarka, Tantras and in sweet poesy he was exceptionally talented.

Viddanadīkṣita or Viddanācārya of Kapimunikula was his preceptor from whom he acquired his scholarship with ease without much effort. He is said to have blessed several disciples by his teaching. He is described as Mūrtaḥ Śivaḥ i.e. Lord Śiva incarnate. He was well-versed in Veda and Vedānta. He belonged to a family of learned Pandits. Rudrācārya was one of his ancestors with whom Sarasvatī is said to have conversed face to face. His son was Devanācārya who was known for his gentleness. He was skilled in dilectics and no one could oppose him in argument. His son Śrīraṅgācārya was both a poet and a scholar. Viddanācārya was born to him as Ṣaṇmukha to Śaṅkara.[1] He distinguished himself in an assembly of scholars in a city called Vāgīśaratnākara. It is described that even the parrots of his house could clarify the doubts of the Pandits in different Śāstras. He established a Śivatīrtha and a Sarovara in Bhīmavallabhapuri and installed Śivajñāneśvara in the temple there. At the same place he performed Agniṣṭoma with great glory causing surprise to the somayājins there. He was honoured by the prince Rudrakumāra voluntarily and was given munificent gifts unsought for. An umbrella, a palanquin and an hundred *niṣkas* were also presented[2] to him and Rudrakumāra held him in high esteem.

Viddanācārya led a pious and religious life and had an interest in doing righteous acts like building temples, etc. and other philanthropic activities. He was skilled in reciting the Veda in the pada and the Krama orders and was a scholar in the mīmāṁsā,

1. Viddanācārya is wrongly described in the report as the son of Devanācārya, Vide verses 40-43. The other inscriptions also speak clearly of his genealogy.
2. The endowment was made by Rudrakumāra to the scholar Viddanācārya, but not to the temple. vide verse—51.

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Śaiva Āgamas, Yoganibandhas and treatises on tantra and mantra and dharmaśāstra. He composed a work called *Prameyacarcāmṛta*,[1] which is an ocean of gems of statements. It is described as an ambrosia obtained by the churning of the different argumentations in scholarly assemblies. A study of this work is said to enable even the unintelligent to succeed in Śāstraic disputation. It was indeed like the nectar of the earth.

There is another copper plate grant of the same date which records the grant of a village which was renamed as Vināyakapura to the same distinguished scholar Viddanācārya. The village was gifted to several learned brahmins by him. It is interesting to note that his scholarly work *Prameyacarcāmṛta* is also described in this inscription in two verses. The work is said to have been composed with the essentials of the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā (पूर्वोत्तर तन्त्रसार). Its fame is said to have reached the goddess of learning herself.[2]

The same plates also contained another grant made by Cālukya Induśekhara to Viddanācārya himself in 1291 A. D. The Vonapalli village which was granted to him, was again given away to scholars.[3]

There is another grant of a portion of land in Puluparti village to Viddanīcārya made by Gaṇapati, a ruler of Koṇadeśa in 1296 A.D. This grant also refers to the Uttareśvarapuram grant. The references in these inscriptions to the great scholar Vidda-

1. Verses 57, 58, 59, and 60.

प्रमेयचर्चामृतनामधेयः कर्णामृतं येन कृतः प्रबन्धः ।
रत्नाकरः सूक्तिमणिव्रजानां सूर्यः सुधीशाननपङ्कजानाम् ॥

प्रमेयचर्चामृतमाद्रियन्ते यदब्धिलब्धं सुधियः सभासु ।
तदेव लब्ध्वा जडबुद्धयोऽपि भवन्त्यभिज्ञा विजयोत्सवानाम् ॥

निधाय सारस्वतनाम्नि वारिधावुद्बोधमन्थाचलमिन्दुशेखरः ।
यच्छद्मना वीक्ष्य हरिं यशःश्रियं प्रमेयचर्चामृतमाहरद्ध्रुवम् ॥

प्रमेयचर्चामृतमापिबन्ति यद्विनिर्मितं भूमिसुधाशनत्वम् ।
सर्वे समाधातुमिवात्मनिष्ठं सुधीश्वराः सूक्तिसुधामुचोऽपि ॥

आदाय पूर्वोत्तरतन्त्रसारमगुम्फयद्गन्धमकल्मषं यः ।
ग्रैवेयकं वागधिदेवतायाः प्रमेयचर्चामृतनामधेयम् ॥

2. *The Vināyakapuram grant*—śake 1221 also available with the Department of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair.

3. *The Onapalli record*—Department of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair.

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nācārya and his scholarly attainments are thus of great importance.[1]

Viddanācārya himself gave away a major portion of these villages granted to him to scholars in Vedas, Śāstras and Āgamas. Among the donees there are several scholars of great attainments. Some of them are said to have performed different Yāgas e g. सर्वक्रतुयाजिन; सोमयाजिन: A majority of others are ghaṭaśaśins which word means a scholar in tarka. It is also interpreted to mean heads of Educational institutions called ghaṭikās. Another epithet of the scholars mentioned is bhaṭṭopādhyāya, which might signify his great erudition in the Bhaṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsā. There is one Gomata Bharata among the donees who might be a teacher of dance and music. The name 'ārādhya' shows that there are Vīraśaivas also among the donees. The account given above amply testifies to the active cultivation of the Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā school of philosophy along with other Sāstras in the Godāvarī region even at the time of the Kākatīyas. The specific reference to the Koṇadeśa i.e. Koṇasīma in one of the grants is of significance. Incidentally a hitherto unknown work which is gloriously described in the inscription *Prameyacarcāmṛta* of Viddanācārya has come to light here:[2] It is unfortunate that the valuable work is not treaceable among the catalogues. The munificent patronage extended to scholars and their prosperous condition is also evident. The names of the authors of the inscriptions have not come down to us. The inscriptions exhibit several literary qualities, especially the high-soaring poetic fancies and metaphors intertwined with mythology and local lore.[3] The

1. *Bharati*—November, 1959 pp. 35-40 by Sri Turaga Krishnamurti.
2. The work, however, is not traceable in the available *Catalogue of Sanskrit works and manuscripts*.
3. तस्यामस्ति स वीररुद्रनृपतिः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपति-
स्फूर्जद्रत्नकिरीटकोटिविहरत्पादारविन्दद्वयः ।
श्रीमत्काकतिराज्यभारवहनप्रेङ्खद्भुजाविक्रमो
यस्य त्यागमुदीक्ष्य कल्पविटपी व्रीडादिवागाद्दिवम् ॥
यद्दानाम्बुझरीप्रवाहविभवैः पाथोनिधिर्वर्धिता (?)
भीति कामपि कुम्भसंभववशाज्जातां त्यजन्ति ध्रुवम् ।
आचन्द्रं विहरद्भिरूर्मिपटलैरन्तश्चरत्खेचरी-
विस्फूर्जत्कुचकुम्भसम्भवमहामैत्रीपवित्रीकृताः ॥
लोलकल्लोलहस्ताग्रलीलाचालितपङ्कजा ।
गोदावरी यया पुर्या सख्यं कर्तुमिवागता ॥
Uttarcśvarapuram grant.

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variety of metres shows the author's skill in versification. The style as in the case of other inscriptions of the time resembles the panegyrics in the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha.[1]

The foregoing account of the inscriptional records shows once again how much important is the study of inscriptions for the reconstruction of history of Sanskrit literature in any part of the country. The inscriptions themselves being good specimens of poetry have also thrown ample light on the contemporary literary and scholarly activities, sometimes referring to certain literary works in particular like the *Prameyacarcāmṛta* of Viddanācārya.

1. For the details on the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Kākatīyas, see. *The Contribution of Andhra to Sanskrit Literature* by Dr. P. Sriramamurti, Andhra University, Waltair.

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THE MEANING OF CHĀYĀNĀṬAKA

R. UPADHYAYA

The meaning of the term Chāyānāṭaka has not yet been cleared up. Dr. S.K. De admits that the connotation of the term Chāyānāṭaka is extremely dubious. He has summarised the various possible interpretations of the term as follows: 'The term is variously explained as 'outline of a drama or entra'cte (Rajendralal Mitra and Wilson) 'shadow of a drama or half-drama' (Pischel), 'a drama in the state of shadow' (Levi). Having regard to the derivative nature of the plays like the *Dutāṅgada* and the *Mahānāṭaka*, which incorporate verses from known and unknown Rāma-dramas, it is not impossible to hold that the term Chāyānāṭaka means an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject, the term Chāyā being a well known technical term used in the sense of borrowing or adaptation. It should be noted that the Chāyānāṭaka, in the sense of shadow-play, is not a category of Sanskrit dramatic composition and is unknown to the theorists as a dramatic genre, early or late. Its prevalence in ancient times is extremely doubtful and the part alleged to be played by it in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama is entirely problematic.'[1]

In spite of Dr. De's negative statements, it may be worthwhile to go into the meaning of the term Chāyānāṭaka and see whether something can be made out of it. This we shall try to do taking some concrete instances.

Of several dramas named by their authors as Chāyānāṭaka the *Dūtāṅgada* by Subhaṭa appears to be the earliest.[2] The author might have got the hint to name his drama as a Chāyānāṭaka from the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa and the Chāyāṅka of the *Uttara-rāmacarita* by Bhavabhūti. The *Pratimānāṭaka* has obviously been so called

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 501.
2. Other dramas by their authors as Chāyānāṭaka are the *Ullāgharāghava* by Someśvara (13th century), the *Subhadrā-Pariṇayana*, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* and the *Rāmābhyudaya* by Rāmadevavyāsa (15th century) and the *Dharmābhyudaya* by Meghaprabhācārya.

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because the statue of Daśaratha becomes a novel stage device. Similarly in the Chāyāṅka of the *Uttararāmacarita* the Chāyā of Sītā has been introduced as a particular dramatic convention.[1] Authors have brought into lime-light their striking inventions in plot etc. by naming their plays after them.

In the *Dutāṅgada* the Chāyā of Sītā has been designated as Māyāmaithilī, a dramatis persona as shown below :

(ततः प्रविशति प्रहस्तेन सह मायामैथिली)

मैथिली—जयतु जयत्वार्यपुत्रः। (इत्यभिदधाना रावणोत्संगमारोहति)

रावणः—(स्वगतम्) साधु, भो मायामयि, साधु जानासि दशकण्ठमाराधयितुम्।

अङ्गदः—(सविषादमात्मगतम्) अपि नाम जानकी पण्याङ्गनाचरितमाचरेत्। भवतु, विलोकयामि तावत्।

रावणः—देवि, विदेहनन्दिनि, प्रतिबोध्यतां रामप्रहितोऽयं शाखामृगः।

मायामैथिली—(अङ्गदं सबहुमानमवलोक्य) वत्स, अङ्गद मम वचनैः प्रतिबोधय राघवम्—

एषामुपरि कस्मात्खिद्यसे राघव तद्व्रज निजं नगरम्।
दत्ताहं निजहृदये साक्षीकृत्य मदनमेतस्मै ॥२८॥

अपिच

मयि रावणाङ्गजविलासहंस्यामद्य रघुनाथः।
राक्षसभटैरनिर्जितभरतं भूषयतु निजराज्यम् ॥२९॥

In the above excerpt Māyāmaithilī is the Chāyā in the sense gathered from the following narrative.[2]

ततस्तेजोमयं रूपमसहन्ती विवस्वतः ॥
नारीमुत्पादयामास स्वशरीरादनिन्दिताम्।
त्वाष्ट्रीस्वरूपेण नाम्ना छायेति भामिनी तदा ॥

1. Sanskrit dramas have been often named after some special elements introduced into the story with a view to developing it in a novel way. Besides the above dramas, the following have been named after certain objects or actions which assume special symbolic significance.
   (1) *Mṛcchakaṭika* for the clay-cart.
   (2) *Kundamālā* for the garland of Kunda.
   (3) *Veṇīsaṁhāra* for the braiding of hair.
   (4) *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* for the crest-jewel.
   (5) *Ratnāvalī* for the necklace of diamonds.
   (6) *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* for the statue of the heroine.
   and (7) *Ratnapañcālikā* for the puppet made of jewel.
2. *Matsyapurāṇa*, XI. 4-8.

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किं करोमीति पुरतः स्थितां तामभ्यभाषत ।
छाये त्वं मम भर्तारमस्मदीयं वरानने ॥
अपत्यानि मदीयानि मातृस्नेहेन पालय ।
तथेत्युक्त्वा तु सा देवमगमत् कापि सुव्रता ॥
कामयामास देवोऽपि संज्ञेयमिति चादरात् ।
जनयामास तस्यां तु पुत्रं च मनुरूपिणम् ॥

The device of introducing a Chāyā in the above sense as a tangible character had been in practice long since. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the Māyāsītā being killed in the battle-field with a view to discouraging the army of Rāma from continuing war further. While she was being killed, she had been lamenting for Rāma.[1] In the *Raghuvaṁśa* Dilīpa was tested by Nandinī by creating an illusory lion.[2]

In the dramatic literature there appears to be a gradual development of the stratagem of introducing an illusory character. In the initial stage some character by magical ingenuity (इन्द्रजाल) adopted the form of some other character and played a role which the original character was not expected to play. This was done with a view to deceiving some important person in the drama. In the *Mahāvīracarita* Śūrpaṇakhā adopts the form of Mantharā. In the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* Rāvaṇa, his charioteer and Śūrpaṇakhā adopt the form of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā respectively. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* Māyāmaya, Śūrpaṇakhā, and her maid servant adopt the forms of Daśaratha, Kaikeyī and Mantharā. In this drama the author has introduced a new stratagem also, which is slightly different from the above one. Thereby an artificial Sītā, seemingly resembling the original one, was made to console Rāvaṇa when he had been anxious for her. A bird was fitted in the mouth of illusory Sītā to answer questions put to her. It was only on touching her that Rāvaṇa could realise that she was not the real Sītā. This was a puppet and according to Rājaśekhara it was later beheaded in the battle-field to discourage Rāma from continuing the war.

Later on, Jayadeva in the thirteenth century further improved upon this dramatic device in the *Prasannarāghava*. He introduced on the stage in the sixth act a Māyāsītā produced by the Vidyādharas through magic. This was done with a view to consoling Rāma

1. *Yuddhakāṇḍa* canto LXXXI.
2. मायां मयोद्भाव्य परीक्षितोऽसि III.62.

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when Sītā had been abducted and kept under the Aśoka tree. Māyāsītā is shown to lament for Rāma.

It was first in the thirteenth century that the term Chāyānāṭaka was used for those dramas in which the illusory characters were introduced. Subhaṭa wrote the famous Dutāṅgada in this century and specifically said about it :

महाकविना श्रीसुभटेन विनिर्मितं दूताङ्गदं नाम छायानाटकमभिनेतव्यम् ॥

In this very century Someśvara, a younger contemporary of Subhaṭa wrote the *Ullāgharāghava* which has been referred to by the author as a Chāyānāṭaka in the colophon of Act IV as follows :

इति कुमारसूनोः श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतावुल्लाघराघवेच्छायानाटके चतुर्थोङ्कः समाप्त इति ।

In the *Ullāgharāghava* the illusory Sītā has been referred to in course of the following dialogue between Rāma and Sītā :

रामः—(सवैलक्ष्यम्) प्रिये श्रूयताम् ।

इह हि मायाकृतामपि मृगाक्षि मूर्तिं त्वदीयां
सत्यां विदन् न सहसैव मृतोऽस्मि यस्मात् ।
व्रीडाजडस्तदहमेष मृषानुरक्तः
शक्तो न दर्शयितुमात्ममुखं पुरस्ते ॥

सीता—अज्जउत्त एसोवि जणो इत्थ समाणावराहज्जेव ।

रामः—(विमृश्य) प्रिये कदाचिदस्मदीयमपि कृत्तविलूनं शिरस्तवाग्रे तैर्दुरात्मभिर्दर्शितं भविष्यति ।

Of unknown date is the *Dharmābhyudaya* of Meghaprabhācārya, which has been designated at the end as a Chāyānāṭyaprabandha by the author. In this drama the stage-direction is :

यवनिकान्तराद् यतिवेषधारी पुत्तलकस्तत्र स्थापनीयः ।

The Chāyā in this drama in is the form of a puppet, which is not distinguishable from a human character and has been shown to play the part of an anchorite in trance on the stage.

The *Hanumannāṭaka* has not been designated as a Chāyānāṭaka by its author but it has acquired for itself the title of Chāyānāṭaka. In this drama illusory Sītā has been introduced as given below :

सभयं रणसंकटमुपलभ्य सप्रपञ्चम्

पापं विरच्य समरे जनकस्य पुत्रीं
हा राम राम रमणेति गिरं गिरन्तीम् ।

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खड्गेन पश्यत वदन्निति रे प्रवीरा
मायामयीं शिव शिवेन्द्रजिदाजघान ॥ १२, १३

The use of a puppet for the purpose of the Chāyānāṭaka has been already referred to. In some Chāyānāṭakas pictures accompanied with letters were also used for dramatic purpose as the following reference from the *Ullāgharāghava* testifies in course of the dialogue of Vṛkamukha and Kārpaṭika :

वृकमुखः—सखे, कियदप्यन्तर्गतं मया रामलक्ष्मणयोः स्वरूपं स्वामिनो मनोविनोदाय पत्रपट्टे विन्यस्तमस्ति । तदवलोकयतु । (इति पट्टमर्पयति)

कार्पटिकः—(गृहीत्वा विलोक्य च) साधु महामते, साधु । छायानाट्यानुसारेण मनोहरमिदमालिखितं भवता । (इति वाचयति)

Chāyānāṭya characterised by a picture-scroll is quite rare in Sanskrit literature. There is, however, an apparent use of picture scroll in the *Prasannarāghava* a drama of the thirteenth century itself. In the first and the seventh acts of the drama the stratagem of the picture scroll has been introduced. In the seventh act the picture scroll has been painted to console Rāvaṇa, suffering from the non-response of Sītā to his overtures of love. Rāvaṇa has the picture in his hands. In the picture there are painted the sea, the army of monkeys under the command of Sugrīva, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with bow in hand, emaciated Rāma sleeping at the sea-shore, the Sea accompanied by aquatic animals present before Rāma when the latter had shot him with arrows, Vibhīṣaṇa seeking shelter under Rāma. The picture is followed by two stanzas given below :

त्रासं मुञ्च समुद्र कोपदहनो रामश्च पास्यत्ययं
वन्दीभूतसुरेन्द्रसुन्दरदृशामक्ष्णोरमुत्रं पयः ।
कामं ते मकरीगणो विहरतामेतस्य लङ्केश्वर-
स्त्रीगण्डस्थलपत्रभङ्गमकरीविध्वंसिनः सायकाः ॥
अद्यैवास्य विभीषणस्य शरणापन्नस्य मूर्ध्ना नते-
रानृण्यं विदधात्ययं रघुपतिर्लङ्काधिपत्यश्रियम् ।
एतस्यैव भुजाविह प्रतिभुवौ सुग्रीवराज्यार्पण-
त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानसत्यचरितौ सर्वे वयं साक्षिणः ॥७. १२॥

In the eighteenth century Rāmapāṁvāda has introduced in the fourth act of his drama, the Sītārāghava, a picture-scroll in which Sītā in the company of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa has been depicted on the Citrakūṭa. Sītā in the picture is looked upon as

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real Sītā by Rāvaṇa who wants to fall on her feet. On seeing all this Prahasta says to himself :—

अहो प्रतिकृतावप्यस्यां सत्यजानकीबुद्ध्यैव प्रलपति देवः ।

The Śāmāmṛta has been named as a Chāyānāṭaka by its author. In this drama human characters appear on the stage in the garb of deer. With reference to this special feature the drama has been designated as such. In the 15th century Rāmadeva Vyāsa wrote three Chāyānāṭakas. In his Subhadrāpariṇayana Arjuna comes on the stage in the garb of an ascetic.

From what has been presented above, it may be concluded that during the thirteenth century Chāyānāṭaka was a name given to dramas which adopted any one of the following four stratagems recognised as Chāyā—

(i) An illusory character played its role on the stage and the audience could not differentiate it from the real character as in Dutāṅgada.

(ii) A statue or puppet was installed on the stage to represent a character as in the Dharmābhyudaya.

(iii) A picture-scroll, containing some scenes of the activities of some characters and a few stanzas, was studied by some characters on the stage. The characters in the picture created the same impression on the mind of the onlookers as if they were present before him in person.

(iv) Some characters appear on the stage in disguise or in the garb of animals.

There was nothing like a shadow-play in Sanskrit wherein shadows were cast upon a screen between the stage and the auditorium. The Chāyā nāṭaka is not an entra'cte or an abridged edition of a bigger drama.

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TRIVIKRAMABHAṬṬA, THE POET*

V. VARADACHARI

Trivikramabhaṭṭa is the author of the *Nalacampū* which is also known as *Damayantīkathā*. He refers, in the introductory verses of this work, to himself as the son of a scholar Nemāditya,[1] son of Śrīdhara, a descendant of sage Śāṇḍilya.[2] He sings the glory of his ancestors in flowery expressions.[3] According to a tradition, a rival poet came to the court of the king of the region where he lived and challenged his father's position. His father having been then away from the place, he took up the challenge and composed the *Nalacampū*. On his father's return to his place, he left the work incomplete in the seventh chapter.[4] He had the honour of being connected with the Nausari grant made by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Indra III (914-916 A. D.).[5] His graphic description of the river Yamunā in the *Nalacampū* helped him get the popular name Yamunā Trivikrama.[6]

The type of composition called Campū was well-known to earlier theorists, like Daṇḍin,[7] but *Nalacampū* is the earliest work of

* The study here is based on the Nirnayasagar Press edition of the *Nalacampū*.

1. Introductory verse 19, The Printed text has the reading Devāditya. A. B. Keith also refers to him as Devāditya :—*History of classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 332. M. Krishnamachari mentions Siṁhāditya as the alternate name of Trivikramabhaṭṭa :—*History of classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 496.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. pp. 6-7.
4. M. Krishnamachari : Op. cit. p. 497.
5. A. B. Keith : Op. cit. p. 332.
6. Nalacampū 6. 1. Similarly Kālidāsa is known as Dīpaśikhā Kālidāsa (Raghuvaṁśa (6. 67), Bhāravi as chatrabhāravi (*Kirātārjunīya* 5. 39) and Māgha as ghaṇṭā Māgha (*Śiśupālavadha* 4. 20).
7. Daṇḍin gives the definition of Campū. *Kāvyādarśa* 1.31. Campū is hailed as the combination of vocal and instrumental music (*Rāmāyaṇa Campū-Bāla-*

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this kind. Both the works of this kind which should have been responsible for the framing of the definition of Campū and those which preceded the *Nalacampū* are lost for ever. That the prose compositions should have influenced Trivikramabhaṭṭa is clear from his incorporation of the main traits of prose works in his work. The division of the *Nalacampū* into ucchvāsas is another evidence in this context.[1] There is again the word haracaraṇasaroja occurring at the end of each ucchvāsa[2] as the mark.

The subject-matter of the *Nalacampū* is taken from the story of Nala and Damayantī as it occurs in the *Mahābhārata*.[3] Certain changes are introduced by the author in order to have scope for displaying his poetic talents in description and narration. While going out for hunt, Nala comes across a beggar, rather a nomad, who gives him information about Damayantī.[4] In the *Mahābhārata*, it is said that Nala came to know about Damayantī from the visitors to his court.[5] The appearance of the beggar, his meeting with Nala and his version of Damayantī's life as the richly deserving bride for any suitor get a vivid and graphic description. A heavenly voice asked Nala to release the swan so that it could serve as his love-messenger to Damayantī.[6] This is stated to strengthen the pleadings of the swan before Nala to get itself freed from him. Prīyaṅgumañjarī is the name of the queen of Bhīma which is not stated in the source. The sport in water is described as

kāṇḍa 3) and as the combination of grapes and honey (*Viśvaguṇādarśacampū* 4). Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Amṛtānandayogin do not refer to the Campū kind of kāvya. Perhaps, Campū arose in South India

But Dhanapāla is against appreciating the Campū kind. (*Tilakamañjarī* 17).

1. No uniform principle appears to have been adopted in the division of Gadya or Campū. The *Daśakumāracarita* and *Udayasundarīkathā* have ucchvāsas. The work of Hastimalla (Taruṇavācaspati on *Kāvyādarśa* 1.30) *Gadyacintāmaṇi* has lambhas. The *Yaśastilaka* has āśvāsas, and *Bhāratacampū* stabakas, while the *Vāsavadattā*, *Avantīsundarikathā* and *Tilakamañjarī* have no division.
2. Daṇḍin speaks of the mark in Kathā and Ākhyāyikā : *Kāvyādarśa* 1. 30. Among the poems, the *Setubandha* has anurāga as the mark, *Kirātārjunīya* Lakṣmī, *Śiśupālavadha* śrī, *Haravijaya* ratna and *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* Śiva.
3. *Mahābhārata—Vanaparvan* 49-77.
4. *Nalacampū*, pp. 32-38.
5. *Mahābhārata—Vanaparvan* 50-16.
6. *Nālacampū*, p. 53.

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indulged in by Bhīma and his consort.[1] The queen, who was issueless for a time happened to see a female monkey with a young one on its back and another hugging to it. This aroused in the king and the queen the feeling of their being childless.[2] They propitiate Śiva. The queen has a dream of getting a child.[3]

The author mentions in the introductory verses the greatness of Vālmīki,[4] Vyāsa,[5] Bāṇa and Guṇāḍhya.[6] Bāṇa's influence is felt in many aspects of his writings.[6a] Kālidāsa had left a deep impression upon him.[6b] It is however Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā, whom he followed very closely.

1. ibid. p. 62.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. pp. 67-68. Cf. *Harṣacarita* ch. 4. p. 124. Nirnayasagar press edn *Kādambarī* (Peterson's edn. p. 65),
4. *Nalacampū*-introductory verse 11.
5. *ibid.* introductory verse 12.
6. *ibid.* introductory verse 14.

6a. Bāṇa's fondness for assonance (*Harṣacarita* p. 143) impressed Trivikramabhaṭṭa to such an extent that he does not exhaust himself in using assonant expressions even when enough has been said by him. Rūpaka, which Bāṇa uses mostly in the *Harṣacarita*(pp. 204-5)is used in a similar strain at the end of descriptions. vide*Nalacampū*. Similarly, Bāṇa would not pile any number of virodhābhāsas one upon the other but Trivikramabhaṭṭa overdoes this, Utprekṣā, for which Bāṇa had an attraction, found itself employed in few words (*Harṣacarita*, pp. 33, 34, 67, 121, 153, 157). Trivikramabhaṭṭa adopts this method with success. (*Nalacampū*—मूकेनेव, मूढेनेव, मूर्च्छितेनेव, etc. p. 36).

cf.

एकान्ते सेवते योगं मुक्ताहारपरिच्छदः ।
हंसः स मोक्षयोग्योऽपि देव किं बध्यते त्वया ॥

Nalacampū 2. 18.

with

स्तनयुगमश्रुस्नातं समीपतरवर्ति हृदयशोकाग्नेः ।
चरति विमुक्ताहारं व्रतमिव भवतो रिपुस्त्रीणाम् ॥

Kādambarī, p. 12.

6b. cf.

इदं राज्यमियं लक्ष्मीरिमे दारा इमे गृहाः ।
एते वयं विधेया वः कथ्यतां यदिहेप्सितम् ॥

Nalacampū 3. 13.

with

एते वयममी दाराः कन्येयं कुलजीवितम् ।
ब्रूत येनात्र वः कार्यमनास्था बाह्यवस्तुषु ॥

Kumārasambhava 6. 63.

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Nala's accomplishments in education bear the influence of Candrāpīḍa's as depicted in the *Kādambarī*[1] Though brief, Śālaṅkāyana had in his mind Śukanāsa[2] and followed him up in giving suitable instructions to Nala when the latter had completed his education.

The gradual setting in of darkness in the evening gets merited description.[3] What a horse should be like for hunting purposes is well-depicted.[4]

The work is informative in certain respects. The food served to the invitees of Damayantī's svayaṁvara is minutely described. The people of the North, East and West are fond of flour and cannot take their food without a dish of fish. On the other hand, people in the South are not generally in the habit of taking meat.[5] The region of Kāñcī is referred to as having the grace of Kāmakoṭi.[6]

Damayantī was born through the grace of sage Damanaka who was sent by Śiva to bless king Bhīma and queen Priyaṅgumañjarī and so she was given that name.[7] Similarly, Nala was given that name as the elders wished that he should not take away the righteous wealth from good men.[8]

More than the subject matter of the Campū, it is the zeal of the author for displaying his erudition that is evident in almost every passage. Learning of Trivikramabhaṭṭa is vast and varied. Perhaps, there is not a branch of study with which he was not familiar. The author prefers to employ bhaṅgaśleṣa while he reveals his proficiency in any and every branch of study. There are references

1. *ibid.* p. 99; *Kādambarī*, p. 73.
2. *ibid.* pp. 102-114; *Kādambarī*, pp. 102-110.
3. *ibid.* pp. 62-64, p. 159.
   Cf. *Vāsavadattā*, pp 238-9.
4. *ibid.* 1. 47.
5. *ibid.* pp. 205-206.
6. *ibid.* p. 18, 2-27. Kāmakoṭi is the name of Goddess Kāmākṣī in Kāñchī city.
7. Vide :—नामकर्मसमये संमान्य मान्यजनं, जनेश्वरो वरप्रदानमनुस्मृत्य दमनकमुनेः दमयन्ती इति नाम प्रतिष्ठितवान् । *ibid.* p. 86.
8. Vide :—नामकरणोचितेऽह्नि न लास्यति धर्मधनान्येष साधुभ्यः इति ब्राह्मणाः प्रविश्य नल इति नाम प्रतिष्ठापयामासुः । *ibid.* pp. 98-99.

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to grammar,[1] music,[2] prosody,[3] poetry,[4] Nyāya,[5] Vaiśeṣika,[6] drama,[7] and science of the stars.[8]

The author shows off his learning by depicting Nala and Damayantī as representatives (or made up) of the divine descents of Viṣṇu,[9] of all deities,[10] of all sentiments[11] and of all stars.[12] The play on numbers[13] is exhibited while describing a sage.

Trivikramabhaṭṭa's liking for employing śleṣa and in particular of the bhaṅgaśleṣa kind should have been as a result of his eagerness to imitate Subandhu. He expressly mentions his zeal in employing Bhaṅgaśleṣa[14] and also speaks of the advantages of using it.[15] Rarely does he refrain from using it.[16] Virodhābhāsa[17] and

1. Vide :—यत्र च मनोहारिसारसद्वन्द्वास्तत्पुरुषेण द्विगुना चाधिष्ठिताः कादम्बरीगद्यबन्धा इव दृश्यमानबहुव्रीहयः केदाराः। p. 11; अनधीतव्याकरण इवादृष्टप्रकृतिनिपातोपसर्गलोपवर्ण-विकारः। p. 8, cf. pp. 56, 59.
2. Vide :—कूटप्रयोगो गीततानविशेषेषु न व्यवहारेषु। p. 15, cf. 164, 183, 184.
3. Vide :—यस्मिंश्च मत्तमयूरहारिणि भद्रभुजङ्गप्रयाते विचित्रक्रौञ्चपदे छन्दःशास्त्र इव वैतालीयं मालिनी शिखरिणी पुष्पिताग्रा च दृश्यते विविधा जातिः। p. 42. cf. p. 163 and *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 108-9.
4. कुकविकाव्यपद्धतिभिरिव भग्नयतिगणवृत्ताभिः। p. 56.
5. नैयायिकैरिवानुमेयानुमाननिपुणैः। p. 56.
6. वैशेषिकैरिव द्रव्यानुगुणकर्मविशेषपण्डितैः। p. 56.
7. एकत्र नाटकैरिव पताकाङ्कसंधिसंगतैः। p. 57.
8. स्वयमपि तत्कालान्तरालमिलितैर्नक्षत्रैरिव सार्द्रमृगशिरोहस्तैः सश्रवणचित्रकृत्तिकोपस्करवाहिभिः पापर्द्धिकपरिजनैरनुगम्यमानः। p. 37. cf. pp. 89, 163. The word pāpardhika which means hunter is of rare usage.
9. *Nalacampū*, p. 19.
10. *ibid.* pp. 89, 94, 95. Cf. *Vāsavadattā*, p. 77.
11. *ibid.* p. 95.
12. *ibid.* p. 89.
13. *ibid.* p. 72.
14. वाचः काठिन्यमायान्ति भङ्गश्लेषविशेषतः।
नोद्वेगस्तत्र कर्तव्यो यस्मान्नैको रसः कवेः॥
Nalacampū 1. 16.

भङ्गश्लेषकथाबन्धं दुष्करं कुर्वता मया।
दुर्गस्तरीतुमारब्धो बाहुभ्यामम्भसां पतिः॥
ibid 1. 22.

15. *ibid.* P. 42, सौकुमार्यमाधुर्यमधुविश्रम्भसंदर्भितभङ्गश्लेषगर्भाभिर्गीर्भिराप्रक्षिप्तमनसामस्माकमविदितखेदे इव। ibid. p. 193, cf. दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुलं सुश्लेषवक्रघटनापटुसत्काव्यविरचनमिव। *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 238-239.
16. यत्र चतुरगोपशोभिताः संग्रामा इव ग्रामाः, p. 10; when applied to the villages, च must be separated and the next word should begin with तुरग. यदुवंश इव दृष्टशूरपुरुषावतारः p. 54, अक्रीडैरपि चक्रीडापरैः p. 71.
17. नीतिमत्पुरुषाधिष्ठितोऽपि अनीतिः। p. 12, श्रमणोऽप्यजिनपरिग्रहः। p. 71.

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Parisaṁkhyā[1] get a due share of his attention. Tulyayogitā,[2] Virodha,[3] Rūpaka[4] Ullekha[5] and Vibhāvanā[6] are repeatedly used. Among the Sabdālaṁkāras, Yamaka[7] and Anuprāsa,[8] particularly the latter are well employed. Like Bāṇa, he revels in the jingling assonanace of words.[9]

The *Nalacampū* contains some didactic passages and fine statements of ethical import.[10]

1. शूलसम्बन्धश्चण्डिकायतनेषु दृश्यते न प्रजासु p. 9. पुण्यजनाश्च न च ये लङ्कापुरुषाः p. 6. यत्र च विपन्नाः सन्ति साधवो न तु तरवः । p. 58.
2. नानाशुकविभूषणाः शोभन्तेऽन्तः सभा बहिश्च सहकारवनराजयः । p. 14. विक्षिप्यन्ते परितः शराः शरभाश्च । p. 30; यस्याः पद्मानुकारिणी कान्तिर्लोचने च p. 61; कृशानुरूपेण ललाटलोचनेन चन्द्रमसा च भासमानः । p. 67.
3. दग्धकामः पूरितकामश्च । p. 70. घनागमसमयो न वारिबहुलश्च p. 95.
4. धाम धाम्नाम्, आधारो धीरतायाः, पुरं पुरुषकारस्य । p. 59 सदः सदाचाराणाम्, आश्रयः श्रुतीनाम् p. 72, cf. कुलमित्रं कोपस्य, देहं दर्पस्य *Harṣacarita*, p. 107.
5. धैर्यं मनुष्यसंनिधौ, आश्चर्यं रूपे, माधुर्यं वाचि । p. 48.
6. असाध्वसं कम्पनम्, अजरं जाड्यम्, अनिन्धनं ज्वलनम् । p. 37.
7. राजते राजतेनायं सानुना सानुनायकः ।
यस्मिन्निशम्य गायन्तं किंनरं किं न रंस्यते ॥
2. 8.
8. अनवरतकरालकाककौलेयककुलकवलनाकुलितकोलकरिकुरङ्गकण्ठीरवकिशोरदृषत्पृष्ठधाविते परितः परिजने । p. 32, समस्तरिपुपक्षक्षोददक्षदक्षिणक्षोणीपालमौलिमाणिक्यनिकषनिर्मलचरणनखदर्पणः । p. 58.
9. मुद्रितचन्द्रमसि, विद्राणपङ्कजसरसि, स्वाधीनप्रियप्रेयसि, प्रोषितकलहंसवयसि, मयूरमदकृति, महिषशोषहृति, विस्तरत्सरिति । pp. 26-27, cf. हृदयेन भर्तरि, कुतूहलेन जामातरि, स्नेहेन दुहितरि, *Harṣacarita*, p. 143.
10. साप्तपदीनं सख्यम्, उत्पन्नकतिपयप्रियालापा प्रीतिः, प्रयोजननिरपेक्षं दाक्षिण्यम्, अकारणप्रगुणं वात्सल्यम्, अनिमित्तसुन्दरो मैत्रीभावः सतां लक्षणम् । p. 53.

उपकर्तुं प्रियं वक्तुं कर्तुं स्नेहमकृत्रिमम् ।
सज्जनानां स्वभावोऽयं केनेन्दुः शिशिरीकृतः ॥
3. 14.

यथा चित्तं तथा वाचो यथा वाचस्तथा क्रिया ।
चित्तं वाचि क्रियायां च साधूनामेकरूपता ॥ 3. 15.

यत्र न फलितास्तरवो
विकसितसरसीरुहाः सरस्यो वा ।
न च सज्जनाः स देशो
गच्छतु निधनं श्मशानसमः ॥
6. 63.

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Fresh from school and attempting for the first time to parade his talents which he claims to possess, a scholar would invariably become pedantic. His eagerness would be to draw others' attention to his achievements in order to get their ready approbation which he feels he richly deserves. He is not much worried as to what and how much he would be writing his work. He likes rather to show how and in what manner he could reveal his talents. External embellishments therefore get his primary attention. This attitude should have been prominent in the case of Trivikramabhaṭṭa who sought to show himself off in a sequel. For instance, a musician, who completes his training in music, is bent upon displaying his command over singing the manipulated *svaras* without due reference to the nature of the song he is to render.

While Bāṇa[1] is found to have restraint to a remarkably high degree while making use of the embellishments however recondite they may be, Subandhu, whose aim[2] was to employ śleṣa in each syllable, has only won disfavour at the hands of later day scholars. The same must be said of Trivikramabhaṭṭa. A poet achieves lasting repute by being sedate, by avoiding abstruse writing and by being keenly anxious to make himself clear to the readers. Among the writers of Campū it is Bhoja alone that attained everlasting eminence through his Rāmāyaṇa Campū. On the contrary, Aśvaghoṣa, who was more a Buddhist philosopher[3] than a poet wrote poetry to preach the Buddhist ideals and naturally, there is more pedantry

1. There is a limit which Bāṇa had set for himself in displaying his proficiency in the use of the figures of speech. Vide :— Ullekha (*Harṣacarita*, p. 67). Parisaṁkhyā (*Harṣacarita*, p. 78, *Kādambarī*. pp. 40-41), Virodhābhāsa (*Harṣacarita*, p. 98, *Kādambarī*, p. 9), Assonance (*Harṣacarita*, p. 143).

2. प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रपञ्च-
विन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिं प्रबन्धम् ।
सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसाद-
श्चक्रे सुबन्धुः सुजनैकबन्धुः ॥
Vāsavadattā, pp. 357, 358.

The shortcomings and defects in the *Vāsavadattā* are discovered by Pandit R.V. Krishnamacariar in the Introduction, pp. XVIII—XXI to the *Vāsavadattā*.

3. Vide :—इत्येषा व्युपशान्तये न रतये मोक्षार्थगर्भा कृतिः
श्रोतॄणां ग्रहणार्थमन्यमनसां काव्योपचारात्कृता ।
यन्मोक्षात्कृतमन्यदत्र हि मया तत्काव्यधर्मात्कृतम्
पातुं तिक्तमिवौषधं मधुयुतं हृद्यं कथं स्यादिति ॥
Saundarananda.

after the end of the 18th canto.

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and abstruseness in his writings.[1] He could not get unique distinction as a poet, although his poems contain many a wise statement.

1. Aorist forms are repeated e.g., अचारीत्, अहासीत्, अहार्षीत्, अजिहीर्षीत्, अविवक्षीत्, अचिकीर्षीत्, *Buddhacarita* 2.43-44; अवेदीत्, अरक्षीत्, अहार्षीत्, अचैषीत्, अध्यासीत्, अघोषीत् *Saundarananda* 2.15-17; अलिक्षत्, अघृक्षत्, असूक्षत्, अधिक्षत्, अरुक्षत्, ibid. 2.19-20. Causative forms frequent in 2.27-39 e.g; अशीशमत्, अरीरमत्, अचूचुदत्, अपीपिडत्.
Passive forms abound in 2.40-44 e.g., अत्याजि, अकारि, अभेदि, असेवि, अदर्शि, अपायि। etc.

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KHAJURĀHO THE PRIDE OF MADHYA PRADESH

P. D. AGNIHOTRI

Madhya Pradesh is known as the heart of India. Not only in mineral resources or forest produce, but in natural beauty and historical monuments also, it is one of the richest states of our country. Right from the beginning of Indian history down to the British rule, inscriptions and monuments relating to different dynasties and faiths can be found scattered all over the State. The Besanagar pillar of Heliodorus, the Stupas of Sāñchī, the Caves of Vidiśā, the temple of Khajurāho, the forts of Māṇḍu and Asīrgarh, the Māna Mandir and Goojrimahal of Gwalior, the temples of Mahākāla of Ujjayinī, the tombs of Muhammad Gaus, Tansen and Abul Fazal in the district of Gwalior, the Samādhis of Mahārānī Durgāvatī and Laxmībāī, the marble rocks of Bheḍāghāṭa, the falls of Citrakūṭa in Jagdalpur and Chichai in Vindhya Pradesh are but a few examples. In the field of architecture and sculpture the State stands second to none. The temples of Khajurāho bear testimony to it.

The group of temples at Khajurāho is one of the most refined and finished manifestations of Indian architecture. Erected between 950 A.D. and 1050 A.D. a majority of them are fortunately well preserved and in good condition. Situated in Chhatarpur district about 150 miles from Gwalior, these temples, over twenty in number, occupy a site measuring approximately only a few miles extent.

They were built during the reign of the Chandel kings who were noted for their structural productions although their buildings very largely partook of undertakings of a utilitarian character, such as reservoirs and irrigation works. The name of this dynasty occurs in inscriptions in different forms e.g. Chandrell, Chamdell and Chandela, which scholars derive from Chandra, 'the moon' formed by adding the Prakrita suffix "illa". Chandellas were very

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probably an aboriginal tribe. According to Vincent Smith they were of Gond origin while R.V. Russell thought that they sprang from the aboriginal Bhar—a branch of the Gaharwars. There are many legends, current in different versions, according to which the Chandellas, were descended from Hemavatī, the daughter of Brahman Purohita of Indrajita, the Gaharwal King of Vārāṇasī. The original home of the Chandelas was at Maniya-garh in Chhatarpur state. According to tradition the principality included eight forts (Garhs) named Barigarh, Kalanjara, Ajayagarh, Maniyagarh, Marpha, Maudha, Gorha and Mahiya of which only Kalanjara and Ajayagarh are mentioned in inscriptions. Ajayagarh with its grand palaces, Kalanjara with its impenetrable fortress and Khajurāho or Kharjūravaha with its glorious architectural monuments are regarded as the civil, military and cultural capitals of the Chandellas. There were about twenty kings (800 to 1300 A.D.) out of whom four, Harsha Deva (C. 910 A.D.) Dhanga (C. 950 A.D.), Parmadideva (C. 1165 A.D.) and Trailokya Verma (C. 1203 A.D.) were the most powerful. During the reign of Dhanga (C 950 to 1008 A.D.) the fort of Gopagiri (Gwalior) was included in his empire. The marriage of Durgāvatī—a chandel princess, with the Raja Dalpat Shah of Garh Mandala in about 1545 A.D. proves the continued intercourse between the—Chandelas and the Gonds-their traditional ancestors.

After the end of the Gupta period in 600 A.D. architecture can be divided into two parts, namely the Early Mediaeval, comprising the cave temples at Aihola, Ellora and Elephanta, executed between the 6th and the 8th Century, and the Late Mediaeval, covering the structural temples of Orissa, Bengal and Khajurāho, executed between the 8th and the 13th century. Thus as far as the plastic art is concerned the Chandela rulers come about the same time as Emperor Aśoka and the Pallava rulers.

The beginning of architecture at Khajurāho can be traced to the eighth century when the Chausath Yoginī temples or the Shrines of the sixty goddesses or goblins associated with Durgā were built. Of the sixty-four Yoginīs, Gaurī is indicated as the leading deity, designated as "Sura-Sundarī" the most beautiful among Gods. The cult of yoginīs is highly praised and said to be conducive to the achievement of all spiritual ambitions. The Chausath Yoginī as also the Lalguan temple are of exceptional interest, providing the earliest architectural landmark, suggesting a Gupta derivation. We may regard this trend in temple architecture as, to some

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extent, a "Renaissance" of the Gupta tradition.

The Brahmā Temple with its crude recessed corners and projection descending from the spire may be taken as the second stage of development in Khajurāho architecture. This temple gives a clue to an innovation of the Chandela builders made to provide light in the dark ambulatory inside the sanctum. This is done by a latticed window placed above the plinth.

The next step in the development of Chandela architecture is illustrated in Chaturbhuj temple. It is a compact dignified shrine consisting of the sanctum and the tower organically attached to the Mukha Maṇḍapa. The mukha maṇḍapa stands on a series of fluted columns with capitals surmounted by Vidyādhara reliefs. This temple has developed the typical local feature of providing a series of horizontal bands of sculptured reliefs across the recesses and buttresses on the facade of the Vimāna. This feature differentiates it from the Kaliṅga pattern. This style is later amplified in the Lakshman and Khandaru temple built in the 10th century.

The form of the Khajurāho temples belongs to the Nagar order current in the north in accordance with the text of "Aparājitapṛcchā". The Nagar type is a native of Madhyadesha. The later temples developed this type in their own way, without any borrowings from the earlier Kaliṅga models. The style of Khajurāho is thus an independent growth.

Throughout the history of art, sculpture has stood in the relation of twin brother to architecture. In the monuments of the Chandela at Khajurāho this age-old unity between sculpture and architecture is demonstrated once again. Here sculpture is almost exclusively confined to architectural sculpture. Only a few cult images can be regarded an exception to it. The cult image of Mania deva may be taken as the beginning of relief sculpture in Chandela art. The most important pieces of the cult images—installed inside the sancturn are the three-headed Viṣṇu, the Sun-god inside the Chitragupta temple, and a seated pair of jain Tirthaṅkaras in the Śantinātha temple. The last one is the finest example of the cult image but the most remarkable cult image at Khajurāho is the trinity of Sūrya, Brahmā and Śiva at Dulhadeva temple. Of the Digpālas the most important figure is of Agni. It occurs on the south-east wall of the Khandariya temples and on the Pārśvanātha temple. Then there are standing images of Śiva with four arms. Pārvatī occurs both singly and in dual representations of other

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related images. There are also effigies of Yama and Bhairava. Associated with Vaiṣṇavism, we have a couple of Balarāma and Revatī. There are couples of beautifully posed Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. The series of Nāgīs placed between two groups of projection is a very appropriate icon associated with Śaivism. In the case of Śaivite images the matted locks are arranged in various kinds of artistic fold and sometimes arranged in the form of a bridge across the head.

The Nāyikās or the women lovers can easily be distinguished from the celestial damsels or the Apsaras. The Nāyikās are generally represented in the secular occupations of various kinds of toilette, some twisting their braids, some colouring their feet with lac-dye, some putting on the tilak, some handling the powder box, others revealing various moods of love. These damsels illustrate the actual social and domestic habits of women of thc society of the time. It is also probable that they are the representations of Nāyikās as described in Kāmasūtra and in the texts of Rasa Śāstra.

There are numerous erotic couples in emphatic sexual poses. Their presence on the facades of temples has provoked severe criticism. As a matter of fact they are in accordance with the text of the Śilpa Śāstra which justifies the presence of erotic couples on the facades of the temples. According to the text it was obligatory on the builders of temples to depict the likenesses of erotic couples. (*Śākhā Śeṣam Mithunair Vibhūṣayet*). In fact, this symbolic effigy illustrates the mystic unity of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, the Upaniṣad principles of unity in duality. Such effigies occur also in Buddhist shrines from very early times. The erotic Mithunas in Buddhist art occur on marble monuments at—Nāgārjunakoṇḍā (in Āndhra State).

Tha erotic poses of these Mithunas strain our modern sense of propriety and notion of decency. However, it can hardly be denied that in the Bandhas or erotic postures depicted in Khajurāho, the Indian artist with a boldness of imagination unparallel in the history of art, makes the creative urge and its esctasy a splendid theme for his plastic delineation. It is difficult to imagine anything more fundamentally human and universal in its sway.

In Khajurāho within the fold of about twenty temples (surviving out of an original eighty-four) spread over a few miles, every aspect of human life from birth to decay, every phase of our imagination, realistic or otherwise, is portrayed with great delicacy

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through the chisel of the Chandela artist. The entire history of a section of the Indian people, their habits and manners, their joys and sorrows, their religion and culture can be seen on the temple walls. Here is poetry in stone, with all the beauty and romance that compels us to forget the mundane world and helps us to mingle ourselves with melting beauty of the creator and His creation. If exuberance is beauty here is beauty indeed. To quote Percy Brown...'the sculpture figures on the walls of the Khajurāho temples are of a warm and gladsome nature, living in a happy golden age, when time was one long sequence of pleasurable experience. With animated throngs ever present on these structures, it is most remarkable that the architecture pulsates with a human vitality, not ordinarily to be found in the building art."

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ART NOTES ON ARCHITECTURE IN THE TILAKAMAÑJARĪ

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The *Tilakamañjarī*, a Sanskrit Prose Romance by Kavi *Dhanapāla* (11th cent. A.D.), contains valuable data on the Indian architecture and sculpture of the tenth and the eleventh centuries A.D., especially as it obtained in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat and perhaps in southern India too. The present paper is confined to the study of the architectural detail.

(1) *TOWN-PLANNING* :—

In the descriptions[1] of *Ayodhyā* and *Kāñcī*, Dhanapāla has given a few details concerning the town-planning aspect of architecture. The whole city was protected on all sides by a white-washed outer-wall buttressed with a wide rampart,[2] with a deep wide moat encircling it. All sorts of carnivorous amphibians like alligators, crocodiles etc. were specially nurtured in the moat.[3] The city-wall had four colossal city-gates facing the four principal directions.[4] The extensive and wide shop-streets were lined on both sides with a series of high mansions of *Śātakumbha* (gold).[5] At the

1. The *Tilakamañjarī* [TM (N)]. pp. 7-9; 251. The references are here to the pages and line numbers respectively of the second edition of the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1938. But the readings are according to the critical text as determined by me after collecting several original manuscripts.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 7 (23 ff.)···तुषारधवलभित्तिना विशालवप्रेण परिगता प्राकारेण··· ।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (1. ff.)···मनोरथानामपि दुर्विलङ्घ्येन प्लवमानकरिमकरकुम्भीर-भीषणोर्मिणा...महता खातवलयेन वेष्टिता...।
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (5. ff.)...आशानिर्गममार्गायमाणैश्चतुर्भिरत्युच्चैर्गोपुरैरुपेता...।
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (15 ff.)...गिरिशिखरततिनिभशातकुम्भप्रासादमालाध्यासितोभयविभागैः ...पृथुलायतैर्विपणिपथैः प्रसाधिता...।

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cross-roads were situated groups of temples.[1] Hundreds of step-wells were built with broad steps for easily reaching down to the water.[2]

It seems the public parks were situated on the outskirts of the residential area of the city, but inside the outer city-wall. This is clear from the fact that the women-folk of Kāñcī could gather at the public garden named Kusumākara for the festival of cupid, while the city was heavily besieged by the forces of Vajrāyudha and fierce battles were fought every day.[3]

The royal palace was surrounded by hundreds of tall buildings of *Sita* type.[4]

II. *PALACE ARCHITECTURE :*

The royal palace was an extensive construction consisting of a number of apartments, the innermost being the harem. Each apartment seems to have been delimited with a proper gate. The king went on elephant-back upto the second gate where he got down.[5] Thence, he went to the third apartment where there was a central-hall with a raised platform in the middle of it. On the rear of the platform was built a turret, which served as the proper location for the royal ivory throne and the gold-embossed foot-stool.[6] Adjoining this third apartment was the Dining Hall (*āhāra-maṇḍapa*).

The palace seems to have been a multi-storeyed building. On the topmost storey there was an ivory pavilion (*danta-valabhikā*) where a bedstead was laid on an extensive platform of crystal slab. This room was utilized for nap after lunch.

The next apartment seems to have been the Court Hall (*āsthāna-maṇḍapa*). And next to it was the innermost apartment called the harem (*śuddhānta*), which consisted of numerous boudoirs, one of which served as the lying-in-chamber (*prasūti-gṛha*).

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (7 ff.)...अमरमन्दिरमण्डलैः....उद्भासितचत्वरा...।
2. *Op. cit*, p. 8. (1)...विपुलसोपानसुगमावतारवापीशतसमाकुला...।
3. *Cf. Op. cit.*, pp. 82-88 and p. 298.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 68 (16 ff.)...अन्तरिक्षोल्लेखिभिरनेकशतसंख्यैः सितप्रासादैः सर्वतः समाकुलं राजकुलम्...।
5. *ibid.*, p. 68. (19 ff.)...द्वितीये द्वारे वारणादवततार।
6. *ibid.*, p. 68. (21 ff.)...चरणाभ्यामेव गत्वा मध्यमां मण्डपिकां तत्मध्यभागे...आस्थान-वेदिकायाः पृष्ठभागे प्रतिष्ठापितं...मत्तवारणकमनुपृष्ठमाहितोच्चकाञ्चनपीठं...दन्त-पटम्...।

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The separate buildings meant as residences for the princes and princesses and their companions were situated inside the premises of the royal palace. The school for the prince was also built inside the royal premises.[1]

The royal residence was known by a special name, e.g., *Bhadraśāla*, and was a multi-storeyed building.[2] On its topmost floor was an apartment called *Candraśālā* which often served as a private theatre for dance and dramatic performances.[3] Adjoining it were the bed chambers called *Śayana-citraśālā* or *śayana-citraśālikā* having windows studded with moon-stones[4] and extensive jewel-studded canopies raised on golden pillars.[5] There was a raised platform on the terrace. The floors were studded sometimes with jewels,[6] or were painted.[7]

In the harem-garden a sport-hill was built and a shower-bath was fixed therein. The water-supply thereto was probably linked with the sport-stream flowing along the sport-hill.[8] The harem had private unguarded doors for entering into the adjoining harem-garden.[9]

The personal palace for the prince and his retinue was located on the outskirts of the residential area. It was surrounded by a high compound-wall. On the doors of its arched high gate were engraved auspicious designs of Golden-vase and Full-vase.

There were many apartments used as the stable for housing the horses and the elephants.[10]

The details of the palace of Tilakamañjarī at Rathanūpuracakravāla city are more numerous. It had a lofty pinnacle, surroun-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 78 (23 ff.)...राजकुलाभ्यन्तर एव कारितानवद्यविद्यागृहः...।
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 23 (8)...समुच्छितानेकभूमिकस्य भद्रशालनाम्नो महाप्रासादस्य...।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 57 (5)...उन्नतप्रासादशिखरचन्द्रशालायां रचितरङ्गभूमिः...।
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 368 (9)...शशिकान्तवातायन...।
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 367 (21)...उत्तुङ्गकनकस्तम्भराजीविराजिनः प्रकाशविपुलायतावकाशस्य शयनचित्रशालिकाङ्गणरत्नमण्डपस्य...।
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 41 (10 ff.)...मणिकुट्टिम...।
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 228 (9)...सिन्दूरकुट्टिम...।
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 17 (19)...क्रीडागिरिः...; p. 17 (21)...धारागृह...; p. (301 (19)...क्रीडाद्रिनदिका...।
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 303 (१)...रक्षणपदातिशून्येन...प्रमदवनपक्षद्वारकेण...।
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 79 (22 ff.)...नगरबाह्यायामलघुप्रालङ्कृतप्राकारलङ्घिताभ्रमदभ्रतोरणस्तम्भमुभयतो निखातशातकुम्भपूर्णकुम्भोद्भासितद्वारदेशमनेकगजतुरङ्गशालाभिरामं कुमारभवनम्...।

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ding buildings, a number of outer apartments for storing musical instruments, weapons and items of royal insignia. The middle palace-wall had a lofty gate outside which the vehicles were to be parked. To the rear of the palace was the harem-garden with a cupid temple, a variety of fruit-trees, an artificial stream, and a quadrangular pool.[1] Scented water flowed in the artificial streams and special boats built from the hard wood of camphor trees were floated therein.[2] Śabara couples were housed in the caves of the sport-hillocks.[3]

All the ridges of the Saudha right from the Srī-maṇḍapa were painted red with the juice of the leaves of the Tamāla creeper.[4] The floor of the palace looked like clean water.[5] In front of the living room there were sport-pools. The Paṭṭaśālas had extensive curtains (*parivastrā-paṭa*). The doors opening in the diamond-studded turrets had shining curtains (*dīpti-paṭa*). The moulding of the marble columns was so transparent that the harem-maids often missed to notice them and dashed against them.

Various types of interior buildings are mentioned, such as *Ādarśa-bhavana*, *Padmarāga-sadma* and *Indranīla-mandira*.[6] The walls of the Dining-Hall were studded with jewels.[7]

Gardens formed an invariable feature of the palaces and the temples; every garden had a step-well and possibly a sport-pool too. The flour of the sawed elephant tusk and powder of pearls was spread on the garden lanes.[8] The steps of the staircases of the palaces and royal tanks were lined with precious slabs of jewel-stones, etc. A canopy was built to serve as a bath-room,[9] while

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 370 (17)...प्रासाददीर्घिकाकुण्डजलमण्डपैः...।
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 372 (12 ff)...गन्धोदकनदीषु दिव्यानि कठिनकर्पूरकाष्ठक्लृप्तानि यानपात्राणि...।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 372 (15)...क्रीडाद्रिकन्दराशबरमिथुन...।
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 372 (20 ff.)...रञ्जय...तमालवल्लीपल्लवरसेन श्रीमण्डपादारभ्य सकलाः सौधवलभीः...।
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 373 (15)...विमलजलकुट्टिम...।
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 373 (7); 373 (19).
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 374 (1 ff.)...रुचिरमणिभित्तिचित्रं...भोजनभवनमण्डपम्...।
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 37 (24); 41 (25); 301 (20); 307 (21); 212 (9ff.)....स्फटिकचक्षतकरिदन्तक्षोदपाण्डुरेण क्षोदीयसा मौक्तिकचूर्णवालुकाप्रकरेण समसुकुमारभूतलम्.... आरामम्....।
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 300 (10)...स्नानमण्डपिका...।

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the bath-rooms for royal ladies were streamlined with curtains (*kāṇḍapaṭaka*) for privacy.[1]

III. *PLANS OF RESIDENTIAL HOUSES OF THE CITIZENS* :—

The Saudha type of multi-storeyed mansions were conspicuous by their high compound-walls and tall gates with alligator-architraves, by their swing-couches suspended on to a pair of pillars by the platform in the courtyard, by the paintings on the jewel-studded walls adjoining the ivory-ridge.[2] Many buildings had domestic gardens in their compounds watered by springs.[3] Every house had its own wide sport-pool of fresh water.[4] All this might have been possible due to the river which flowed closely by the precincts of the city.

IV. *TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE* :—

(i) *Shrines of the Tīrthaṁkaras* :—

Dhanapāla has described two Jain temples in the course of his narration : (a) the temple of Lord Ṛṣabha at Mount Ekaśṛṅga; and (b) the temple of Lord Mahāvīra at Mount Ratnakūṭa. Several interesting details have been given by the poet; a few of them have been noticed by Dr. U. P. Shah.[5] Dhanapāla's intimate knowledge of Jain temples is amply reflected in the graphic descriptions of the above-mentioned two Jain temples of the Tīrthaṁkaras. The *Vāstuprakaraṇa* of Ṭhakkura Feru seems to have served as the practical handbook for the architects as well as scholars for the details of Jain temples. The descriptions in the TM may have been based on the Jain temples built by Dhanapāla himself as is clear from some of the autobiographical allusions in his work.[6]

1. *Op, cit.*, p. 300 (11 ff.)...समन्ततः लंसितविततकाण्डपटकायां...गन्धोदकेन यथाविधि कृताभिषेका...।
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (17 ff.)...धृतोद्धुरप्राकारपरिवेषैरभ्रङ्कषप्रतोलिभिरुत्तुङ्गमकरतोरण... दोलाविभूषिताङ्गणवेदिभिः...दन्तवलभिकाभित्तिचित्रान्...विचित्रमयूखजालकमुचो माणिक्यजालकान्कलयद्भिरद्भुताकारैरनेकभूमिकाभ्राजिष्णुभिः सौधैः.....।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 9 (1 ff).
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 8 (22 ff.).....प्रतिगृहं च स्वच्छप्रवलायताभिः.....क्रीडासरसीभिः संवलिता...।
5. *Cf. Progress of Studies in Fine Arts and Technical Sciences* by Dr. Umakant P. Shah, All India Ori. Con. *XXIV* Session, Varanasi 1968, Presidential Address, p. 6.
6. *Cf. TM* (*N*). p. 275 (5 ff.)... दृष्टमिव पुरा, सेवितमिव भवान्तरे, कारितमिवात्मना... *etc.*

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The shirne of Lord Ṛṣabha, the first Jain Tīrthaṁkara, at Mount Ekaśṛṅga, was a Prāsāda type of stony structure lined with ruby slabs and it resembled a divine mansion (*sura-vimāna*).[1] The term 'Vimāna', according to Kramrisch, denotes the inmost sanctuary with its generally square plan.[2]

In order to differentiate between the terms 'Prāsāda' and 'Vimāna', Dr. Dwijendranath Shukla has quoted Mrs. Stella who maintains that the meaning of 'Prāsāda' is extended from the temple (mandira) itself to the various halls, etc. which are attached to it, while 'Vimāna' is a name of the temple built according to the tradition (*śāstra*) by the application of various proportionate measurements or various standards of proportionate measurements.[3]

The architectural sub-type of the shrine of Ṛṣabha is called *Sarvatobhadra*.[4] In his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, Bhoja has given a detailed account of specifications of a Sarvatobhadra type of Prāsāda.[5] The *Śilpa-ratnākara* of Narmadashankar M. Sompura also notices the specifications of a Sarvatobhadra-prāsāda.[6]

As has been described by Dhanapāla, the whole structure was encircled by a compound-wall (*prākāra*) which seems to have had at least four gates[7] in the principal directions leading to the temple by a corresponding lane (*pratolikā*) each.[8] And all this was situated in a beautiful garden which served as a proper surrounding.[9]

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 224 (10 ff.)...सुरविमानकल्पः...पद्मरागशिलामयः प्रासादः ।
2. Kramrisch quoted by Dr. Dwijendranath Shukla in his *Bhāratīya Sthāpatya*, p. 228.
3. *ibid.*, pp. 226-227.
4. *TM* (N), p. 216 (1. ff.) अङ्गीकृतविमानाकारमपि सर्वतोभद्रम्...।
5. Cf. *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* of Bhoja, Vol. II, Chap. 55, vss. 23-30.
6. Cf. *Śilpa-ratnākara*, VI, 16-20, pp. 223-225 : चतुरस्रीकृते क्षेत्रे चाष्टधा भाजिते पुनः । कोणं भागद्वयं कार्यं शाला भागद्वया तथा ॥ १६ ॥ निर्गमभागमेकेन भागेनैकेन भित्तयः । भ्रामणीभागमेकेन गर्भं षोडशभागिकम् ॥ १७ ॥ कोणे शृङ्गं तथा कार्यं भद्रे शृङ्गं तथैव च । रेखाः षोडशभागेन कर्तव्यास्तु सदा बुधैः ॥१८॥ भद्रे रथिका तिलकं सार्धा पादं तथैव च । नवाण्डकस्तु विज्ञेयः सर्वतोभद्रनामतः ॥१९॥ देवानां च हितार्थाय राजा सौख्येन नन्दति । भुक्तिमुक्तिकरो दिव्यः प्रासादः सर्वभद्रकः ॥२०॥
7. *TM* (N), p. 361 (11)...देवतापुरयोपुरद्वार...।
8. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 226 (16 ff.)...उत्तरया प्राकारप्रतोलिकया निर्जगाम ।
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 224 (10 ff.)...कल्पपादपप्रायतरुणा परिगतः सर्वत एव सार्वर्तुकेन दिव्यारामेण...।

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There were subsidiary marble shrines to the right, left and the back of the main shrine (*mūlāyatana*) and various images of different Tīrthaṁkaras were housed in them;[1] some of them were carved in topaz, some in ruby and set on sapphire throne, some in moonstone, some in emerald and some in sapphire.[2]

Further details of the same temple, such as the emerald *Kapiśīrṣaka*, the inner temple-wall (*antaḥ-prākāra-bhitti*), the jewel-studded floor (*maṇi-kuṭṭima*); the wide basement (*piṭhabandha*) built of marble slabs, the skirts of the banner (*dhvaja-patākāñcala*), the bull's-eye air-holes (*gavākṣa*), the silken flags (*cināṁśuka-patākā*), the topaz needles serving as lamps, artificial birds carved on eaves, the suspended pearlstrings (*mauktika-latā-prālamba*), the ornamental Sukanāsa, the frescoed portions (*citrakarma-khacita-pradeśa*) the wide attractive doors (*kapāṭa*), the golden pillars with huge capitals, beautiful foliage-ornamentations (*cārumañjarīka*), jewel-studded quadrangle (*ratna-catuṣka*) and the lion-figure on the projection, are also noticed in another context.[3] Jewel-strips of various colours were fixed up on to the pillars. There was a canopy of white silk with strings of pearls knitted at the edges. *Cāraṇas* had written *Śubhāṣitas* on the top of the doors, and young men, fond of gambling, had carved out various types of gambling boards on the floor of the sapphire window.[4] On the western wall (*pāścātya-bhitti*) a marble slab was fixed and a *Praśasti* was engraved thereon.[5] The sapphire floor of the temple had quadrangular designs of pearls.[6] Some of the details about the sanctum (*garbhaveśman*) are also provided.[7] Thus, from the ground level there was a series of moon-stone stairs which led through the emerald gate to the door of the hall (*maṇḍapa*). On one side of the gate an image of a Yakṣa was instal'ed. White *Cāmara* was suspended from a peg (*nāgadanta*) fixed to a wall.

1. *Op. cit.*, p, 226 (2 ff.)...आदिदेवतायतनपर्यन्तवर्तिनां स्फाटिकप्रासादानामन्तः-प्रतिष्ठिताः...जिनानामजितादीनामप्रतिमशोभाः प्रतिमाः... । 256 (9 ff.)...आयतन-पर्यन्तवर्तिषु प्रासादकेषु प्रतिष्ठिता जिनप्रतिमाः... ।; also cf. p. 406 (1 ff.)
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 226 (2 ff.)...काश्चित्पुष्परागनिर्मिताः...काश्चित्पद्मरागमयीर्महानील-सिंहासनोल्लासितकान्ति.....काश्चिच्चन्द्रकान्तनिर्वृताः... काश्चिन्मरकतप्रभाप्रवाहहरिताय-मानकान्ति...काश्चिदिन्द्रनीलप्रकृतीः...प्रतिमाः ।
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.
4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.
5. *ibid*, p. 219 (12 ff.)
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 221 (20 ff.).
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 216 (16 ff.)

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A curtain (*javanikā*) covered the body of the image. To the *Jayantikā*, a diamond bell (*vajraghaṇṭā*) was suspended by a golden chain. The big throne (*siṁhāsana*) was decorated with carvings of the ground of constellations, a deer and a lion. And thereon was installed the image in the sitting posture called *Padmāsana*.

The shrine of Mahāvīra at Ratnakūṭa was a *Prāsāda* built of jewel slabs.[1] The high bandy-shaped basement (*vikaṭapīṭha*) of the temple was built of emerald slabs; the staircase (sopānamālā) with steps studded with moon-stones led to the wide doorway of the hall; (*maṇḍapa-dvāra*); numerous turrets (*mattavāraṇaka*) of ruby adorned the hall; the bracketfemale-figures (*śālabhañjikā*) were carved in ruby slabs; the pillar capitals) (*stambha-śikhara*) were made of topaz; the crest-pitcher (*kalaśa*) was carved from ruby; the frets (*jālaka*) were made of diamond needles; the white flag (*sitapatākā*) fluttered on the Āmalasāraka carved from sapphire; the high *Śikhara* rose to the sky; a marble wall encircled the shrine; subsidiary golden temples surrounded the main shrine; the wide railed parapet (*jagati*) was conspicuous; numerous windows adorned the temple; and the complex foliage decoration (*viṣama-patra-bhaṅga*) astonished the onlookers.[2]

In the extensive *Māṇikya-maṇḍapa* the canopied curtain (*paṭavitānaka*) covered the whole body of the image; many strings of variegated pearls were hanging by it; there were silken banners (*dhvāṁśuka*), diamond lamps (*maṇi-pradīpa*), marble-mirrors (*sphāṭika-darpaṇa*) and golden pillars (*cāmīkarastambha*).[3]

In the centre of the pavilion (*maṇḍapa-kṣaṇa*) was a marble platform (*sphāṭika-vitardikā*).[4] There were staircases in the inner side of the temple-wall to reach its top.[5] The huge diamond image (*vajramaṇi-śilāmaya*) of Lord Mahāvīra was installed on a lion throne (*siṁhāsana*) in the adytum (garbha-gṛha).[6]

(ii) *Temples of Cupid* :—

Dhanapāla has also referred to the temple of cupid at Kāñcī, and he has given some stray details of a similar temple at Ayodhyā.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 344 (1)...मणिशिलाप्रासादस्य... ।
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 267 (14).
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 276 (2 ff.)...सोपानवर्त्मना दक्षिणां देवतागृहप्राकारभित्तिमध्यारोहम् ।
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 275 (7-15).

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The shrine of cupid at Kāñcī was situated in the public park called *Kusumākara.*

Among the architectural features, the poet has mentioned the red silken flag with crocodile design, the flag-post of coral, the very high dome, a high and wide rampart, white subsidiary domes with golden crest-pitchers, and an extensive hall with tall strong pillars and a pool facing the main gate.[1] A series of steps seems to have enabled one to reach the top of the rampart of the temple.[2] There were pavilions adjoining the door,[3] and nearby was situated a water-hall surrounded by mango trees.[4]

The image of Cupid was installed on a bandy-legged pedestal of pure gold.[5]

(iii) *Shrine of the Goddess-of-Prosperity (Śrī)* :—

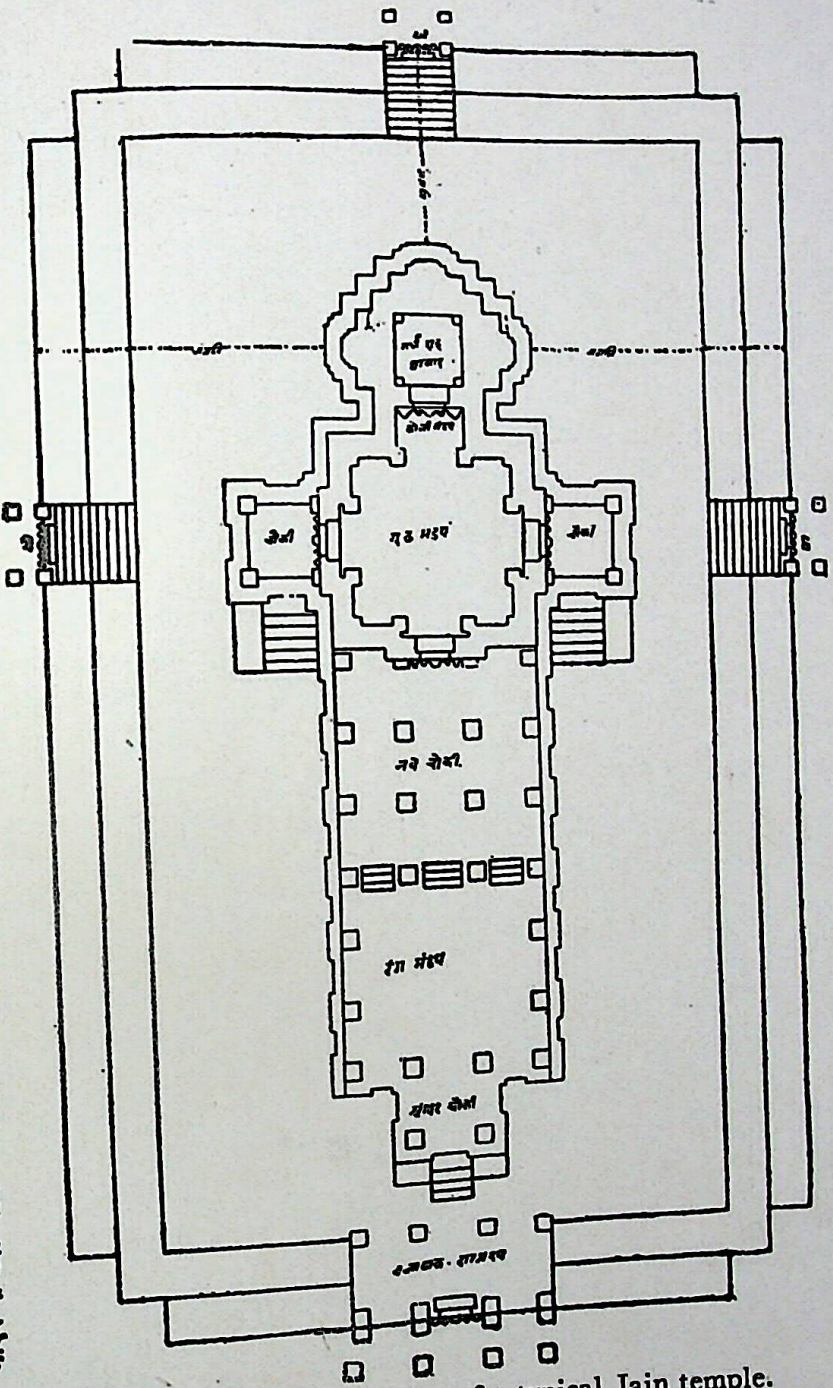
The temple of the goddess Śrī, specially built by king Meghavāhana in his palace garden was a small shrine, not too low nor too extensive, with few pillars, a low encircling compound-wall and wide pavilion with polished jewelled slabs.[6]

(iv) *The convent for Hermits* :—

The convent for hermits or nuns, attached to the temple of Ṛṣabha on Mount Ekaśṛṅga was a three-storeyed jewelled building.[7] On the topmost storey, it seems, there was a sleeping chamber with paved floor,[8] and the walls had ivory pegs to hang things from.[9] On the terrace there was a small pavilion of ruby slabs and moon-stones with a series of jewelled domes covering the front por-

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 303 (19 ff.)...संनिहितमकराभिरालोहितांशुकपताकाभिः...वैद्रुमेण केतुस्तम्भेन....अतितुङ्गशृङ्गोच्छ्रायप्रांशुशिलाशालपरिगतं.... कलधौतकलशाध्यासितसुधाधवलनिःशेषकूटम्...अतिदृढस्तम्भविततमण्डपाभिरामं...द्वारदीर्घिकायाम्...। etc.
2. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 324 (16 ff.)...आयतनसालशिखराग्रस्थिताम्... ।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 323 (10) ...द्वारदेशाभ्याशगतमन्यतममुत्तमं मत्तवारणकम्... ।
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 163 (17)...कुसुमायुधवेश्मनः ...परिगतं चूतषण्डेन जलमण्डपम्... ।
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 304 (7)...विशुद्धहाटकघटितविकटासनपीठबंधम्... ।
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 33 (21 ff.)...नातिखर्वं नातिविस्तीर्णमल्पस्तम्भपरिकरमप्रांशुप्राकारकृतपरिक्षेपमनुपलक्षितान्योन्यसन्धिभागैराभोगशालिभिः प्रकाममसृणैः मणिशिलातलैरवनद्धविस्तीर्णाङ्गणं...देवतागृहम्... ।
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 256 (17)...त्रिभूमिकं मठम्...; p. 344 (16)...तिसृभिर्भूमिकाभिरुपरचितनिर्माणस्य मणिशिलामठस्य... ।
8. *Op. cit.* p. 224 (13)...शिखरभूमिकां...मठस्य... ; p. 256 (19)... कुट्टिम... ।
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 256 (18)...नागदन्तावलम्बितनिबिडवल्कला...भित्ति... ।

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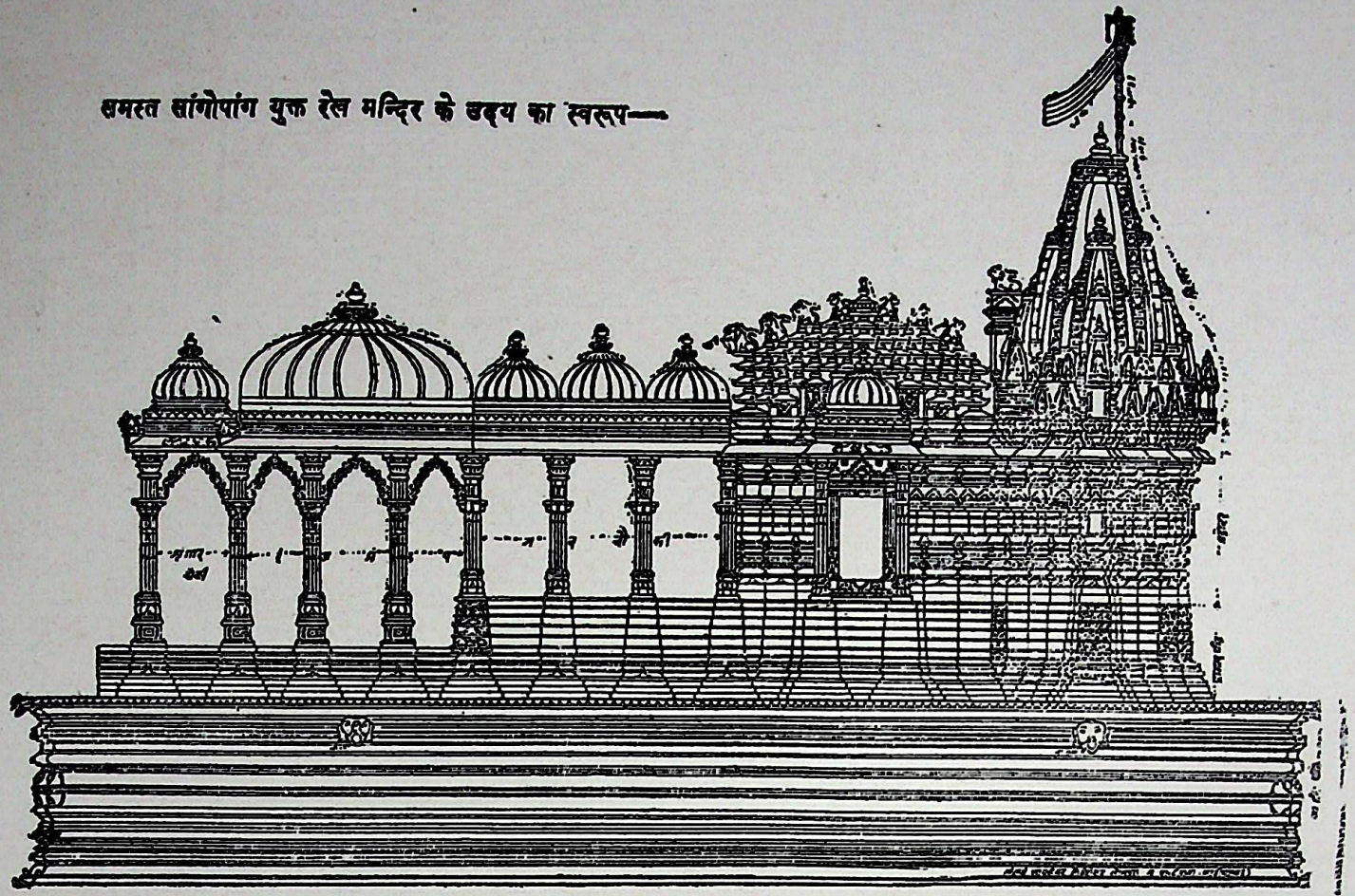


मंदिर के तल भाग का स्वरूप—

A sketch of the base-plan of a typical Jain temple.

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समस्त सांगोपांग युक्त रेख मन्दिर के उदय का स्वरूप—



Outline of a typical Jain temple (Side-view)

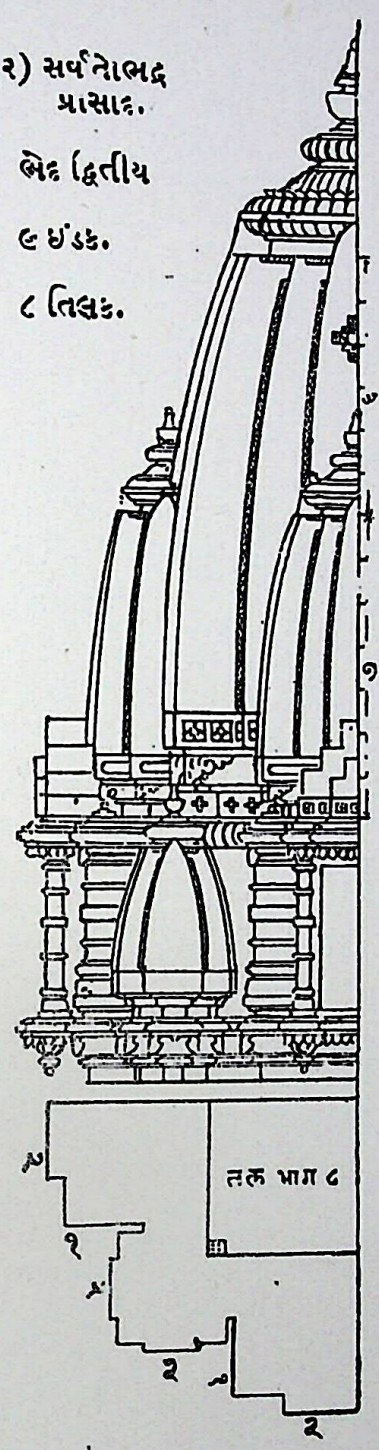
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(૨) સર્વતોભદ્ર
પ્રાસાદ.

ભેદ દ્વિતીય

૯ ઇંડક.

૮ તિલક.



A section of the Sarvatobhadra
type of Prāsāda.

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tion of the pedestal thereon.[1] On the uncovered part of the terrace there seems to have been a silver platform,[2] and an extensive jewel slab.[3]

V. *MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES* :—

There is a passing reference to a series of stairs for descent into the water of the *Adṛṣṭapāra* lake, which was embanked with a series of moon-stone slabs.[4]

The sandal-wood aeroplane (*haricandana-vimāna*) was a sort of a small wooden Prāsāda[5] which could fly in the air and, if necessary, float in the water. It had at least two storeys as is evident from the reference to the topmost floor[6] and latticed windows or air-holes.[7] It was decorated with silken banners and a flag on a flag-post.[8]

Among the minor structures mention may be made of Paṭṭāṁśuka-vitānaka,[9] Cīnāṁśuka-vitāna,[10] and Paṭamandira.[11]

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 352 (2 ff.)...सुश्लिष्टसंधानमणिशिलातलघटितया शिखरपरिपाट्या समन्ततः परिक्षिप्तपीठां मठाग्रभूमिकापृष्ठवर्तिनीमिन्दुकान्तमाणिक्यमण्डपिकाम्... ।
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 352 (10)...मण्डपिकाजिरे रजतवेदिकाम्... ।
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 356 (13 ff.)...शशिकान्तमण्डपिकायां पुरस्तादेव विस्तृतायतमाश्रित्य मणिशिलापट्टम्... ।
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 203 (13ff)... सर्वतश्च सोपानक्रमरचिताभिराभोगविजितैः... इन्द्रनीलशिलाश्रेणिभिरवनद्धरोधसः... ।
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 307 (3)...दिव्यदारवप्रासादक...; p. 337 (8) and 381 (1ff) ...दारुभवनम्... ।
6. *ibid.*, p. 337 (10)...उपरितनीं भूमिम्; *op. cit*, *p.* 388 (1)...शिखरभूमिकाम्... ।
7. *ibid.*, p. 337 (11)...गवाक्षमधिरुह्य... ।
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 381 (5)... पट्टांशुकपताकापाणिभिर्व्वंजभुजैः... ।
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 267 (5).
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 57 (7).
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 142 (11).

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ART DATA IN RĀYAPASEṆIYA

R. C. Sharma

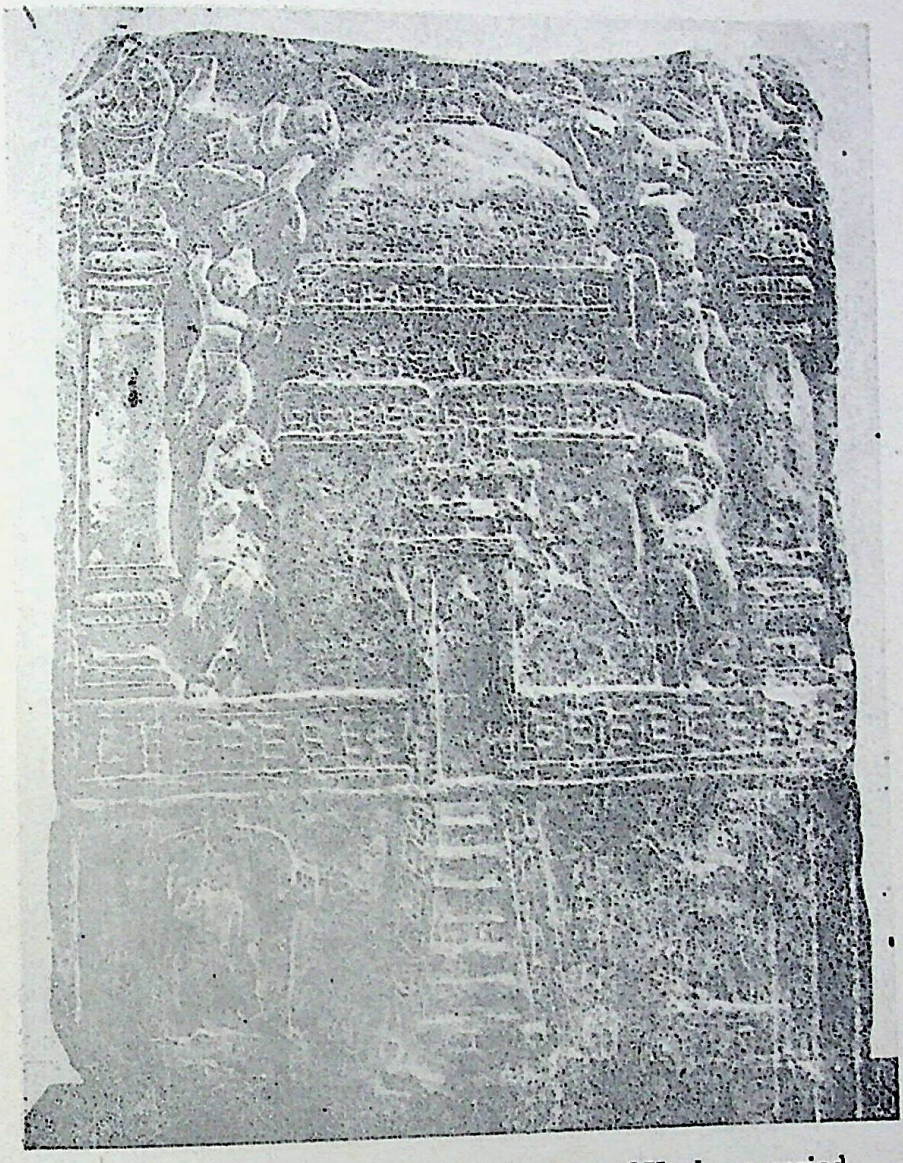
Rāyapaseṇiya (*Rājapraśnīya* in Sanskrit) forms a part of the twelve upāṅgas of the Jaina literature, particularly of the Śvetāmbara sect. It was on the suggestion of Dr. N. P. Joshi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow that I presented a paper giving some observations on the *Rāyapaseṇiya* in a seminar on the Jaina Art in Jan. 1972. Banking on the single copy of the book edited and translated by Sri N. V. Vaidya,[1] I faced several difficulties in correct identification of some terms. According to Vaidya, *Thubha* stands for a sacred pillar, *Veiā* or *Vedikā* is an altar, *Sālabhañjiās* or *Śālabhañjikās* are merely dolls and *sūcis* are nails. Any student of Indian architecture must be confused in following such versions. My interest in Sanskrit, however, came to my rescue and the desired meanings became more and more clear. Discussions with Dr. Motichandra and Dr. U. P. Shah and a research paper of the former not only supported my inferences but also provided valuable guidance.[2]

No doubt the treatise under discussion (*Rāyapaseṇiya*) is full of repetitions, exaggeration and unnecessary details, yet it furnishes a first-rate account helpful to the study of the contemporary Indian architecture. The word contemporary suddenly but rightly puts us on the crossroad and we are tempted to know the period. While much can be said by way of argument in the light of the description of the Siddha temple in Sudharmā Sabhā and specially on the basis of the Jaina icons as mentioned, the work can safely be placed in the Kushāna period. Dr. Motichandra rightly views that the author was an eye-witness of the great Jaina stūpa at Mathura (fig. 1).

The episode, in brief, records the homage of god Sūryābha

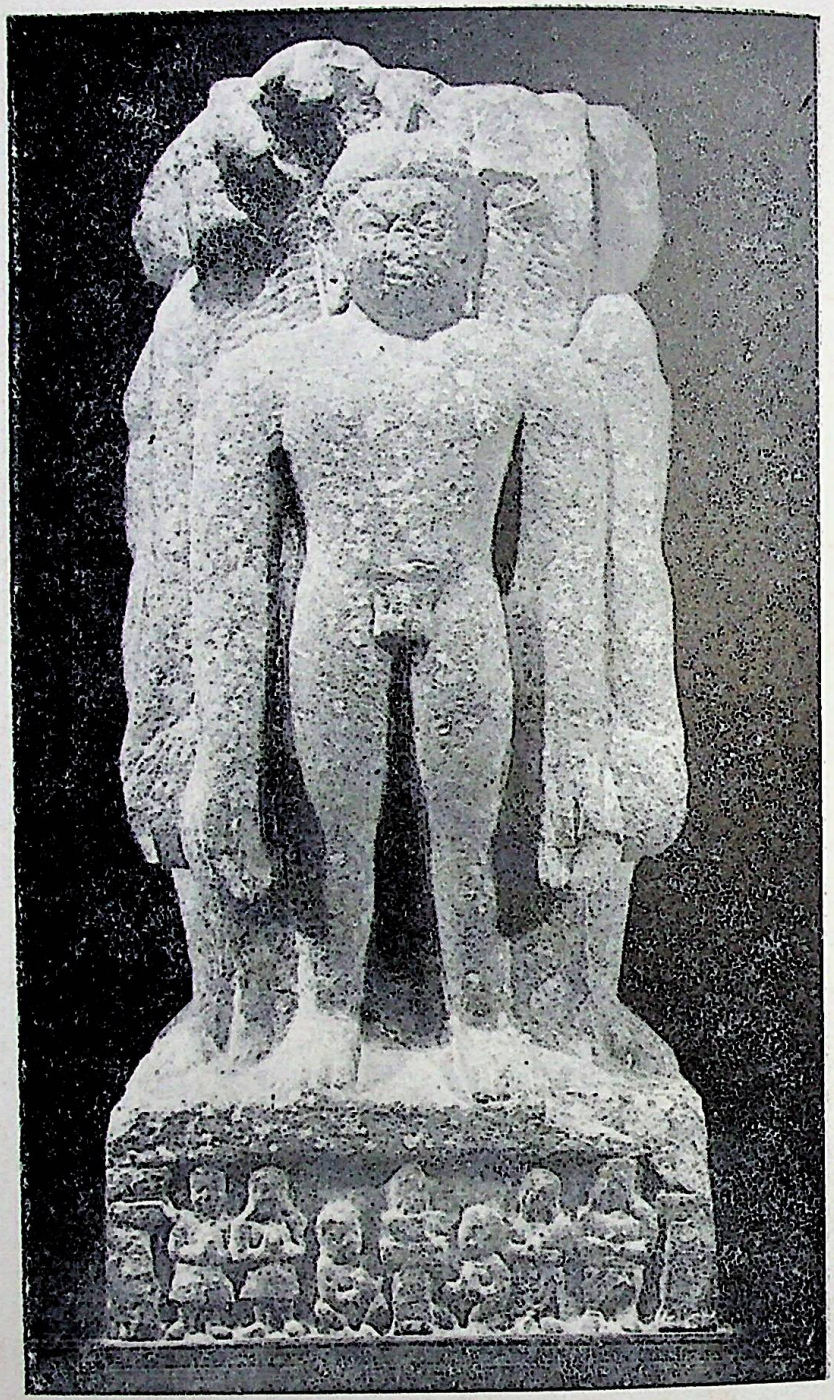
1. *Rāyapaseṇajjam* by N. V. Vaidya 1938.
2. *Architectural Data in Join canonical Literature*—Journal of the Asiatic Society. Bombay Branch.

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Stone tablet showing Stūpa architecture of Kushana period.

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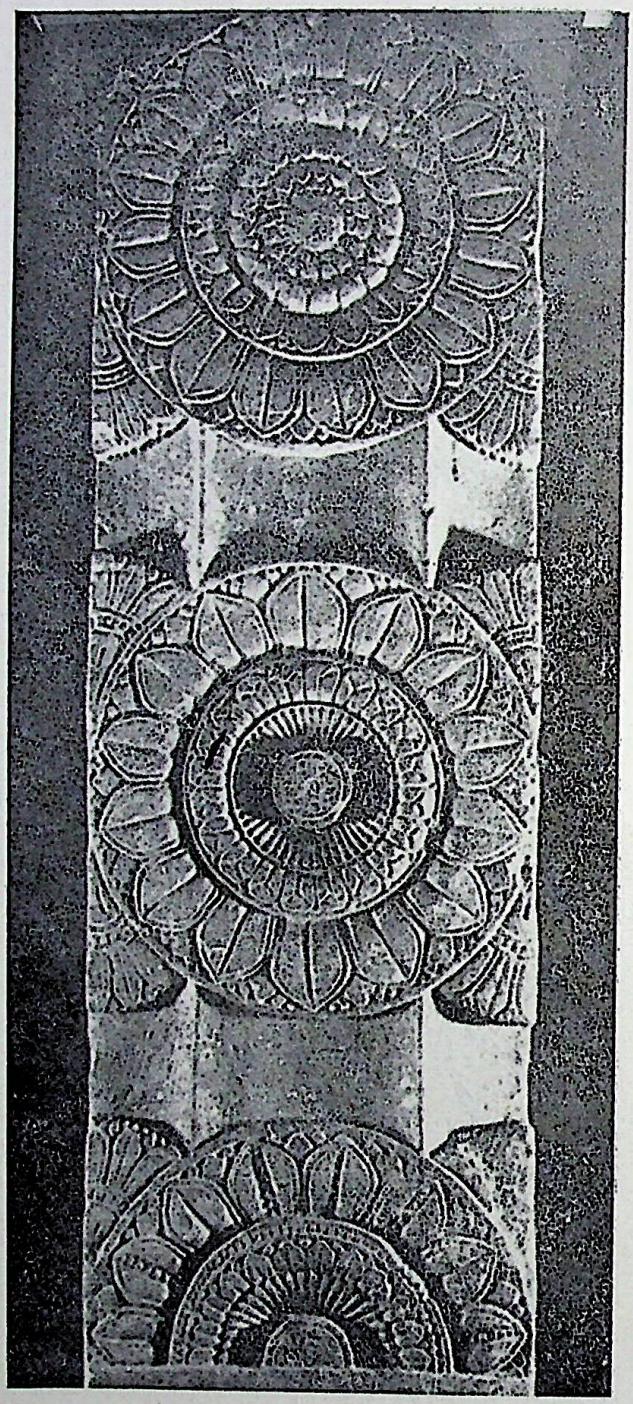
A quadruple Jain image.

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A yāgapaṭa showing auspicious symbols.

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Railing pillar showing full-bloom lotuses

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to Lord Mahāvīra when the latter was practising penance in Amalkeppa. First he saw the great saint from his divine abode *Sūryābha-Vimāna* in the heaven and asked his attendant gods (*Ābhiyogika-devas*) to go to Amalakappa and prepare the place in advance, befitting his visit by removing grass, leaves, sticks, impurity, dirt, filth and stinking matter in the vicinity of Mahāvīra to a distance of one Yojana and then by sprinkling the ground with a fragrant celestial shower and showers of abundant flowers to cover it.[1] The description is useful as it indicates that a great importance was attached to making the environment of a sacred place perfectly clean and super-mundane.

God Sūryābha, then, asked his attendant gods to prepare a divine chariot (Vimāna) to proceed to the place where Mahāvīra was practising austerity. The details of this chariot will be discussed at the right place. Flanked by his large retinue Sūryābha came to pay respects to the Lord and asked some questions which may probably justify the caption of the work as *Rāyapaseṇiya* or *Rājapraśnīya*. Some questions were also asked by Gautama about the Sūryābha Vimāna and were answered by the lord in detail.

This central theme and specially the building details have been so elaborately rendered that the work turns into an encyclopedia of early Indian architecture. I don't see if there remains any decorative motif which does not figure in *Rāyapaseṇiya*. A comparative study of these terms with contemporary architectural remains is quite thrilling. The description of Sūryābha Vimāna is not the description of a divine chariot or an ancient aeroplane but it is an account of planning of a perfect matropolis and at numerous places puts forth the town planning scheme as suggested by Kauṭilya.[2]

On being asked about the situation of Sūryābha Vimāna Lord Mahāvīra explains that it is to the east of Saudharmāvataṁsaka and measures 12 lacs and 50 thousand yojanas in length and breadth and 39 lacs 52 thousand 448 yojanas in circumference. Its rampart is 300 yojanas in height, 100 yojanas in breadth at the bottom, 50 yojanas in the middle and 25 yojanas on the top assuming a tapering shape. It was studded with jewels and gold. Such exagerated measurements repeatedly occur and these should not be accepted in the literal sense. Our basic approach ought to be to pick up the threads and paint a true picture of the art data.

1. *Rāyapaseṇiya*, sūtra 7.
2. *Arthaśāstra*, chapter on Town Planning.

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The Sūryābha Vimāna actually represents a moving capital with all amenities and comforts of an ideal city. It was encircled by a moat and surrounded by a rampart in all directions. Tapering in shape it looked like the tail of the cow.[1] Its ratio from bottom to top was 1; $\frac{1}{2}$; and $\frac{1}{4}$, i.e. broader at the base, narrow at the top and constricted in the middle. It consisted of battlements (Kavisisaga Kapiśīrṣaka) in different colours. As the description goes the Kavisisaga may be interpreted as bastions which were five in number, painted in different colours and were built at intervals. The divine chariot (moving city) of Sūryābha had several doors which were decorated with tops of gold and painted with several auspicious, vegetal and animal motifs. The gates were surmounted with railings, consisting of lofty pillars. The author mentions a curious device which enabled the car to fly. Accordingly a pair of young Vidyādharas sat on the doors. A detailed account of the decoration and painting of the door-leaves is met with. Made of diamonds these were studded with jewels and precious stones, namely Riṣṭa, lapislazuli, Haṁsagarbha gems, Gomejjaka (Gomedha) Jyotirasa, Lohitākṣa (rubies) gold and diamonds. They served both decorative and functional purposes.

The sixteen pillars on either side of the gate represented beautiful female figures[2] whose delicate anatomy can be judged from the fact that their waist could easily be grasped with the fist.[3] They had high fleshy breasts, redcornered eyes, dark hair and auspicious marks. They were gracefully standing beneath the Aśoka tree. Bending its branch they were attracting the visitors through their glances and different amorous postures. This description resembles to a great extent the upright rail posts unearthed from Bhūteśvara and Kaṅkāli mounds of Mathura. They are a feast to the eyes of the spectators and portray a rich picture of the artloving society of Kushāna period.[4]

The doors were possessed of a series of sixteen pitchers on either side. The pitchers which were made of sandal wood and were full of scented water, overflowing leaves and lotus petals,

1. गोपुच्छसंठाण संठिए *Rāyapaseṇiya*, sūtra 27.
2. The author has used a very appropriate word for such figures साल भंजिया। शालभंजिका। holding or bending the branch of the tree. *Ibid.*
3. मुट्ठिगिज्झ सुमज्झाओ *Ibid.*
4. Writer's *Methura Museum*, Introduction, pp. 42-43

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hung from ivory pegs which were again decorated with wreaths of different flowers representing a variety of colours. The doors were also provided with 16 latticed windows followed by a series of bells. The entrance had 16 large-size platforms (Prakaṇṭakas) which contained other architectural complex and decorated with paintings, jewels, flags, umbrellas, miniature or votive stūpas studded with gold and displaying different lotuses. The doors also had a series of 16 arches supported by pillars and each arch in its front had ivory pegs decorated with garlands. Two pairs of mirrors on stands were seen in each arch.

The Śūryābha Vimāna on each door had 800 banners with a sign of wheel and other emblems. The main bolt of the door was known as *Indrakīla*. The Vimāna was also possessed of beautifully laid out extensive lawns, gardens and groves. The garden in the eastern direction was known as *Aśokavana*, in the southern *Saptaparṇavana*, in the western, *Campakavana* and in the northern, *Cūtakavana*.[1] They had water tanks, beautiful lotuses and flowers of different varieties sucked by bees, and a number of creepers. The interior of the Sūryābha Vimāna was smooth, charming and even.

SUDHARMĀ SABHĀ :—The most important and interesting constituent of the Sūryābha Vimāna was the *Sudharmāsabhā*[2] which was situated to the north-east of the central palace. The ratio of its dimensions was 0 I w $\frac{1}{2}$ × ht. $\frac{3}{4}$. Supported on numerous pillars, lofty railings gateway bracket figures—(*Toraṇaśālabhañjikās*) and divine nymphs, it had three doors, to the east south and north. Each door was faced wtth a *Mukhamaṇḍapa* consisting of white painted tops made of gold. Auspicious symbols, flags and umbrellas were seen in a large number. In front of each *Mukhamaṇḍapa* in each direction was a play-house or a theatre (Pekkhaghara or *Prekṣāgṛha*). It appears that the great assembly hall (*Sudharmā Sabhā*) was divided into various compartments and as such, it can very well be compared with a modern stadium which in ancient times was known as Akkhadaya (Śūtra 14), Akhāḍā in folk dialect.

In the centre was a jewelled platform and stūpa with various motifs and consisting of life-size Jaina images sitting in *Paryaṅkāsana* facing the stūpa. The images represented Ṛṣabha, Vardhamāna, Candrānana and Vāriṣeṇa.[3] The platforms had also Caitya

1. *Rayapaseṇiya*, sūtra 29.
2. *Ibid.* sūtra 36.
3. *Ibid.*

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Vṛkṣas beautifully decorated with jewels and gems depicting light auspicious symbols. In front of the Caityavṛkṣas were seen platforms bearing Indra banners which were soft, polished, cleaned and well balanced scraping the sky and decorated with *Vaijayantī* garlands.

Nandāpuṣkariṇīs (watertanks) with lotuses, staircases, arches, flags and umbrellas faced the Indra banners. The Assembly Hall had 48 thousand *Manogulikās* which can be interpreted as raised seats. These were square in shape in the ratio of 8×8 and their height was 4. These platforms contained four life-size figures of Jinas (Ṛṣabha, Vardhamāna, Candrānana and Vāriṣeṇa) seated in Paryaṅka posture and facing the stūpas which were made on the jewelled platforms. It appears that the Manogulikas had quadruple Jina figures (fig. 2) and in front of each Jina was a votive stūpa. The Manogulikas also consisted of silver and golden planks from which prejected ivory pegs decorated with garlands. I understand that the planks for ivory pegs were fixed on the four sides of raised platforms (Manogulikās). The Assembly Hall was furnished with *Gomanīṣikas* (cushioned seats or sofas) which equalled the Manogulikas in number.

The floor of the Assembly Hall was even, smooth and shining. It had a high jewelled platform consisting of a lofty sacred pillar known as *Māṇavaka*. Divided into three parts this pillar in the centre was bedecked with slabs of gold and silver. From these slabs projected ivory pegs with diamond work. Many circular diamond caskets suspended from the pegs through silver ropes. The caskets contained the holy relics of the Jinas. The Māṇavaka (lofty pillar) on the top was decorated with eight auspicious motifs, flags and banners. A throne was kept on a jewelled platform which was built to the east of the Māṇavaka. There was yet another platform to the west of the sacred pillar having a large bed for the gods. Its manufacturing details are very fascinating. Adorned with different jewels its legs were made of gold, etc. In the north-eastern direction of the bed one Indraflag was installed on a platform with different paintings. God Sūryābha's armoury (Catuṣpāla) was situated to the west of the Indraflag. Several sharp-edged weapons and arms like swords, bows, clubs and maces were kept inside.[1]

There was also built a large temple of Siddhas (*Siddhāyatana*)[2]

1. *Rāyapaseṇiya*, sūtra 38.
2. *Ibid.* sūtra 39.

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which in the centre had a big jewelled platform on which the seat of the Jina (Devacchandaga) was made. Eight hundred life-size images of the Jinas were installed on that seat. The statues were made of gold and adorned with several jewels. A *Śrīvatsa* mark was carved on the chest of each Jina. The deities were flanked by chowris and umbrella bearers. Idols of Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Nāgas and divine attendants (Kundadhara) were seen in front of the Jina images. Bells, pitchers, utensils, mirrors, tripods, baskets full of different articles were also placed near the Jina statues. The Siddha temple was further adorned with eight auspicious things, flags and umbrellas.

In the north-eastern direction of the Siddha temple was built the meeting place of the gods (*Upapāta sabhā*).[1] It was followed in the same direction, by a big tank (encircled by a lotus railing), a coronation hall (*Abhiṣeka-sabhā*), a dressing hall (*Alaṅkāra sabhā*), a business assembly (*Vyavasāya sabhā*) or court chamber where the Sacred Book was kept, a *Balipīṭha* (probably a place for offering food to divine beings of birds etc.) and a *Nandāpuṣkariṇī* (a lake) with good water lotuses and other flowers.

The author of the work *Rāyapaseṇiya* seems very fond of decorating the surface with different auspicious motifs, mythical beings, variety of lotuses and creepers, several precious stones and jewels. He has repeatedly mentioned them while describing the details of ramparts, walls, floors, ceilings, surface, platforms, plinths, cornices, mouldings, water tanks, lakes, gardens and groves. I have avoided such elaborate description for the sake of conciseness. It would, however, be worthwhile to note these decorative motifs at one place.

Among the auspicious motifs he frequently mentions the eight symbols which are 1. *Svastika* (cross) 2. *Śrīvatsa* (mark found carved on the chest of a Jina) 3. *Nandyāvarta* 4. *Vardhamānaka* 5. *Bhadrāsana* (seat) 6. *Kalaśa* (water jar) 7. *Matsya* (fish) and 8. *Darpaṇa* (mirror).[2] These eight auspicious motifs differently occur in the Śilpa texts. The Mathura Ayagapaṭas (square stone tablets for worship) also show these symbols (Fig. 3). The waterpot (*Maṅgalakalaśa* or *Pūrṇaghaṭa*) itself has at least eight types according to its base material i.e. gold, silver, jewel, gold and silver mixed, gold and jewel mixed, silver and jewels mixed, silver-gold-

1. *Rāyapaseṇiya*, sūtra 40.
2. *Ibid.* sūtra 15.

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jewel mixed and earth.[1] Pitchers were also placed on lotuses.[2]

The mythical beings (*Īhāmṛgas*) were also painted or carved on buildings. These have been mentioned as follows:—*Ṛṣabhas* (wolves or bulls), *Turagas* (horses), *Naras* (human beings), *Makaras* (crocodiles), *Vihagas* (birds), *Vālagas* (serpents), *Kinnaras* (centaurs), *Rurus* (deer ?) *Śarabhas*, (eight-legged mighty animals), *Cāmaras* (Yaks) and *Kuñjaras* (Elephants)[3] They are called Īhāmṛgas as they were drawn according to the imagination of the artist or the sculptor to arouse interest and curiosity.

Gautama asked Mahāvīra as to why a railing (*vedikā*) was called *Padmavaravedikā*. Answering the question Mahāvīra explained that it displayed a variety of lotuses like *Utpalas*, *Padmas Kumudas*, *Nalinas*, *Subhagas*, *Saugandhikas*, *Puṇḍarīkas*, *Mahāpuṇḍarīkas*, *Śatapatras* and *Sahasrapatras*[4] (Fig 4). It may be pointed out here that the pre-Kushana and Kushana railings of Mathura are tastefully carved with many types of lotuses but it is now not possible to identify and specify them.

Creepers form a good medium of artist's expression. We find at least a dozen names in the *Rāyapaseṇiya* viz. *Jāti*, *Yūthikā*, *Navamallikā*, *Vāsantī*, *Sūramallikā*, *Dadhivāsukā*, *Tāmbūla*, *Mṛdvīkā*, *Nāgalatā*, *Atimuktaka*, *Apphoyaga* and *Mālukā*[5] (Fig 5). The popular trees are *Aśoka*, *Saptaparṇa*, *Campaka* and *Cūta*.[6]

We also come across long list of musical instruments[7] and dramatic performances.[8] Thus the work *Rāyapaseṇiya* presents a galaxy of early Indian art motifs.

1. *Rāyapaseṇiya*, sūtra 42.
2. *Ibid.* sūtra 28.
3. *Ibid.* sūtra 14.
4. *Ibid.* sūtra 34.
5. *Ibid.* sūtra 32.
6. *Ibid.* sūtra 33.
7. *Ibid.* sūtra 22.
8. *Ibid.* sūtra 92.

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A Creeper.

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VĀSTU-BRAHMA WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO TEMPLE-ART-CUM ARCHITECTURE WITH ADVAITIC BACKGROUND

D. N. Shukla

Like sphoṭa-brahma or śabda-brahma of the Vaiyākaraṇas, eka-brahma of Advaita-vedāntins and nāda-brahma of the musicians, the Vāstu-paṇḍits have not lagged behind in evolving a philosophy of Vāstu-brahma. Practically every treatise on Vāstu or Śilpa treats of vāstu-puruṣamaṇḍala and a host of deities presiding over this maṇḍala. Though from the stand-point of architecture it is just a siteplan of a building or a town or a temple, its correct import and implication, however, have transformed this science of architecture into a Metaphysics.

The philosophical or religious background commonly presented in these treatises represents their truly Indian character. In India we cannot draw a line of demarcation between science and philosophy. The truth is that a science without a philosophy or religious background is not a complete science according to Hindu view of life. It is in keeping with this fundamental background of Indian science that even such a practical or matter-of-fact science as the science of architecture, has such a lofty philosophical theory as Vāstu-brahma-vāda or Vāstu-puruṣa-vāda as its background. The growth and evolution of temple, the chief feature of Indian architecture in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history, represents this ideal of the architectural science from the bottom to the top. The temple as a divine image, according to the Śāstraic injunctions, has divineness all round, below and above, within and without. The architectural motif of the temple superstructure from the bottom to the finial represents the divinity in both its aspects, namely, the one with a form and the other formless (sākāra and nirākāra).

The word *vāstu* which has been derived from 'Vastu' or thing when planned out becomes 'Vāstu', hence the essence of 'Vāstu' is

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planning. Creation and planning must go together; they are twin sisters. The author of the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* must be having this fundamental truth in his mind when he says : Vāstu Brahmā sasarjādau viśvamapyakhilaṁ tathā (2. 4), i.e. *Brahmā*, before creating this world created *Vāstu*. This is the cosmological aspect, the red-rock of philosophy.

According to the *S. S.* 45. 2. *vāstu-puruṣa-vikalpana*, i.e. the knowledge of the formation of the body of the vāstu-puruṣa along with its meaning and execution is the first limb of the body of *sthāpatya*, the *aṣṭāṅga-sthāpatya*. This is the first discipline which the architect, the *sthapati*, must master. This physical drawing is symbolic of the metaphysical doctrine of all-prevailing cosmic principle. According to the *Harivaṁśa* (1. 7) : 'The Puruṣa is the universal essence, the principle of all things, the Prime Person whence everything originates'. Again 'vāstu' here is the extent of existence in its ordered state and is beheld in the likeness of the Puruṣa. The image of the supernal or Cosmic Man, the Puruṣa is identical with the planned site.

This much by way of introduction. Let us now elucidate this all-pervading philosophy of Vāstu-brahma from the several standpoints of all-pervading phenomenon and the Hidden Noumenon.

The monastic ideas, especially the Upaniṣadic Vedānta philosophy and its later consummation in the Advaita of Śaṅkara have, in a way, influenced all thought and activity in India. This is why we call Vedānta our national philosophy. As I have stated elsewhere, the Vedānta philosophy, Upaniṣadic or Śāṅkara, is as ideal as real. The doctrine of Māyā is a fascinating contribution to knit together the *Nirākāra* and the *Sākāra*, the *Ātman* and the *Paramātman* the *Brahman* and the *Jagat*, the Phenomenon and the Noumenon.

Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala, the first pre-requisite of an architectural undertaking, has simply created and enacted a meeting ground of the all-pervasive Principles, the Nirākāra and its conditional aspect, the Sākāra, the Body-Corporate. Vāstu-puruṣamaṇḍala, consisting of three parts—Vāstu, puruṣa and maṇḍala, brings home to us the cosmological, the metaphysical and the architectural implications, respectively. The word vāstu, derived from 'vastu' which means 'bhū' is a cosmological aspect of planning including the planetary system. We have already seen it. Puruṣa is identical with vāstu in His all-pervasive aspect. Maṇḍala gives the content to the vāstu as planned site. Thus the image of the Supernal or Cosmic Man the Puruṣa is identical with the planned site. Prof. Kramrisch in her

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monumental treatise, *Hindu Temple*, also supports this philosophy of vāstu-brahma'. "Puruṣa, Cosmic Man, the origin and source of Existence (*aparā-prakṛti*) is its instrumental or efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇa*) and causes it to be His substance as its material cause (*upādāna*). This is how He is known in the world, the manifested aspect of Himself, the *parā prakṛti*, the beyond Existence, the *Avyaya* Puruṣa, the immutable, Supreme one (*Uttama-Puruṣa*). In his identity with the plan, Puruṣa is shown in his conditioned aspect. The plan makes the site of the building in His image which is His form. The plan of the building is in the likeness of the Puruṣa, or of the totality of manifestation."

The vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala in Vāstuśāstra/Śilpaśāstra (Hindu Science of Architecture and Hindu Canons of Iconography and Sculpture including Painting) is a grand philosophy and a technique as well. It is not only a plan in its cosmic implications, it is also a site plan in its building aspect. Accordingly, it is also intimately connected with yet another fundamental canon of Hindu Science of architecture, the *diṅnirṇaya* or *prācī-sādhana* or *śaṅkusthāpana*, i.e. the doctrine of orientation. The canon has two aspects, one technical and the other of scientific cum philosophical import. Our aim here is not to expound the former, the latter has some bearing on our context.

The theory of the orientation of buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical, as laid down by Indian designers of structures, consists in setting them in plan in such a way that they may secure the maximum of benefit from the solar radiation automatically and irrespective of the fact whether occupants will it or not. Temples, living places, assembly halls, audience rooms and a host of structures to meet the needs of men of all grades, are thus, so adjusted in plan as to secure an eastern frontage. The eastern facet of structures, both in plan and elevation when set in direction according to the rules laid down, gets a full and direct exposure to the field of action of solar radiation. It is very significant in this phase of Indian thought that both the extremes of this eastern belt are denoted by *Īśa* (N. E. portion) and *Agni* (S.E. portion), the counterparts of, so to say, ultra-violet or violet and red or infra-red radiation of the solar spectrum of the Western science. The very names, Īśa and Agni, and their individual lakṣaṇas, which are given to these quarters from earliest times, in the Indian history go to suggest that the phenomena of refraction and diffraction (dispersion) were well-known to the Indian Aryas. Accordingly, the surface of the earth

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in traditional Indian cosmology is regarded as demarcated by sunrise and sunset, by the points where the sun apparently emerges above and sinks below the horizon, by the East and West and also by the North and South points. It is, therefore, represented by the ideogram or *maṇḍala* of a square. The square does not refer to the outline of the earth. It connects the four points established by the primary pairs of opposites, the apparent sunrise and sunset points, East and West and South and North. The earth is, therefore, called '*Caturbhṛṣṭi*', four-cornered (RV. X. 58. 3) and is symbolically shown as *pṛthvī-maṇḍala*, whereas considered in itself the shape of the earth is circular (RV. X. 89 4); Ś. B. VII. I. I. 37). The identification of the square with the *vedi* is in shape only and not in size and belongs to the symbolism of the Hindu temple. The Vedi represents, and is, the levelled earth, a place of sacrifice or worship : "No part of the ground should rise above it; for it was from there that the gods ascended to heaven" (SB. III. I. I-2). The site, the earth, should be even and firm, for it is the starting place of the ascent (S.B. VIII 5. 2. 16). The link between the earth and the end of ascent stretches upwards into space, the intermediate region (*antarīkṣa*). From it also it leads downwards and rests on the earth. In it the temple has its elevation. 'The vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala, the temple diagram and metaphysical plan is laid out on the firm and level ground; it is the intellectual foundation of the building, a forecast of its ascent, and its projections on the earth' (HT. p. 17).

Thus the vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala of Indian architecture takes its symbolism and significance from the square maṇḍala of the Earth and of the Ecliptic : 'The Vāstu had come to be the place of the adjustment of solar and lunar cycles. The number 32 of the divinities residing in the square of the border of the *Vāstumaṇḍala* is also the sum of the 4 and 28, the number of the regents of the four planets who rule over the equinoctial and solstitial points referred to as the cardinal points, and of the regents of the 28 *Nakṣatras*. Their location in the Vāstumaṇḍala shows a reconciliation of the motions of the Sun and the Moon, and they have their nature in their number which is 32; the single divinities who make up this sum, act each as a locum tenens'. (HT.) Other details like the symbolism of the square, the form of *Mārtaṇḍa Vāstu*, the remainder are also equally formidable postulates of the philosophy of vāstu-brahma.

Similarly the organism of the plan is also in conformity with the formation of the vāstu-puruṣa, the *nara-prastara* and *Vāstu-prastara*:

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This organism of the plan leads to take up the most vital element of *vāstupadavinyāsa*, the Supernal Man. The *Vāstu-vidhāna* (VIII. 26. 32) of Nārada says that the *Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* is the magic diagram (*yantra*) and the form (*rūpa*) of the *Vāstupuruṣa*. It is his body (*śarīra*) and a bodily device (*śarīra-yantra*) by which those who have requisite knowledge attain the best results in temple building. It is laid out in tabular notation as man and site, *nara-prastara* and *vāstu-prastara*. It is in accordance with this symbolic manifestation that *śirās*, *anuśirās*, *sandhis*, *anusandhis*, *marmans*, mahā-marmans along with practically all the limbs of the body, a man, *nara* have been also allotted to the body-corporate, the Puruṣa, the supernal Man. Accordingly the symbolism of the Vedic altar, Agni is continued in the Hindu temple, in its plan. The Vāstu-Puruṣa of the maṇḍala is indeed *Agni-Prajāpati*. This is the cosmological or Metaphysical background on which the most fundamental doctrine of *Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala* rests and from this we can very well understand and appreciate the very advanced state of architectural planning in ancient India.

After this very brief exposition of the philosophy of Vāstu-brahma, let us take up the second theme of this discourse, i.e. its impact on temple-architecture. The foregoing exposition may convince the reader that the ideal of sacred architecture, i.e. temple-architecture of India, was born of the true conception of 'divinity' in a spiritualised body. A good many authors, ignorant of this correct background of temple architecture in India, have forwarded several theories like 'The Mound and Grave Theories', The Theory of the Evolution of Stupa', 'The Umbrella theory', etc. in connection with the origin Theory of Hindu Temple; but these are all wrong. It is the Organic Theory which permeates the entire structure of Hindu temple. The theory of architecture in terms of human organism rooted in the subjective consciousness of the race, constitutes the primary subject of the *śilpaśāstras*. Our *śilpaśāstras* teach the artists to *counterplate* the divine ideas. Of all forms in nature, the human form is the most perfect. The Upaniṣads propound the first injunction in this regard. According to the Chāndogya (5. I. I.) the human body is conceived as the temple of Brahman; thus the idea of body as the abode of the spirit is clearly expressed. Similarly the *Skandopaniṣad* says :

देहो देवालयः प्रोक्तः जीवो देवः सनातनः ।
त्यजेदज्ञाननिर्माल्यं सोऽहंभावेन पूजयेत् ॥

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Thus this injunction stands for the assimilation of the external with the internal, the synthesis of macrocosm and microcosm or, in other words, the identification of the individual soul with the universal soul. Thus Hindu temple architecture essentially reflects the spiritual ideal of India. God is the spirit immanent in the Universe and temple is His abode. His omnipresence is confined within the walls of the shrine in the same way as the soul is confined within the human body. This brief enunciation of the origin of Hindu temple brings to it a clear illustration of Vedāntic ideal of the Nirākāra and the Sākāra Brahma. Every part of the temple architecture is an illustration of this Organic Theory corroborating the truth that God and His temple correspond to soul and the human body. So many ceremonies though termed as ritualistic and religious, like *aṅkurāropaṇa; garbhavinyāsa, pradakṣiṇā, nayanonmīlana*, etc. etc. are also indicative of this fundamental philosophy. Now avoiding the details, let us reproduce some apt extracts from the texts like the *Agnipurāṇa, Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* and *Śilparatna*, which fittingly prove this genesis and point to the genius of Hindu temple architecture as propounded above :

प्रासादं वासुदेवस्य मूर्तिभेदं निबोध मे ।
धारणाद्धरणीं विद्धि आकाशं शुषिरात्मकम् ॥
तेजस्तत् पावकं विद्धि वायुं स्पर्शगतं तथा ।
पाषाणादिष्वेव जलं पार्थिवं पृथिवीगुणम् ॥
प्रतिशब्दोद्भवं शब्दं स्पर्शं स्यात् कर्कशादिकम् ।
शुक्लादिकं भवेद् रूपं रसमन्नादिदर्शनम् ॥
धूपादिकं भवेद् गन्धं वाग्भेर्यादिषु संस्थिता ।
शुकनासाश्रिता नासा बाहू तद्रथकौ स्मृतौ ॥
शिरस्त्वण्डं निगदितं कलशं मूर्द्धजं स्मृतम् ।
कण्ठं कण्ठमिति ज्ञेयं स्कन्धं वेदी निगद्यते ॥
पायूपस्थे प्रणाले च त्वक् सुधा परिकीर्तिता ।
मुखं द्वारं भवेदस्य प्रतिमा जीव उच्यते ॥
तच्छक्तिं पिण्डिकां विद्धि प्रकृतिञ्च तदाकृतिम् ।
निश्चलत्वं च गर्भोऽस्या अधिष्ठाता तु केशवः ॥
एवमेष हरिः साक्षात् प्रासादत्वेन संस्थितः ।
जंघा त्वस्य शिवो ज्ञेयः स्कन्धे धाता व्यवस्थितः ॥
ऊर्ध्वभागे स्थितो विष्णुरेवं तस्य स्थितस्य हि ।

Agni. 61. 19. 27.

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सर्वतत्त्वमयो यस्मात् प्रासादो भास्करी तनुः ॥
तद् यथावस्थितं वस्तु कथयामि निबोधत ।
पायूपस्थौ प्रणालौ द्वौ नेत्रौ ज्ञेयौ गवाक्षकौ ।
सुधा मुग्वत (?) पनी ज्ञेया स (व) क्षे मञ्जरीकोर्ध्वतः ॥
जंघा जंघा तु विज्ञेया वरण्डी रसना मता ।
शुक्रं धातुर्भवेन्नासा सूत्राणि च विशेषतः ॥
गर्भः स्थिरत्वं विज्ञेयो मुखं द्वारं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
कपाटोष्ठपुटौ ज्ञेयौ प्रतिमा जीवमुच्यते ।
स्कन्धस्तु वेदी गदिता कण्ठं कण्ठमिहोच्यते ॥
शिरोमालास्थितं ज्ञेयं—चून—संस्थितम् ।
जगती पिण्डिका ज्ञेया प्रासादो भास्करः स्मृतः ॥

Haya. 39.

प्रासादं पुरुषं मत्वा पूजयेन्मन्त्रवित्तमः ।
प्रपदं पादुकं विद्याच्छिखा स्तूपीति कथ्यते ॥
लौहकीलकपत्रादि सर्वं दन्तनखादिकम् ।
सुधा शुक्लं त्विष्टकौघं मांसं मज्जा च पीतरुक् ॥
मेदः श्यामरुचिस्तद्वद् रक्तं रक्तरुचिस्तथा ।
मांसं मेचकवर्णं स्याच्चर्म नीलं न संशयः ।
त्वक् कृष्णवर्णमित्याहुः प्रासादे सप्त धातवः ॥

Śilpa. XVI 121-123.

प्रासादं लिंगमित्याहुस्त्रिजगल्लयनाद् यतः ।
ततस्तदाधारतया जगती पीठिका मता ॥

S. S. 68-3-4.

The terms denoting the different parts of temple structure should not be viewed objectively; they are used and understood here in a subjective sense aiming at the organic unity of structure. The harmony of the human body is infused into the body of the temple. Chandas, the rhythm permeating the body, becomes the vital spirit in the very structure of Hindu temple. It is fully vitalised and breathes life at every point.

This fundamental philosophy of temple architecture has also accordingly affected its planning. Prāsāda, the Hindu-temple, is not a congregational structure; it is, as we have seen, the home of the spirit, hence the main shrine is called *garbhagṛha* and the Prāsāda has circumambulatory passages, the *pradakṣiṇā-pathas*. This Garbhagṛha is as adorable as the image. There is an identity of the

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the image and its abode. Therefore, the following quotation from the *Īśānaśivagurudeva-paddhati* is very apt giving us a true picture of the Hindu temple :

प्रासादं यच्छिवशक्त्यात्मकं तच्छक्त्यन्तैः स्याद् वसुधाद्यैस्तु तत्त्वैः ।
शैवी मूर्तिः खलु देवालयाख्येत्यस्माद् ध्येया प्रथमं चाभिपूज्या ॥ ३-१२॥

Also let us quote other passages and finish :—

प्रकृतिर्विकृतिस्तस्य रूपेण परमात्मनः ।
अलक्ष्यं तस्य तद् रूपं प्रकृतिस्सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥
साकारा विकृतिर्ज्ञेया तस्य सर्वं जगत्स्मृतम् ।
पूजाध्यानादिकं कर्तुं साकारस्यैव शक्यते ॥

'The Supreme Spirit has two states of Form : The (one, the) Nature of the World (Prakṛti) and (the other) its transformation as appearance (vikṛti). Prakṛti is His invisible form. Vikṛti is the aspect (ākāra) in which He pervades the Universe. Worship and meditation can be performed in relation to His aspect (Sākāra) only'.

Viṣṇudharmottara, III. Ch. XI. VI 2-3.

अनामरूपिण्यचिन्त्ये चिन्त्ये वै विश्वरूपिणि ।
चिन्त्याचिन्त्यात्मिके देवि नारायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥

'Nameless and Formless Thou art, O Thou Unknowable. All forms of the universe are Thine; thus Thou art known. Known and unknowable, Goddess Nārāyaṇi, Obeisance.'

Devīmāhātmya, XI 'Nārāyaṇī stutiḥ.'

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MISCELLANEOUS

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THE VIDYĀBODHINĪ OF UNMATTĀNANDA ON ŚRĪSŪKTA

E. D. KULKARNI

The *Vidyābodhinī*, a Sanskrit commentary on *Śrīsūkta* is unique in itself as it gives a trantric interpretation of the sūkta. The commentaries on *Śrīsūkta* written by Rāvaṇa, Lakṣmīdhara, Sāyaṇa, Raṅganātha, Vidyāraṇya, Śrīkaṇṭha and Śatānanda are already available to us.[1] But the *Vidyābodhinī* is different from all these. It attempts to show that *Śrīsūkta* in its esoteric form is Pañcadaśākṣarī Śrīvidyā which is secretly handed down.

We could get a transcript of the present commentary which covers 123 hand-written foolscap pages from Pt. A. S. Viśvanātha Śrauti of Nellore (Āndhra Pradesh). The author of the commentary is Unmattānanda, uncle of Pt. Viśvanātha Śrauti. The colophon of the work runs as—

इति श्रीमत्सादापदाब्जस्यन्दिमरन्दास्वादमत्तेनानेन उन्मत्तानन्देन प्रणीतेयं विद्याबोधिन्याख्या श्रीसूक्तविवृतिः।

The commentary is divided into four sections. The first section forms the introduction which discusses in general the meaning of the word *Śrīsūkta*, its form and nature, its real teaching, the significance of its having fifteen hymns and the purpose of its assignment to *Khila* group of hymns. The second, third and fourth sections are called, the *Analakūṭa*, the *Saurakūṭa* and the *Śaktikūṭa* corresponding to the three groups of *bījākṣaras* of *Śrīvidyā* of the same names.

The commentator pays homage to the goddess Kāmākṣī, at the beginning and at the end of the work. He further respectfully refers to Guhānanda, Prakāśānanda, the sage Agastya and Bhāskara and prays to them to endow him with inspiration for the completion of his important undertaking.

He quotes profusely passages from a wide range of literature in support of his propositions. He must have been a great scholar well versed in various branches of learning as is evident from the number of works and authorities he has quoted.

1. Aufrecht : catalogus catalogorum.

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Śrīsūkta is a well-known *Khilasūkta* which has come down to us traditionally. It is a supplement to the *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* in the Śākala recension. Prof. Max Müller has published 32 Khilas, while Prof. T. Aufrecht has published 25 Khilas, some of which are different from those given by Max Müller. Pt. S. D. Satavalekar has given us 36 Khilas some of which are not found in other editions. All these editions discuss the exact places of their recitation.

The term *Khila* first occurs in the *Anuvākānukramaṇī* and *Ārṣānukramaṇī* attributed to Śaunaka. These are preserved by the Bāṣkalas with the same accuracy as the Vedic hymns. This shows that these hymns were not denoted by the term *Khila* in the oldest times. Even though the individual *Khilas* do not belong to the same period we can conclude that many of them belong to the Vedic period.[1]

The term *Khila* is defined in our commentary as follows :—

खिलं नाम कर्मोपासनाज्ञानरूपेषु त्रिष्वपि काण्डेषु यद्यद् वक्तव्यं मन्त्रभागमवशिष्यते तस्य सर्वस्यैकतोऽभिधानेन प्रकीर्णरूपं खिलत्वम् । शंकरभगवत्पादपूज्यगुरुवर्यैर्यथा बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि पञ्चमषष्ठाध्यायौ खिलकाण्डेनोदाहृतौ तथा विद्यारण्यमुनिभिश्च नारायणीयाख्ययाज्ञिक्युपनिषदपि खिलकाण्डत्वेनोदाहृता, तथैवास्य श्रीसूक्तस्यापि खिलत्वम् ।

Along with the fifth and the sixth chapters of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* and *Yājñikyupaniṣad*, *Harivaṁśaparva* also is considered a Khilaparva appended to the *Mahābhārata*.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* the main topic of discussion is *Brahman* as indicated by the statements like *Oṁ khaṁ brahma* etc. The different kinds of *upāsanas* have also been prescribed to attain *brahman* in statements like *yo ha vai jyeṣṭhaṁ ca śreṣṭhaṁ ca veda* etc.

Similarly in the Yājñikyupaniṣad, *brahman* is the main topic dealt with as is evidenced by statements like *ambhasya pāre bhuvanasya madhye*, etc. The *upāsanā* to attain it has been prescribed in the statements like *ādityo vā eṣa etan maṇḍalaṁ tapati etc.* Different rites also have been prescribed to gain the end in the statements like *bhūr agnaye ca pṛthivyai ca mahate ca svāhā* etc. Injunctions like *jātavedasya sunavāma* etc. which ward off obstacles in the attainment of the goal have been laid down.

Śrīsūkta also possesses all the above-mentioned features. It is devoted to the discussion of the highest *Brahman*. The first hymn of *Śrīsūkta* viz. *hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīm* points to the mantra—*namo*

1. Cf. *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā*, Vaidic Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Vol. 4; pp. 901-907.

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hiraṇyabāhave hiraṇyavarṇāya etc. Secondly as the commentators of *Śrīsūkta* have pointed out it lays down different kinds of *upāsanā* to achieve different objectives. Thirdly it also recommends rites as laid down in *yaḥ śuciḥ prayato bhūtvā* etc. On these grounds *Śrīsūkta* has been rightly styled as a Khilasūkta.

Śrīsūkta is apparently addressed to the goddess Śrī. It has been continually read and recited from old times as is clear from its large number of Mss. discovered in all parts of India. Its ritualistic and philosophical importance is seen from its having a number of commentaries written on it and from its employment in certain tantric rituals.

Śrīsūkta has been employed, as stated above, along with Srīvidyāmantras in certain rituals : e.g. the *Śrīvidyārṇavatantra* mentions certain Vedic mantras recited together with Śrīvidyā mantra : e.g.

१) अथ या लक्ष्म्यश्वदायिगर्भस्थां सुन्दरीं यजेत् ।
धनैर्धान्यैश्च विभवैरन्यैश्चाश्वगवादिभिः ॥
आपूरयन्ति सततं तत्रैव रमते रमा ।

अस्यार्थः—"या लक्ष्मीः सिन्धुसंभवा कराईलह्रीं भूतिधेनुपरूवसूः हसकहलह्रीं, पद्मा विश्वावसुर्देवी सकलह्रीं सदा नो जुषतां गृहम्" ॥ अश्वदायि गोदायि कराईलह्रीं धनधायि महाधने हसकहलह्रीं, धनं मे जुषतां देवी सकलह्रीं सर्वकामार्थसिद्धये ॥ इति मन्त्रद्वयम् ।[1]

२) लोपाभ्यां संपुटीकृत्य पौरुषैश्च जपेद् बुधः ।
श्रीसूक्तैः कामराजाख्यां प्रजपेद्यत्नतो बुधः ॥

अस्यार्थः—पौरुषैः "पुरुषसूक्तस्थमन्त्रपादैः । श्रीसूक्तैः श्रीसूक्तमन्त्रपादैः । एवं हिरण्यवर्णां हरिणीं कराईलह्रीं सुवर्णरजतस्रजां हसकहलह्रीं, चन्द्रां हिरण्मयीं लक्ष्मीं सकलह्रीं जातवेदो ममावह" । एवं क्रमेण प्रत्येकं जपेत् ।[2]

The worship of the Goddess is declared to be of three kinds viz. *sthūla* (gross), *sūkṣma* (subtle) and *para* (transcendental). The first of these involves reference to Her bodily form, the second to Her verbal form and the third to Her spiritual form. The devotee is to achieve his end by going from the lower plane to the higher plane. In the second form of worship the *mantras* of various types describing the form of the Goddess are employed. Nityātantra narrates *mantras* of five types viz. *piṇḍa*, *kartarī*, *bīja*, *mantra* and *mālā*. They are defined in the same tantra as :

1. Cf. Śrīvidyārṇavatantra, Part I, page 243.
2. ibid. Part I, p. 244.

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मन्त्रा एकाक्षराः पिण्डाः कर्तर्यो द्व्यक्षरा मताः ।
वर्णत्रयं समारभ्य नवार्णा विधिबीजकाः ॥
ततो दशार्णमारभ्य यावद्विंशतिमन्त्रकाः ।
तत ऊर्ध्वं गता मालास्तासु भेदो न विद्यते ॥

From this definition it is clear that a monosyllabic mantra is called *piṇḍa*; two-syllabled one is *Kartarī*; a mantra having three to nine syllables is called a *mantra* and the mantras composed of more than twenty syllables are called *mālāmantras*.

In the expression *Śrīvidyā*, *vidyā* is used as a synonym of *mantra*, though technically there is a difference of meaning between a *mantra* and a *vidyā*. Both of them refer equally to mnemonic formulas, but the first is a set of formulas referring to gods and the second referring to goddesses.

The fifteen-syllabled *mantra* of Mahātripurasundarī is secretly handed down from the teacher to the pupil and is capable of leading the aspirant to the attainment of the highest bliss. It enunciates the great Upaniṣadic truth of the identity of the individual self with the transcendant self, contained in the famous mahāvākya *Tat tvam asi*.

The fifteen-syllabled *mantra* has three component parts which are technically called *vāgbhava*, *kāmarāja* and *śakti* respectively presided over by Brahmā and Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and Rudra and Rudrāṇī. The nine letters of which the mantra is formed are collectively known as *mantra*.

This *mantra* has different varieties. The *mantra* meditated upon differs according to the meditators: A list of twentyfive meditators is given in the *Śrīvidyārṇavatantra*. It is as follows :—

मनुश्चन्द्रः कुबेरश्च लोपामुद्रा च कामराट् ।
अगस्त्यनन्दिसूर्याश्च विष्णुस्कन्दशिवास्तथा ॥
दुर्वासाश्च महादेव्या द्वादशोपासकाः स्मृताः ।
शक्रश्च चोत्मनी चैव तथा च वरुणस्तथा ॥
धर्मराजोऽनलो नागराजो वायुर्बुधस्तथा ।
ईशानश्च रतिश्चैव तथा नारायणस्तथा ॥
ब्रह्मा जीवो महादेव्यास्त्रयोदश उपासकाः ।
पञ्चविंशतिसंख्याकोपासकानां महेश्वरि ॥
उपास्यमन्त्रभेदांस्ते प्रवक्ष्यामि समासतः ।[1]

1. ibid. Part I.

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Out of the varieties of this mantra, *Kāmarāja* meditated upon is कराईलह्रीं, हसकहलह्रीं, सकलह्रीं. But as this mantra is to be communicated to the pupil secretly, it is given even in the Vedas in conventional terms:[1] e.g. the *Śaṁkhāyanaśruti* gives this mantra as—

कामो योनिः कमला वज्रपाणिर्गुहा हसा मातरिश्वाभ्रमिन्द्रः ।
पुनर्गुहा सकला मायया च पुरूच्येषा विश्वमातादिविद्या ॥

Bhāskararāya, the staunch exponent of *Śrīvidyā* explains the verse as follows :—

कामो मातरिश्वा च ककारः । योनिरेकारः । कमला तुरीयः स्वरः । वज्रपाणिरिन्द्रश्च लकारः । गुहाद्वयं माया च लज्जावीजम् । हसेति सकलेति च स्वरूपम् । गुहया सह समासाद्बहुवचनं न पुनः सकारो दीर्घः । एवं लकारोऽपि । अभ्रं हकारः । एतादृशैः सांकेतिकैः शब्दैर्व्यवहारादत्यन्तगोपनीयत्वं समर्थितं भवति ।[2]

Śaṁkarācārya also in his *Saundaryalaharī* gives this mantra by fifteen conventional names indicative of fifteen syllables in the following verse :

शिवः शक्तिः कामः क्षितिरथ रविः शीतकिरणः
स्मरो हंसः शक्रस्तदनु च परामारहरयः ।
अमी हृल्लेखाभिस्तिसृभिरवसानेषु घटिता
भजन्ते वर्णास्ते तव जननि नामावयवताम् ॥

Bhāskararāya in his *Varivasyārahasya* has ably shown that the Vedic mantras like Gāyatrīmantra are capable of yielding fifteen different meanings, viz. *pratipādyārtha*, *bhāvārtha*, *sampradāyārtha*, *nigarbhārtha*, *Kaulikārtha*, *rahasyārtha*, *mahātattvārtha*, *nāmārtha*, *śabdarūpārtha*, *nāmaikadeśārtha*, *śāktārtha*, *sāmarasyārtha*, *samastārtha*, *saguṇārtha* and *mahāvākyārtha*.[3]

Likewise he has stated that the Gāyatrīmantra has two forms, the lower (exoteric) and the higher (esoteric). The lower form is the familiar one and the higher form is what is known as *Śrīvidyā*. He shows the identity of these two forms in the following verses :—

कामयते स ककारः कामो ब्रह्मैव तत्पदस्यार्थः ॥
सवितुर्वरेण्यमिति वै सवितुः श्रेष्ठं द्वितीयवर्णार्थः ॥

1. Cf. कामो योनिः कमलेत्येवं सांकेतिकैः शब्दैः ।
व्यवहरति न तु प्रकटं यां विद्यां वेदपुरुषोऽपि ॥
—वरिवस्यारहस्य, श्लोक 19
2. Cf. the commentary on the *Varivasyārahasya*, stanza 8.
3. Cf. the *Varivasyārahasya*, stanzas 57-59.

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सर्वान्तर्यामि दधद्भूर्गो देवस्य धीति तुर्यार्थः ।
पृथ्वी मही लकारस्तृतीयतुर्याङ्घ्रिबोधिका माया ॥
त्रिपदी त्रिवर्णबोध्या तुर्यस्तदुपरिषडक्षरीगमकः ।
अथ तार्तीये वर्णद्वितयं त्रिपदीषडक्षरीगमकम् ॥
कूटद्वितये शेषं पूर्ववदुन्नेयमिति तु विद्यायाः ।
गायत्र्यर्थस्त्रिपुरोपनिषदि कथितस्तथैव भागवते ॥[1]

Like the Gāyatrīmantra, *Śrīsūkta* also has two forms the lower and the higher. Its higher form is *Śrīvidyā*.

The word Śrī in *Srīsūkta* is explained by our commentary as Mother Goddess. She is described by Gauḍapādācārya in his *Śrīvidyāratnasūtrāṇi* as आत्मैवाखण्डाकारः । चैतन्यस्वरूपा चिच्छक्तिः । सैवेयमनामाख्या श्रीविद्या ।

Even etymologically Śrī is Kāmakalā. The commentary explains the word as :—

शवर्णेन शं सुखप्रदत्वम् । रेफेण संविन्मयत्वम् । ईकारेण कामकलात्वम् । विसर्गेण मोक्षप्रदत्वम् । इति श्रीपदस्याक्षरार्थः ।

The identity of *Śrīsūkta* and *Śrīvidyā* is quite apparent. *Śrīsūkta* has fifteen hymns corresponding to fifteen syllables of *Śrīvidyā*. It is also of three parts corresponding to the three *kūṭas* of *Śrīvidyā*. Hymns 1-5 form the *Analakūṭa* having five syllables; hymns 6-11 form the *Saurakūṭa* having six syllables and hymns 12-15 form the *Śaktikūṭa* having four syllables.

We shall quote below a few relevant extracts from our Ms. of the *Vidyābodhinī*, which will serve as a specimen of the style and the method of exposition adopted by the commentator. The *Vidyābodhinī* begins as :—

अनलकूटः प्रथमः ।...भूमविद्याविबोधिन्याख्या श्रीसूक्तविवृतिः । प्रथममन्त्रावतारिका । विद्यानां स्थूलसूक्ष्मभेदकारत्वं तदन्योन्यतादात्म्यं च सर्वशास्त्रेषु प्रतिपादितम् । स्थूलैव प्रकटाभिधा सा, बीजतः प्रकटा, अर्थतः प्रकटेति द्विविधा । तत्र बीजतः प्रकटा पञ्चदशीविद्या, अर्थतः प्रकटा तु श्रीसूक्तविद्या तयोरन्योन्यतादात्म्यं सूक्तार्थप्राकट्यं च जिज्ञासुबोधाय विशदीकर्तुमाह—

हिरण्यवर्णां हरिणीं सुवर्णरजतस्रजाम् ।
चन्द्रां हिरण्मयीं लक्ष्मीं जातवेदो मुमावह ॥१॥

...तस्मादत्र...कामेशकामेश्योरविनाभावत्वं समप्रधानत्वं च हिरण्यवर्णामिति पदेन निरूपितम् । हरिणी शिवः शिवा भवा भवानीतिवद् हरो हरिणीति तस्या रूढिनाम । हृ हरण इति धातोः । भक्तस्य पुण्यपापे हृत्वा साक्षान्मोक्षप्रदेति यावत् ।...अक्षरार्थ-

1. Ibid. stanzas 60-63.

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विचारेण कामेश्वरान्तर्निवासिनी कामकलारूपा कामेश्वरीत्यर्थो भवितुमर्हति ।... सुवर्णा सुष्ठुवर्णोच्चारसमर्था वैखरी वाक् । तस्यां राजन्ति प्रकाशयन्तीति सुवर्णरजता वर्णाः । तैर्विरचिता स्रग् यस्याः सा सुवर्णरजतस्रजा ।...पञ्चाशद्वर्णरूपेत्यर्थः ।... ईहितस्य सर्वस्यापसरणशीलत्वाच्चकारस्य शिवत्वम् । तं च मन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यं शिवं द्रावयति गुहानिहितत्वाद् रहस्यं परशिवतत्त्वं प्रकाशयतीति चन्द्रा ।...ननु रुद्राध्याय-प्रतिपादितस्य जगद्रूपलीलातनोः शिवस्य शक्तिर्हिरण्मयीति । "हिरण्यरेतसः शम्भोः शक्तिः प्रोक्ता हिरण्मयी" इति कालिकापुराणवचनात् ।...इच्छाज्ञानक्रिया यस्या लक्ष्म सा सर्वाकारा शक्तिर्लक्ष्मीः...तां मम परमात्मनो भिन्नभावस्य जीवात्मनोऽहं-प्रत्ययस्यावह...भोः परशिव, अमृतात्मिकां केवलामव्यक्तां त्वन्मूर्तिमुद्बोधयेति तात्पर्यार्थः । अतो हिरण्यवर्णामिति मन्त्रादित्वाद् हिरण्यवर्णाख्यः ककारोऽनेन पञ्च-दशीविद्याया आद्यः क इति वर्णः प्रतिपादित इति ॥१॥

तां म आवह जातवेदो लक्ष्मीमनपगामिनीम् ।
यस्यां हिरण्यं विन्देयं गामश्वं पुरुषानहम् ॥२॥

...अनेन मन्त्रेण परब्रह्माभिन्नतया एकारः प्रतिपादितः । सर्वप्रपञ्चसृष्ट्यु न्मुख एकार इति प्रसिद्धः । किंचात्र तामिति तच्छब्देन पश्यन्तीस्थानस्थितकार्यबिन्दुरूपां शुद्धाद्वैत-शिवां, हिरण्यमिति निर्विशेषपरशिवं, गामिति शब्दब्रह्मात्मकपरशिवम्, अश्वमिति पञ्च-कोशात्मकमुपहितशिवं, पुरुषानिति भोक्तृभोग्यरूपेण जडात्मकत्वादुच्चावचं शिवं, यथा सर्वतः सामानाधिकरण्ये हिरण्यगवाश्वपुरुषादिष्ववस्थितं विन्देयम् । मे तथा आवह । हे जातवेदः (परशिव), एकारोपासनया मां शुद्धाद्वैतस्वरूपिणं कुर्विति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥२॥

अश्वपूर्वां रथमध्यां हस्तिनादप्रबोधिनीम् ।
श्रियं देवीमुपह्वये श्रीर्मा देवी जुषताम् ॥३॥

...अत्र तृतीये मन्त्रे, अश्वपूर्वामिति पदेन पश्यन्तीस्थानगतकार्यकारणसंघातबिन्दुरूप-कारणकामकलाम् । तथा रथमध्यामिति द्वितीयेन पदेन मध्यमास्थानगतकाकलीरूप-सूक्ष्मकामकलाम् । तथा हस्तिनादप्रबोधिनीमिति कण्ठगतस्थूलात्मिकां कामकलां देवीं सर्वत्रैकरूपेण द्योतमानां श्रियं ।...श्रीः एवंरूपा कामकला देवी सर्वतो द्योतनशीला... जुषतां प्रीतिं कुरुतात् मयि प्रीता भवतु इत्यर्थः । इत्थमनेन मन्त्रेण विद्यायास्तृतीयं बीजं कामकला उदीरिता ॥३॥

कां सोस्मितां हिरण्यप्राकारामार्द्रां ज्वलन्तीं तृप्तां तर्पयन्तीम् ।
पद्मे स्थितां पद्मवर्णां तामिहोपह्वये श्रियम् ॥४॥

कां ककारलक्षितकामेश्वररूपां...कः किं तत्सत्यमन्नममृतो जीवो विश्वः कतमः स्वयंभूः प्रजापतिरिति श्रुत्या सर्वाकारः ककारप्रतिपाद्यः कामेश्वर एव । तस्मादत्र... कामिति मन्त्रेण पृथ्वीबीजात्मको लकारः सूच्यते । सोस्मितां स्थूलात्मकनादेन सहिता

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तां...हिरण्यशब्दप्रतिपाद्यः परशिवः तस्य यत्प्रकृष्टं निष्कलं तद् याकारयति निरूपयति सा हिरण्यप्राकारा तां...अप्सु ज्योतिः प्रतिष्ठितं ज्योतिष्ष्वापः प्रतिष्ठिता इति श्रुतेर्यस्य स्थूलस्य शरीरस्य हृदयाकारवासिनी या हृल्लेखाख्या सा आर्द्राभिधा। तां ज्वलन्तीं न तत्र सूर्यो भातीति श्रुत्या केवलचिदेकरूपत्वाज्ज्वलनम्। तद्वती ज्वलन्ती।...तां तृप्तां नित्यसौहित्यां निस्त्रैगुण्यत्वात्पूर्णकामामिति यावत्। तर्पयन्तीं सौहित्यप्रदानशीलां पद्मे स्थितां...आधारे त्रिगुणपद्मस्थां...पद्मवर्णावर्णात्मिका तां...कामकलामिति यावत्। श्रियं परब्रह्माधिदेवतां विद्यां...इह...मदीये परमाकाशे उपह्वये उपासांचक्र इत्यर्थः।...इत्थमनेन मन्त्रेण विद्यातुरीयबीजरूपलकारोऽभिहितः ॥४॥

चन्द्रां प्रभासां यशसा ज्वलन्तीं श्रियं लोके देवजुष्टामुदाराम्।
तां पद्मिनीमीं शरणमहं प्रपद्येऽलक्ष्मीर्मे नश्यतां त्वां वृणे ॥५॥

वाग्भवकूटान्तिमो हृल्लेखात्मकोऽयं मन्त्रः। अस्य मन्त्रस्य आदावेव चन्द्रामिति समाम्नातत्वात्...अतो हृल्लेखात्मिका शिवशक्तिरूपा परदेवता चन्द्रशब्देन प्रतिपाद्येति।...हकारमूर्तिः शिवो रशब्दस्तु मूर्तिप्रधाना, उमाख्या शक्तिः...या शैवी भारूपा मूर्तिः सा प्रभासाशब्दवाच्या।...तस्मादेते यशसेति वर्णा अपि विश्वतैजसप्राज्ञबोधकाः। प्रणवावयवानामकारोकारमकाराणामधिदेवता विश्वतैजसप्राज्ञाः...आ सम्यग् ज्वलन्तीं भासमानाम्।...सा हृल्लेखा यशसा ज्वलन्तीत्यत्र समाम्नाता।...तां श्रियं या सर्वेषु श्रिता सर्वैराश्रिता वा सा श्रीः...तां देवजुष्टां देवस्य द्योतमानस्य...शिवस्य जुष्टां...पत्नीं...उदारां...उद्गता इन्द्रियेभ्योऽरा अंशवो यस्याः सोदारा सर्वत्र प्रकाशमानेत्यर्थः।...तां पद्मिनीं...मूलाधारादिद्वादशान्तानि पद्मान्यस्याः सन्तीति वा...तां तादृशीं...शिवरूपां वा। अनिर्वचनीयां वा।...ईं...ब्रह्मानन्दसाम्राज्यप्रदानशीला कामकलेत्यर्थः। अहं त्वत्तो जीवभावनया पृथगिवावस्थितः। शरणं शरणागतिं प्रपद्ये करोमि। मे ममालक्ष्मीः...मोक्षविद्याप्रतिबन्धकरूपा...अश्रीर्नश्यतां नश्यतु।...इत्थं वाग्भवकूटपञ्चम्यर्चा विद्या पञ्चदशीप्रथमहृल्लेखा विवृता ॥५॥

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ON THE CONCEPT OF A TANTRIC TEACHER

N. S. Shukla

The Buddhist Tantric works attach a paramount importance to the proper instruction of the followers of Buddhism in the rituals and it is in this very context that the position of a teacher or Ācārya, well-versed in the teaching of these rites, becomes all the more important. The *Hevajratantra* gives him not less than three names. viz. *guru*, *ācārya* and *śāstṛ*, whose responsibility is to find out the right means for his pupil of the Tantric rites. These great teachers had to be conversant with several Tantras at a time, and "it was the rule for them to teach those they were training in accordance with their propensities.[1] In this very Tantra it is further established that in the realization of the perfect truth neither wisdom nor means helps. By no other person may it be told by mouth and from no one else may it be received. It is known only intuitively as a result of merit and of honouring one's *guru* and the set observances.[2]"

Two Tantric works : *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa and *Kriyāsaṁgraha* of Kuladatta throw fresh light and suggest a number of improvements on the subject.

The *Bibliotheque nationale* of Paris possesses in its precious collection two manuscripts of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, the first in Nepali characters. Fonds Sanskrit n° 15 (Ms. A), and the other in Devanagari characters, Fonds Sanskrit n° 30[1] (Ms. B). Two manuscripts of the *Kriyāsaṁgraha* of Kuladatta are also found in the same collection. The first is in Nepali characters : Fonds Sanskrit n° 31 (Ms. A), and the second is in Devanagari : Fonds Sanskrit n° 32 (Ms. B).[3]

Selection of a competent teacher is one of the several Tantric rites. The Buddhist Tantras placed conditions conspicuously rigid

1. Taranatha, Tib. text. p. 147, 14-15 (cited, Snellgrove, *The Heavajra Tantra*, p. 30.
2. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, part II, p. 28.
3. Described in : J. Filliozat, Bibliotheque nationale, Departement des Manuscripts, Fonds sanskrit, fasc. 1, Paris, 1941.

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so that unwanted elements may not be able to masquerade in the matter of religious practices. The *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* enjoins that he who shows the path of rightful conduct in this world and the next is the teacher.[1] Guarding against unrighteous practices, equipoise in gain and loss, fame or infamy, censure or compliment—are his other virtues. He must strengthen his mind by maintaining a passive attitude towards pleasure and pain. He must develop a genuine interest in the religious incantations, possess courage, skill and compassion, should be bereft of jealousy and ensnaring desires, must know the real essence of things in the world, attain eminence and imbibe wisdom.

Quoting the authority of the *Saṁvarārṇava Tantra*, Jagaddarpaṇa mentions that a teacher can be of three types : the householder (*gṛhastha*), *śrāmaṇera* (a follower of the Hīnayāna), and *bhikṣu* (real Tantric teacher). The best among these three is the Bhikṣu, the middling type is śrāmaṇera, and the most inferior is a house-holder as he is initiated into five *abhiṣekas*. A *śrāmaṇera* receives training in tenfold course and therefore, he is of the middling type. The *bhikṣu* attains the *abhiṣeka* first and holds the *vajra* and is, therefore, superior to others. If a teacher endowed with the qualities of a *bhikṣu* were available, he is the fittest object of reverence. He is revered even by the Buddhas.

While considering the qualities of a *tantric* teacher more stress is laid on his knowledge of the *mantras*. The *Paramārthasevātantra* affirms that a good *bhikṣu* is ten times superior in quality to his ordinary brethren, a teacher well-conversant with the application of the mantras is ten times greater than a *bhikṣu* by his excellence in chastity, meditation, friendliness and ability in establishing the real essence of the things of this world. None else than one who is free from all afflictions of the world can proceed on the Tantric path unhindered by the evils. In support of this, Jagaddarpaṇa quotes from different authorities like *Paramārthasevā Tantra*, *Sugatakarmajñāpaka tantra*, *Vairocanābhisambodhi Tantra*, *Paramādyamahāyoga Tantra*, *Sarvatathāgatapratiṣṭhāmahāyoga Tantra* and *Hevajrodbhavakurukullākalpa*, and brings home the point that a recluse or a *saṁnyāsin* has no right to obtain initiation into the Tantric rites. A real teacher is he who, apart from other qualities, doesn't live like a monk, doesn't shave his head but puts on decent clothes and attractive ornaments in sharp contrast to a recluse. Among other

1. laukika lokottarācāraṁ darśayatītyācāryaḥ. (*Kriyāsamuccaya*, Ms. A. Fol. 1b.)

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qualities are counted his knowledge of the purificatory rites, his kind disposition, forbearing attitude, pleasing humour, upkeep of all religious traditions, insight in the art of architecture and in the science of all *mantras*, his profound knowledge of astrology and his ability to select an auspicious plot for the construction of a *Stūpa* and for the installation of the idol of the Buddha.

While selecting a teacher of the Tantric rites, those who are old, fallen from the path of proper conduct, speaking with a harsh voice like a crow or with a nasal accent, should always be avoided. Others with an emaciated and frail body, of mottled skin, having a fiery temperament and wicked heart, following an evil profession and remaining constantly in the grip of ailments have to be abandoned. Persons with scanty knowledge, subsisting on the income from the temples, suffering from elephantiasis, wanting in clear speech, deaf, obese, having rough nails and coarse hair, working as actors, living as mere argumentators, acting as physicians, servants, farmers, having protruding teeth or goitre, should never be chosen as teachers. The Buddhas installed by such persons are never propitious and they bring annihilation to wealth, life and progeny. They bring evil even to the ruling king and to him who constructs or gets the *stūpa* erected. Such persons can be employed only in the evil acts.

The *Kriyāsaṁgraha* also describes in similar terms the requisites of an *ācārya*. He who is destitute of all compassion towards beings, indulges in calumniating others, hates the beings, is proud of his misknowledge, has no control over himself due to drinking, is given to self-praise, pinpoints the faults of others—such a teacher should be disregarded. A teacher should also banish such a student. A disciple who is endowed with devotion, wisdom, compassion, sobriety and mettle, and doesn't feel jealous of his fellow-beings and knows how to select a competent teacher, should always be preferred.

A teacher who is himself devoted, has knowledge and compassion, is well-grounded in the science of grammar, literature, prosody and astrology, knows the art of reading different tales, is conversant with several scripts and languages, has a discerning knowledge of the qualities of gems, gold, men, women, elephants and horses—upholds his title in every respect. The art of making perfumes, singing songs, playing on the musical instruments, proficiency in the sciences of medicine, magic, alchemy,

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weights and love, and a fair knowledge of the art of nail-drawing, all these combined can make an efficient teacher.

Other qualities like eloquence, cleverness in handling matters of absolute importance, experience, intelligence and energy, tolerance of the wise and sturdiness to withstand all bodily sufferings go to make a good teacher. A good teacher must have himself a great regard for a teacher, the *yogini*, the precepts of the Tantric religion and for the three gems the Buddha the Dharma and the Saṁgha. Strict adherence to the ten *pāramitās*, fearless disposition, modesty, exquisite knowledge of sketching a *Maṇḍala* for the installation of a deity, familiarity with the lengthy course of different rites, readiness to follow the order of a teacher, absolute regard for the teachings of a teacher and of the Sugata, keeping away from pinpointing the faults of one's fellow-men, disinterested friendliness towards all beings—add to the inimitable piety worthy of a great teacher. Virtuous is the teacher who doesn't go astray from the path of the Bodhi, doesn't malign the real Dharma and doesn't betray the secret of the sacred incantation, doesn't disobey the five *skandhas* and find fault with the Mahāyāna, doesn't weigh the righteous by the measure of pleasure and pain, and he who rises above all by repudiating the alms and attending upon the ordained. He should never further his cause by hating women and by disliking the magic lore.

Both Jagaddarpaṇa and Kuladatta have given an invaluable exposition of the qualities of a real Tantric teacher and have devoted sufficient space in their respective works to the description of a high degree of skill and proficiency expected of him. The account given by them is in itself very interesting and it attains a new meaning in the light of a long array of rites which are complicated in nature. The accompanying passages from both these works will further reveal the inner nature of these repositories of the Tantric rituals which have a strong *raison d'être* in the vast literature of the Buddhist Tantras.

KRIYĀSAMUCCHAYAḤ

Ms. A : fol. lb; Ms. B; fol. lb; Ms. P (Patna): lb: Ms. T. 134b 1. 5 :—

pratiṣṭhādikriyās sarvā
vajrācāryapuraḥsarāḥ/
tasmāl lokahitārthāya
tasya lakṣaṇam ucyate //5//

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tatrādau tāvad vajrācāryalakṣaṇam āha / laukikalokottarācāraṁ darśayatītyācāryaḥ / athavā, ārād dūraṃ pāpakebhyaḥ dharmebhyaś carati ity ācāryaḥ/nairuktena vidhinā sādhanīyaṃ/yad vā, vajramārgadeśaka ācāryo vajrācārya iti/vajraśabda-viśeṣaṇena trivajrābhedyatvaṁ pratipādyate/sa ca kathaṁ bhūtaḥ ?

lābhālābhayaśo 'yaśo virahito nindāpraśaṁsojjhitaḥ
śātāśātanirodhavardhitamatiś cotsāhayuktaḥ kṛtī/
kāruṇyākulamantranītirasiko nirmatsaro nispṛhas
tattvajño labdhapratiṣṭhamatimān ācāryarājas sadā//

sa cottamādibhedena trividho bhavati/tad yathā :—

ācāryas trividhas tantre yathoktaṁ saṁvarārṇave/
gṛhasthaḥ śrāmaṇerākhyo bhikṣuś ceti tridhā bhavet//
uttamo bhikṣu (2a)r ācāryo yasmād uktaṁ tathāgataiḥ/
madhyamaḥ śrāmaṇerākhyo grhasthas tvadhamo mataḥ//

sekapañcavidhaprāpto gṛhasthas tv adhamo mataḥ/
prāptadaśābhiṣeko hi śrāmaṇeras tu madhyamaḥ//
agrābhiṣekalabdho hi bhikṣur uttamavajradhṛk/
pañca-śikṣā-pada-prāpto daśa-śikṣā-padair yutaḥ/
koṭi-śikṣā-pada-prāpto na te tulyās trayas smṛtāḥ//

koṭi-śikṣeti paryantāvasthā śikṣaṇād yuganaddha-samādher abhyāsāt.

uttame vidyamāne tu nārādhyā anya-mantriṇaḥ/
satsu triṣv-eka-deśeṣu gṛhasthaḥ pūjyate yadā/
tadā buddhaś ca dharmaś ca saṁgho gacchaty agauravam/iti.

ata eva buddhādīnām api pūjyo' sau. taduktam-

abhiśekāgra-labdho hi vajrācāryas tathāgataiḥ/
daśa-dig-loka-dhātusthais trikālam ava vaṁdyate// iti.

yasmād agrābhiṣekalabdhas tasmād daśa-bhikṣusamaḥ. uktam paramārthasevāyām :—

bhrātṛdaśādhikyaguṇaḥ subhikṣuḥ
bhikṣor daśādhikyaguṇaḥ sumantrī//
śrībrahmacaryeṇa samādhinā ca
maitryādinā tattvasuniścayena//

śrībrahmacaryam iti,

śrībrahmacārī yuvatiprasaṁgī
tyāgī na dānasya sukhāgatasya/
viṣendra-bhoktā viṣatattvavādī
na vāpy abhoktā bhavati prasiddhaḥ//

tasmān mahāyāne 'grābhiṣekalabdho bhikṣur abhidhīyate, yataḥ prajñopāyayogena gurūpadeśata ānandādikrameṇa ca rāgādi-kleśa-bhedanād ayam paramārtha-bhikṣuḥ, ata eva mahā-

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yāne pañcavidho bhikṣuḥ paṭhyate—saṁjñābhikṣuḥ, bhikṣaṇaśīlo bhikṣuḥ, bhinna-paṭadhāritvād bhikṣuḥ, jñaptī-catuṣṭayopasampādito bhikṣuḥ, bhinnakleśo bhikṣuś ceti/ ata evoktaṃ bhagavatā :—

"bhikṣuṁ vajradharaṁ kuryād duṣṭa-tarjanatatparam", iti/

bhinnakleśa eva paraṁ duṣṭatarjanakṣamo bhavati, nānyaḥ/ ye tu jñapticatuṣṭayopasampāditā bhikṣavas te śrāvakasautrāntikacaryācāriṇaḥ/ teṣām atrādhikāra eva nāsti/ kutaḥ, hīnādhimuktikatvād abhavyās te/ ata evoktaṁ sugatakarmajñāpake :—

tasmāt satya-dvayaparigṛhītamūrtīnāṁ sakalapadārthaparicchedakāriṇām paramamahāsukhaphalābhilāṣiṇāṁ śrāvakasautrāntikacaryā na yuktā/ yataḥ śrāvakādayo hīnādhimuktikā vitarkka-caritā ātma-sādhana-rahita dāna-śīlādikriyāmārgārūḍhās tattvajñāne aśraddadhānā mokṣe dūrasaṁjñinaḥ, sukhopāyam anadhigamya dvādaśadhūtaguṇā (2b) di duṣkaracaryābhiś cirakālena bodhim anveṣayanti tathāpi na prāpnuvanti niṣpannakramādhigamarahitatvāt/ ata evoktam bhagavatā :—

bhikṣubhāve sthitā ye ca
ye ca tarke ratā narāḥ/
buddhabhāve sthitā ye ca
teṣāṁ tattvaṁ na deśayet//

vairocanābhisambodhitattve ca :—

upāyarahitaṃ jñānaṁ
śikṣā cāpi hi deśitā/
śrāvakāṇāṁ mahāvīra
avatārāya teṣu vai//

paramādyamahāyogatantre ca :—

duṣkarair niyamais tīvrair
mūrttiḥ śuṣyati duḥkhitā/
duḥkhād vikṣipyate cittaṁ
vikṣepāt siddhir anyathā//

paramārthasevāyām api :—

na śrīgurūrakta paṭāvṛtāṅgo
na śrīguruḥ khikhkhiri-pātra-hastaḥ/
na śrīgurur duḥkha-dayāṁśukūlo
na śrīguru pādapa-mūlavāsī//

ityādi vistaraḥ/ anyatr āpy uktaṃ :—

"nāsti saṁnyāsino dīkṣāyām adhikāraḥ" iti/"

tat kiṁ sarvathaiva nāsti bhikṣor adhikāraḥ ? nāsty anena kāraṇe (3a)na. mahāntaṁ savārtham paśyan yathā bhagavatā śrī śākyamuninā cakravartirūpeṇa mantranayacaryā pravartitā,

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tathā bhikṣor api śīladharasya cīrṇavratinaḥ sarvadharmamāyopamādhigatasya kāṣāyaparityāgacūḍākaraṇādikaṁ kārayitvā yathā paripāṭyā malodakābhiṣekādināabhiṣicya vidyā-vajracaryā-vratavyākaraṇāujñāśvāsaṃ yāvad dattvā vajradharaḥ kartavyaḥ/ tat kiṁ pūrvasaṁvarabhraṁśo na bhavet tasya ? na, uttarottara-śikṣaṇāt/ yathā upāsakaḥ śrāmaṇeraḥ kriyate, śrāmaṇero bhikṣuś ceti/ tasya kiṁ bhikṣubhāve sati upāsakādi-saṁvarābhāvo bhavet/ ato yadyevaṁ na syāt tarhi vītarāgarūpam apahāya parama-śṛṅgārādirasasamanvāgataṁ cakravarti-rūpam abhinirmāya rāgeṇaiva rāgaprahāṇārthaṁ mayā mantra-naya-caryā deśiteti bhagavato vacanam asaṁgataṁ syāt/ ato bhikṣu-rūpeṇa vajra-ghaṇṭā-dhāraṇam ayuktam3. yataḥ paramamahārāga-caryeyam bhikṣurūpatā ca vītarāga-caryetyayukteyam anenakāreṇa mantra-naya-caryā/ ata evoktam bhagavatā sarvatathāgatapratiṣṭhā-mahāyoga-tantre :

aṣṭāṅgulādikeśañ ca
vastrābharaṇañca maṇḍitam/
kṛtvā vajradharaḥ kāryo
bhikṣau vajradhare sati//

anyeṣāṁ niyamo nāstītyādi/ yadi vīta-rāga-rūpeṇaivātrādhikāras tarhi bhagavān kimartham evaṁvidhaṁ rūpa-nirmāṇaṁ darśayati/ api ca hevajrodbhava-kurukullākalpe coktam :—

"vivastram aśikhinañ ca
na kuryād īdṛśaṁ guruṁ
mudrā-siddhi-vināśinam"/ iti/

tasmād ye tāvad bhikṣurūpeṇa mantra-nayacaryāsu pravṛttā bhavanti, na taiḥ śrāvakādicaryā surakṣitā, na ca mantranayacaryeti/ata eva te ubhayasaṁvarabhraṁśāt tundila-surataprasaṅgavat kevalamindriya-laulyāt viṣaya-sukha-tṛṣṇayā khānapānādikaṁ kṛtvā nirayagāmino bhavanti/ tathā ca :—

vrataṁ yastu samāśritya
samyag no parirakṣati/
sa śīryamāṇamāṁsāsthiḥ
kukūle pacyate bhṛśam//

aparam api :—

anyad rūpam anyādṛśī kriyeti na ghaṭate/
yādṛśaṁ rūpaṁ tādṛśī paraṁ kriyā śobhate/

tathā ca :—

yā avasthāḥ prapadyeta
svayaṁ paravaśopi vā/

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tāsvavasthāsu yā śikṣāḥ
śikṣet tā eva yatnataḥ/ iti/
ācāryas sa tu vijñeyaḥ
śāntike pauṣṭikādiṣu/
prāsādiko lakṣaṇāḍhyo
daśatattvavicakṣaṇaḥ//
chommābhijñaḥ prasannātmā
sarvasamayapālakaḥ/
sarvaśilpakalābhijño
mantraśāstraviśāradaḥ//
vāra-tārādi kālajño
'nyathā syāllokagarhitaḥ/
pratiṣṭhāṁ tu prakurvīta
yatra rāṣṭre tu tatra vai/
syād vṛddhir vijayaḥ śāntir
ārogyaṁ dharmavardhanam//
anena sthāpitā buddhā
dhanāyuḥsukhadāyakāḥ/
kartā ca yaśasā lakṣmyā
putrapautraiḥ pravardhate//
pitaras tasya nandante
yāvat tiṣṭhanti devatāḥ/
tāvad yugasahasrāṇi
tuṣite sa mahīyate//
sthānasya devatāyāś ca
ciraṁ vṛddhiś ca jāyate/
atha śānti-karmādau
ye cānye tu vininditāḥ/
vṛddhāś ca samayabhraṣṭāḥ
kāka-svarānunāsikāḥ/
kṛśā vyaṅgā adhikāṅgāś ca
kubjā vāmana-khañjakāḥ/
vikṛtāḥ śabalā raudrāḥ
śaṭhāḥ krūrāḥ kuvṛttikāḥ//
pāpi-vyādhita-kiñcijjñā
devacchāyopajīvakāḥ/
vāk kaṇṭhā badhirāḥ sthūlāḥ
kunakhāś ca kumūrdhajāḥ/
sūcakās tārkikā vaidyāḥ
sevakāḥ kṛṣakās tathā/

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danturāḥ ślīpadāḥ sarve
cārbudā galagaṇḍakāḥ/
etais tu sthāpitā buddhā
dhanāyuḥputranāśakāḥ/
rāṣṭre rājño bhaved doṣaḥ
kartuḥ kārayitus tathā/
nārakās te samākhyātāḥ
kartur mṛtyupradās tathā/
tāṁs tu sarvān prayuñjīta
krūra-karmasu sarvadā//

iti maṇḍalācāryadarpaṇaviracite *kriyāsamuccaye* ācāryalakṣaṇa-vidhiḥ/

KRIYĀSAṀGRAHAḤ

Fol. Ms. A : Fol. 1b :

Tato vihārādikam abhidhātukāmo yajamāna ādau ācāryaṁ parīkṣayet. yas sattveṣu dayārahitaḥ parama-dharmabhedakaḥ sattvavidveṣī kujñānagarvito 'timadyair asaṁyata ātmapraśaṁsī paradoṣodbhāvakaḥ tam ācāryaṁ parityajet. gurur apy evaṁvidhaṁ śiṣyaṁ parityajet. yaḥ punaḥ śraddhā-prajñā-kṛpāvān akrodhano vīryavān sattvavān avisaṁvādakaḥ yuktyā guruparīkṣakaḥ tam evaṁvidhaṁ śiṣyaṁ anukūlayet. gurur yaś ca śraddhā prajñā-kṛpāvān vyākaraṇakāvyachandoviciti-jyotiṣa-śāstra-pravettā pravidita-kathāpāṭho nānādeśabhāṣā-maṇi-kanaka-puṁ-strī-gaja-vāji-lakṣaṇa-saṁvettā gandhālekhyā-gīta-vādya-nānāyudha-vaidyaken-drajāla-dhātuvāda-tulāśāstrajñaḥ, gītādikauśalo nakhacchedādi-śilpavān vidita-kāmaśāstrajñaḥ prājñasahiṣṇuḥ dakṣo vāgmī pragal-bhaḥ pratipattimān sadotsāhī kleśasahaḥ guru-yoginī-samaya-ratna-trayādiṣu bhaktimān daśapāramitāsakto vigatabhayaḥ dhṛtalajjaḥ pratiṣṭhā-maṇḍala-lekhana-nānākarma-prasara-nipuṇaḥ,guror ājñā-paripālana-tatparaḥ guroravajñā sugatājñā saṁlaṁghanaṁ, kopād bhrātṛ-doṣa-prakāśanaṁ sattveṣu maitrītyāgaḥ bodhicitta-tyāgaḥ, saddharma-nindā-guhyākhyānaṁ pañca-skandhāvajñā mahāyāna-vicikitsā duḥkha-sukhayor dharmakalpanā śraddhāvitta-pratikṣepo labdhasamayas sevā-strījugupsā-mūlāpattirahitas sattvācāryo bhavati/

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THE *KARAṆAVAIṢṆAVA* OF ŚAṄKARA

DAVID PINGREE

In the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts of largely jyotiṣa content gathered by David Eugene Smith and now deposited in the Butler Library of Columbia University in New York is to be found one of the half-dozen extant copies of the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* or *Siddhāntatattva* of Śaṅkara.[1] This manuscript is Smith Indic 144, a well written pustaka now consisting of ff. 1-23 and 28-51; but the scribe has noted on f. 1r that it originally contained 54 folia, and was copied in Saṁvat 1854, Śaka 1719=A.D. 1797.

The author of this karaṇa, Śaṅkara, was a student of Nandabhaṭṭa, who is otherwise unknown, and based his work on a siddhānta by one Viṣṇu[2], whence its name *Karaṇavaiṣṇava*. The epoch of the work is Thursday 1 śuklapakṣa of Vaiśākha in Śaka 1688=8May 1766 Gregorian. This information is gathered from I 1—5 (ff. 1v-2r) :

śrīdāmodarapādapadmayugalaṁ natvā ca vāgīśvarīṁ
sūryādīṁś ca khagān vidhiṁ gaṇapatiṁ śrīśaṅkaraṁ śaṅkaraḥ/
kurve daivavidāṁ hitāya karaṇaṁ siddhāntatattvopamaṁ
svalpaṁ vṛttavicitram arthasugamaṁ līlāvagamyaṁ sphuṭam//1//
śrīviṣṇuguptasya matānusāraṁ
sāraṁ prakurve'khilakheṭakarma/
tasmād idaṁ vaiṣṇavaśāstram agryaṁ

1. A list of the Smith Indic manuscripts will be found in D. Pingree, *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in the United States, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, NS 58, 3, Philadelphia 1968, pp. 5-9; see also H. Poleman, *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, American Oriental Series* 12, New Haven 1938, wherein the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* is number 4781. The other manuscripts of this work will be listed in D. Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A, Vol. 6.

2. This Viṣṇu may be he whose *Viṣṇukaraṇa* is preserved in Ms 9460 of the Scindia Oriental Institute in Ujjain, and in MSS 35300 and 37103 of the Sarasvatī Bhavana in Vārāṇasī. An udāharaṇa on this was composed by the well known Benares paṇḍit, Viśvanātha, in Śaka 1545=A.D. 1623. But this *Viṣṇukaraṇa* is probably identical with the *Sūryapakṣaśaraṇakaraṇa* composed by one Viṣṇu in Śaka 1530=A.D. 1608, on which also there exists a ṭīkā by Viśvanātha. And the *Sūryapakṣaśaraṇakaraṇa* cannot be identical with the siddhānta summarized by Śaṅkara as the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* belongs to the Brāhmapakṣa.

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śrīnandabhaṭṭasya guroḥ prasādāt//2//
gajabhujaṅgamabhūpaviyuk śako
raviguṇo madhuto gatamāsayuk/
pṛthag ataḥ svakhaśailalavānvitaḥ
surahṛtādhikamāsasamanvitaḥ//3//
khaguṇasaṅguṇito gataghasrayuk
karaṇavarṣakhasūryalavonitaḥ/
pṛthag ato'mbaravedasamanvito
jaladhiṣaṭkaphalāvamavarjitaḥ//4//
ahargaṇaḥ syād guruvārapūrvaḥ
śrīvaiṣṇavākhye karaṇe suramye/
śarābdhivedonaśakendrakālo
bhaktaḥ khatarkair ayanāṁśakāḥ syuḥ//5//

incidentally, 5c-d give a rule for computing the ayanāṁśa in which the rate of precession (or trepidation) is 1° in sixty years as in the system of "the followers of Āryabhaṭa", but refers to Śaka 445 (=A.D. 523) as the "date of coincidence" of the point of the vernal equinox and Aries 0° in the fixed Indian zodiac rather than the more common Śaka 444 (=A.D. 522).[1] The only other information given in the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* concerning its author is the fact that he was the son of Śukadeva Bhaṭṭa, recorded in the colophons to adhikāras I, II, VIII, XI and XV. But he may be identical with the Śaṅkara Kavi who wrote a ṭīkā on Bhāskara's *Karaṇakutūhala*; the unique manuscript, now in Poona, is dated Saṁvat 1802= A.D. 1745.

The adhikāras of the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava*, in so far as they are preserved in the Smith manuscript, are as follows :

I. madhyamādhikāra in 28 verses (ff. 1v-5v);
II. grahaspaṣṭādhikāra in 26 verses (ff. 5v-10r);
III. tripraśnādhikāra in 79 verses (ff. 10r-22r);
IV. <candragrahaṇādhikāra>; IV 10 ends on f. 23v and ff. 24-27 are missing;
V. <sūryagrahaṇādhikāra>;
VI. grahaṇadvayasya parilekhādhikāra in 10 verses (f. 28r begins in the middle of VI 4, and the adhikāra ends on f. 28v);
VII. udayāstādhikāra in 7 verses (ff. 28v-29v);

1. See D. Pingree, "Precession and Trepidation in Indian Astronomy Before A.D. 1200," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 3, 1972, 27-35, esp. 30-32.

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VIII. candra'ṛṅgonnatyadhikāra in 9 verses (ff. 29v-30v);
IX. grahayutyadhikāra in 7 verses (ff. 30v-31v);
X. nakṣatracchāyādhikāra in 16 verses (ff. 31v-34r);
XI. mahāpātasādhanādhikāra in 18 verses (ff. 34r-36v);
XII. sūkṣmanakṣatrānayanaṃ tathā saṅkramaṇāntarālas tathā tithyādīnāṁ sandhayas tathā sāyanasaṅkrāntis tathā ṛtupraveśādhikāra in 7 verses (ff. 36v-39v);
XIII. prakārāntareṇa madhyamagrahānayanādhikāra in 13 verses (ff. 39v-41v);
XIV. prakārāntareṇa śīghraphalānayanādhikāra in 10 verses (ff. 41v-44v);
XV. sāmānyata udayāstādhikāra in 12 verses (ff. 44v-46v);
XVI. miśrikādhikāra (f. 51v ends with XVI 23, and ff. 52-54 are missing).

The last verses that survive in the manuscript (XVI 21-23) indicate its connections with the *Karaṇakutūhala* of Bhāskara and the Brāhmapakṣa; the epoch of Bhāskara's work is 24 March 1183[1] (ff. 51r-51v):

trayodaśasahasrāṇi tattvonāni dvilakṣayuktāni/
vaiṣṇavakaraṇadyucaye' hargaṇe bhavati kutūhale karaṇe//21//
śailāṅgāṣṭagajābdhinandayamaśailāṅkendavo 'bdā gatā
vedābhrābdhirasāṣṭarāmaśaraśailāṅgāgnidasrā raveḥ/
māsātho 'dhikamāsakāḥ śarakhanandendvaṅgaṣaḍbhāny agā
gobhrāgnyaṣṭayugābhrarāmakhayugābdhyakṣīṇi māsā vidhoḥ//
22//
guṇayugāṣṭagajāśviyamāṅgabhṛt-
śarakṛtā girīśo 'vamavāsarāḥ/
bhayugakhāśviyamāṅgaguṇāṅg akha-
yamanagapramito dinasañcayaḥ //23//

The number of days between 24 March 1183 Julian and 8 May 1766 Gregorian is indeed 212,975. This is approximately equivalent to 583 nirayaṇa years. Since each year in the later Brāhmapakṣa contains 6,5;15,31,17,17 days,[2] in 583 such years there are 212,946 days, the difference between this number and that in the text is the 29 days of Caitra in Śaka 1688.

The numbers in verses 22-23 are the time-units elapsed since the beginning of the Kalpa:

1. The *Brahmatulyasāraṇī* used 23 February 1183 Julian, the beginning of Caitra; see *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables*, pp. 36a-37a. Śaṅkara, however, uses the date of the beginning of Vaiśākha.
2. See D. Pingree, "On the Classification of Indian Planetary Tables, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 1, 1970, 95-108, esp. 97-98.

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1,972,948,867	years;
23,675,386,404	saura months;
727,661,905	adhimāsas;
24,403,048,309	synodic months;
11,455,228,843	avamas; and
720,636,220,427	civil days.

Since Śaka 1688=Kali 4867, Kali 0=Kalpa 1,972,944,000; this last number of years, which is precisely 4,567 Kaliyugas, is the standard parameter of the older Brāhmapakṣa.[1] The number of saura months is simply 1,972,948,867. 1². The number of synodic months equals the difference between the revolutions of the Moon and those of the Sun; in a Kalpa there are, according to the older Brāhmapakṣa, 57,753,300,000 revolutions of the Moon or 53,433, 300,000 synodic months. In 1,972,948,867 years, then, there are 26,375,997,176 revolutions of the Moon and 24,403,048,309 synodic months. The number of adhimāsas is the difference between the synodic and the saura months. The number of tithis equals the number of synodic months multiplied by 30, or 732,091,449,270. The number of avamas in a Kalpa, according to the older Brāhmapakṣa, is 25,082,550,000. In 1,972,948,867 years, then, there are 11,455,228,947, but Śaṅkara has made a simple mistake in multiplication to get 11,455,228,843. The number of civil days is the difference between the tithis and the avamas. Had Śaṅkara used the year-length of the later Brāhmapakṣa—6,5;15,31,17,17 days—he would have found 720,636,720,820 civil days in 1,972, 948,867 years.

The adherence of the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* to the later Brāhmapakṣa is proved by the parameters for yearly mean motions given in a table on f. 50r[2] :

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
lord of the year	1;15,31,17,17 days	1;15,31,17,17 days
epact	11;3,53,22,47 tithis	
Moon	132;46,40,32°	132;46,40,32°
Lunar apogee	40;40,31,12	40;40,31,44
Lunar node	—19;21,33,38	—19;21,33,59,54

1. See D. Pingree, *The thousands of Abū Macshar, Studies of the Warburg Institute* 30, London 1968, p. 34.
2. I add the later Brāhmapakṣa's parameters as found in my article mentioned in fn. 5 above. The deviations in the cases of Lunar apogee and node remain unexplained.

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Mars	191;24,9,20	191;24,9,20,6
Mercury's śīghra	54;45,19,2	54;45,19,2,12
Jupiter	30;21,6,31	30;21,6,30,42
Venus' śīghra	225;11,53,49	225;11,53,48,36
Saturn	12;12,51,2<5>	12;12,51,25,12
saṁvatsara	361;1,23	
tithi	1;4,18	
nakṣatra	1;3,13	
yoga	1;2,14	

Further parameters for the mean motions of the planets are provided in I 6-8 and another table (ff. 2r-2v) :

ravau śūlinaḥ śailadasrāḥ śarākṣā
radāḥ syur vidhau khaṁ yamo gognayo 'rkāḥ/
vidhūcce 'gnayaḥ sāgarāḥ ṣaḍguṇāḥ khaṁ
bhuvas tatttvadasrau viyac candrapāte//6//
kuje 'śvā rasākṣīṇi devāḥ surāś ca
budhe trīṇi vedāḥ khabāṇāḥ pataṅgāḥ/
gurau trīṇi nandāśvino bhūdharāḥ khaṁ
sitocce rasāḥ khendavo bhāskarāḥ kham//7//
bhuvo gobhuvaḥ khāśvinaḥ khāgnayaś ca
śanau ceti rāśyādinā kṣepakeṇa/
dyupiṇḍodbhavaḥ svena yukto hi madhyo
dināveśakāle svapuryāṁ grahaḥ syāt//8//

The table iterates the epoch positions given above and adds the following mean daily motions expressed in minutes and seconds[1] :

Sun	59,8	Mercury's śīghra	245,32
Moon	790,35	Jupiter	5,0
Lunar apogee	6,41	Venus' śīghra	96,8
Lunar node	—3,11	Saturn	2,0
Mars	31,26		

The epoch mean longitudes themselves, expressed in terms of the Indian fixed zodiac for sunrise, may be compared (due allowance having been made) with the true tropical longitudes computed for noon of 9 April 1766[2] at Greenwich :

1. Cf. e g., table 26a of the *Makaranda* in *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables*, p. 43b.
2. The Sun's and Moon's positions indicate that Śaṅkara is giving the longitudes for the beginning of Caitra rather than of Vaiśākha.

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	mean sidereal	true tropical	differences
Sun	357;55,32°	18°	—22°
Moon	2;39,12	*ca.* 16	*ca.* —13
Lunar apogee	94;36,0		
Lunar node	—55;2,0	—35	—20
Mars	236;33,33	287	—50
Mercury's śīghra	94;50,12		
Mercury		35	
Jupiter	119;7,0	132	—13
Venus' śīghra	190;12,0		
Venus		358	
Saturn	49;20,30	63	—14

The prime meridian with reference to which these mean longitudes are given extends above the localities named in I 21-22 (f. 4v) :

laṅkā purī devasutāpurī ca
kāntī ca karṇāṭasitācalaś ca/
tataḥ paraṁ parjalivatsagulmam
atojjayinyā atha gargarāṭam//21//
tataḥ paraṁ cāśramam āṭavākhyaṁ
rohītakaṁ kṣetram ataḥ kurūṇām/
himālayaṁ śailavaraṁ sumeruḥ
kumadhyarekhottaradakṣiṇotthā//22//

In the second and fourteenth chapters are given the rules for computing the true longitudes of the planets. The longitudes of their apogees are given in II 1 (f. 5v) and in a table on f. 8r[1] :

raver mṛdūccaṁ gajaśailabhāgā
bhaumādikānāṁ navabhānavaś ca/
tattvāśvino rāmanagendavaś ca
kukuñjarāḥ kuñjararāmadasrāḥ//1//

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
Sun	78°	78°
Mars	129	128
Mercury	225	225

1. For the apogees in the Brāhmapakṣa see *The Thousands*, p. 50, where their positions in A.D. 622 are given; they will have moved very little in the ensuing millennium. Śaṅkara's longitude for Saturn's apogee is close to that of the Ārdharātrikapakṣa and of the Gaṇeśapakṣa, both of which place it at 240°.

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Jupiter	173	173
Venus	81	81
Saturn	238	261

The manda equations are given in terms of ratios which evidently must be multiplied by the Sine of the argument where R=24. These ratios are recorded in I 10 (f. 7r) and in the table on f. 8r :

sūryādīnāṁ mandakendrasya dorjyā
bhūvedādrīndvakṣibhūśailanighnā/
bhaktā rudrair gokubhiḥ pañcacandrair
vedair nandaiḥ ṣaṭkubhir dvyakṣibhiś ca//10//

The maximum equations derived from these ratios are as follows :

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
Sun	2 3/11≠2;17°	2;10,54°
Moon	5 1/19≠5;3	5;2,31
Mars	11 1/5=11;12	11;12,53
Mercury	6	6;3,38
Jupiter	5 1/3=5;20	5;15,47
Venus	1 1/2=1;30	1;31,50
Saturn	7 7/11≠7;38	7;38,35

In II 2 (ff. (4v-6r) and in the table on f. 8r are given the parākhyas, which are evidently sevenths of the circumferences of the śīghra epicycles :

dasrāgnayo 'ṣṭendavagomitāś ca
vedāgnayo bāṇamitāḥ parākhyāḥ/
bhaumādikānām atha cañcaloccaṁ
madhyo ravir jīvakujārkajānām//2//

The corresponding circumferences, in units of which there are 360 in the circumference of a circle, are :

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
Mars	224	243
Mercury	126	132
Jupiter	63	68
Venus	238	258
Saturn	35	40

The actual śīghra equations for intervals of 15° of argument are given as a set of tables on ff. 43r-44r. These tables consist of four columns each : the first gives the arguments for 0 to 12 intervals of 15°, the second gives the equations, the third the differences

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between entries in column two, and the fourth a multiple (different for each planet) of the entries in column three. I have added the appropriate multiplicand for column four after the name of each planet.

Mars (2)

0	0;0	+6;0	+12;0	7	37;15	+4;0!	+8;0!
1	6;0	+6;30	+13;0	8	41;15!	+0;15	+0;30
2	12;30	+6;30	+13;0	9	41;30	—3;15	—6;30
3	19;0	+5;0	+10;0	10	38;15	—14;45	—29;30
4	24;0	+5;0	+10;0	11	23;30	—23;30	—47;0
5	29;0	+4;45	+9;30	12	0;0	0;0	0;0
6	33;45	+3;30	+7;0				

Mercury (12)

0	0;0	+4;0	+48;0	7	22;0	+1;0	+12;0
1	4;0	+4;0	+48;0	8	23;0	—3;0	—36;0
2	8;0	+4;0	+48;0	9	20;0	—4;0	—48;0
3	12;0	+4;0	+48;0	10	16;0	—5;0	—60;0
						(—7;0	—84;0)
4	16;0	+3;0	+36;0	11	9;0	—9;0	—108;0
5	19;0	+2;0	+24;0	12	0;0	0;0	0;0
6	21;0	+1;0	+12;0				

Jupiter (4)

0	0;0	+2;20	+9;20	7	11;0	—0;20	—1;20
1	2;20	+2;20	+9;20	8	10;40	—1;40	—6;40
2	4;40	+2;20	+9;20	9	9;0	—2;20	—9;20
3	7;0	+1;30	+6;0	10	6;40	—3;20	—13;20
4	8;30	+1;30	+6;0	11	3;20	—3;20	—13;20
5	10;0	+1;0	+4;0	12	0;0	0;0	0;0
6	11;0	+0;0	+0;0				

Venus (2 1/2)

0	0;0	+6;15	+15;37	7	40;30	+4;15	+10;37
1	6;15	+6;45!	+16;52!	8	44;45	+2;0	+5;0
2	13;0!	+6;15	+15;37	9	46;45	—1;45	—4;22
3	19;15	+6;0	+15;0	10	45;0	—14;0	—35;0
4	25;15	+6;0	+15;0	11	31;0	—31;0	—77;30
5	31;15	+4;45	+11;52	12	0;0	0;0	0;0
6	36;0	+4;30	+11;15				

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Saturn (4)

0	0;0	+1;20	+5;20	7	6;6	—0;21	—1;24
1	1;20	+1;20	+5;20	8	5;45	—1;0	—4;0
2	2;40	+1;20	+5;20	9	4;45	—1;15	—5;0
3	4;0	+1;0	+4;0	10	3;30	—1;50	—7;20
4	5;0	+0;48	+3;12	11	1;40	—1;40	—6;40
5	5;48	+0;32	+2;8	12	0;0	0;0	0;0
6	6;20	—0;14	—0;56				

Finally, the śīghra anomalies necessary for the occurrences of the planets' first and last visibilities and first and second stations are given in II 21-22 (f. 9r) and in tables on f. 9v :

kendrāṁśair agnibhūpaiḥ śaramanubhiriśu-
dvīndubhiḥ pañcabhūpair
vahniśair vakratā syāt kharasaguṇaviśu-
ddhair lavair mārgatā ca/
bhaumāc cātho 'śvidevaiḥ śaratithibhirasā-
bdhyagnibhiḥ parvatādri-
candrair agnyabdhirāmair varuṇaharidig-
astodayau bhāṁśaśuddhaiḥ//21//
jñaśukrayor mārgagayos tadāśu
kendrāṁśakaiḥ khākṣamitair jinaiś ca/
toyodgamas tadrahitaiś ca bhāṁśaiḥ
pūrvāstam eti pravadanti tajjñāḥ//22//

I compress the six short tables into one[1] :

	first visibility	first station	second station	last visibility
Mars	28°	163°	197°	332°
Mercury	205(E) 50(W)	145	215	310(E) 155(W)
Jupiter	14	125	235	346
Venus	183(E) 24(W)	165	195	336(E) 177(W)
Saturn	17	113	247	343

A table giving the kalāṁśas or equatorial degrees that each planet must be distant from the Sun in order to be visible is found on f. 28v :

Moon	12;20°	Jupiter	11;11°
Mars	19;30	Venus	9;25
Mercury	13;36	Saturn	15;9

The last aspect of the planetary theory of the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* that we shall describe in this paper is that on latitude. The longi-

1. Cf., e.g., D. Pingree, *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables*, p. 17a.

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tudes of the nodes, subtracted from 360°, are given in III 51 (f. 17r) and in a table on f. 17v[1] :

atha pravakṣye kusutādikānāṁ
pātān śiveśāṅkadigaṣṭarāśayaḥ/
bhāgāṣṭagoṣṭābhram agendavaś ca
te saṁskṛtāḥ svāśu phalair vilomaiḥ//51//

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
Mars	338° (22°)	21;54°
Mercury	339 (21)	21;11
Jupiter	278 (82)	82;1
Venus	300 (60)	59;47
Saturn	257 (103)	103;12

The maximum latitudes in units of 0;3° are given in III 52 (ff. 17r-17v) and in the table on f. 17v[2] :

mandābhyāṁ bhṛgusaumyayor atha kujād bāṇāṅgulāni kramāt
ṣaḍrāmā śaśisāyakāḥ śarayamā bāṇābdhayas tryabdhayaḥ/
pātāḍhyāt khacarāt tathā jñasitayoḥ śīghroccato dorjyakā
bāṇaghnī calakarṇahṛc ca nakhahṛt syād aṁśakādyaḥ śaraḥ//52//

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava	Brāhmapakṣa
Mars	36 (1;48°)	1;50°
Mercury	51 (2;33)	2;32
Jupiter	25 (1;15)	1;16
Venus	45 (2;15)	2;16
Saturn	43 (2;9)	2;10

A table on f. 18r gives the latitude of the Moon in units of 0;5° at intervals of 15° of argument; a third column gives the differences. I add a fourth giving the degrees equivalent to the entries in column two. The maximum latitude—4;30°—is the standard Indian value.

0	0	14	0°
1	14	13	1;10
2	27	11	2;15
3	38	9	3;10
4	47	5	3;55
5	52	2	4;20
6	54	0	4;30

1. See D. Pingree, "The Fragments of the Works of Yacqūb ibn Ṭāriq, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27, 1968, 97-125, esp. 100, where the longitudes of the nodes are computed for A.D. 632.
2. See D. Pingree, The *Paitāmahasiddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Brahmavidyā* 31-32, 1967-68, 472-510, esp. 485.

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We have seen previously that a Sine-table in which R=24 was used by Śaṅkara; he gives in III 27-28 (ff. 13v-14r) and in a table on f. 14r a bṛhajjyā table in which R=700; the intervals of argument are 5° :

kutarkāḥ kusūryāḥ kunāgendavo 'ṅka-
tridasrā rasāṅkāśvinaḥ khesurāmāḥ/
kuśūnyābdhayaḥ kheṣuvedāḥ śarāṅka-
yugāḥ ṣaḍguṇākṣās triśaileṣavaś ca//27//
nagābhrartavo vedarāmartavaś ca
gajeṣvartavas tarkaśailartavaś ca/
navāṣṭartavaḥ śailanandartavaś ca
khaśūnyādrayaḥ syur bṛhajjyārdhapiṇḍāḥ//28//

The third column in the table as usual gives the differences; in a fourth I add the corresponding entries in a modern sine-table (R=1) multiplied by 700.

0	0	61	0	10	536	37	536.228
1	61	60	61.012	11	573	34	573.405
2	121	60	121.555	12	607	27	606.221
3	181	58	181.174	13	634	24	634.417
4	239	57	239.414	14	658	18	657.783
5	296	54	295.834	15	676	13	676.151
6	350	51	350.000	16	689	8	689.367
7	401	49	401.506	17	697	3	697.333
8	450	45	449.953	18	700	0	700.000
9	495	41	494.977				

This table is used in III 31 (ff. 14r-14v) and in a table on f. 14v for the declination of the Sun :

dvyagāḥ khaśakrāḥ khanakhādrisiddhā
vasvadrinetrā vasunāgadasrāḥ/
syuḥ krāntipiṇḍā ayanāṁśayukta-
khetasya dorbhāgamitir vibhaktāḥ//31//

In the table, which is for intervals of 15° of argument, the third column again lists the differences; I add a fourth giving the corresponding degrees.

0	0	72	0°
1	72	68	5;55
2	140	60	11;35
3	200	47	16;38
4	247	31	20;42
5	278	10	23;25
6	288	0	24;18

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The final bit of information which should be recorded here from the *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* is its table of the longitudes and latitudes of the yogatārās of the 28 nakṣatras and of six other fixed stars (ff. 32v-33r). Beside each entry I give the corresponding entries in Bhāskara's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*.[1]

	Karaṇavaiṣṇava		*Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*	
Aśvinī	8°	10°N	8°	10°N
Bharaṇī	21	8N	20	12N
Kṛttikā	38	5N	37;28	4;30N
Rohiṇī	50	5S	49;28	4;30S
Mṛgaśiras	62	10S	63	10S
Ārdrā	66	11S	67	11S
Punarvasu	94	6N	93	6N
Puṣya	106	0	106	0
Āśleṣā	108	7S	108	7S
Maghā	129	0	129	0
Pūrvaphālgunī	147	<1> 2N	147	12N
Uttaraphālgunī	155	13N	155	13N
Hasta	169	11S	170	11S
Citrā	183	2S	183	1;45S
Svāti	199	37N	199	37N
Viśākhā	219	1S	212;5	1;20S
Anurādhā	224	2S	224;5	1;45S
Jyeṣṭhā	230	3S	229;5	3;30S
Mūla	242	8S	241	8;30S
Pūrvāṣāḍhā	255	5S	254	5;20S
Uttarāṣāḍhā	261	5S	260	5S
Abhijit	258	62N	265	62N
Śravaṇa	275	30N	278	30N
Dhaniṣṭhā	286	35N	290	36N
Śatabhiṣaj	321	0	320	0;20S
Pūrvabhādrapadā	325	14N	326	24N
Uttarabhādrapadā	337	27N	337	26N
Revatī	0	0	0	0
Prajāpati (Brahmā)	61	39 <N>	57	38N
Lubdhaka	51	40N (S)	86	40S

1. Gaṇitādhyāya, Bhagrahayutyadhikāra 1-7. These positions are almost completely identical with those in the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta; see The *Paitāmahasiddhānta*, 508-509.

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Agni	43	8S	52	8S
Brahmahṛt	56	31N	52	30N
Agastya	80	76S	87	77S
Apāvaśya (Apāṁvatsa)	183	3N	186	5N

Clearly Śaṅkara's importance does not lie in the novelty of his system, but rather in the simple fact that he wrote one of the last, if not the very last, karaṇa in which no external influences, whether Islamic or European, are discernible. His composition of it and his competence displayed in it attest to the lingering vitality of the tradition of jyotiḥśāstra in the late eighteenth century. The *Karaṇavaiṣṇava* stands at the end of the long history of the Brāhmapakṣa, whose origins can be traced back to the early fifth century A.D.

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DIRECT LINES OF ASTRONOMICAL TRADITION IN KERALA

K. V. Sarma

The importance of the transmission of knowledge from teacher to disciple is a characteristic feature of all civilisations during early times. Perhaps, it is more apparent and insisted upon in Indian tradition than elsewhere. Knowledge from the teacher's mouth (*ācāryamukha*) was the order of the day. Indeed, at a time when printing was unknown and books were scarce, this was a necessity. While it was possible for literature and philosophy to be imbibed, to a considerable measure, by self-study, there were subjects like music and medicine, which demanded practice and demonstration, making direct instruction essential. The discipline of astronomy falls under this category. Constant observation of the heavenly bodies, understanding of their motions by the use of the armillary sphere, deriving their positions by means of calculation and experimentation, enunciation of corrections to correlate computation with observation—all these required sustained personal instruction for a length of time, with the result that generations of dedicated teachers and pupils often fused into continuous chains.

In Kerala, that rather secluded narrow coastal strip of land in the southern tip of India, there developed some significant methodologies in astronomy and mathematics and more than one school of astronomical computation. It is interesting to learn about the several hereditory and other lines of astronomical tradition, prevalent in Kerala, more or less the nature of the *akhārās* for physical training and *gharānas* for practical music in North India.

The details of one such line of astronomical scholars is contained in an old palm-leaf document written in Malayalam script at the end of a manuscript of a Malayalam commentary of *Sūrya-siddhānta* preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda (No. 9886).

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This document which is undated and is composed in Malayalam and Sanskrit, gives information about a continuous line of scholars from Govinda Bhattatiri (born A.D. 1237) to Acyuta Piṣāraṭi (died 1621). The said document is reproduced here, with just the addition of indicatory numbers to the astronomers enumerated.

1. Govindan Talakkuḷattūr Bhattatiri. *rakṣet govindam arkaḥ* ennu addehattinte jananakali. Keraleśvara-samipattu illam ākunnu.
2. Putumana-c-comātiri *Karaṇapaddhati*-karttā.
3. Parameśvaran Vaṭaśśeri Nampūri. Nilāyās saumya-tīrasthaḥ Parameśvaraḥ. ayam eva śakābdasaṁskāra-karttā.
4. Asya tanayo Dāmodaraḥ.
5. Asya śiṣyo Nīlakaṇṭhasomayājī. Iddeham *Tantrasaṅgraham Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣyaṁ* mutalāya granthannaḷkku kartāvākunnu. '*Lakṣmīśanihitadhyānaiḥ* ityasya kalinā kālanirṇṇayaḥ.
6. Pūrvoktasya Dāmodarasya śiṣyaḥ Jyeṣṭhadevaḥ. Iddeham Paraṅkoṭṭu nampūriyākunnu. *Yuktibhāṣā*-granthatte uṇṭākkiyatum iddeham tanne.
7. Jyeṣṭhadevante śiṣyan Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr Acyuta Piṣāraṭi. Iddeham *Sphuṭanirṇṇayam*, *Goladīpikā* mutalāya grantha-karttāvākunnu.
8. Acyuta Piṣāraṭiyute śiṣyan Meluputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri Iddeham *Nārāyaṇīyam*, *Sarvvasvam* mutalāya granthannaḷkku karttā. *Āyurārogyasaukhyam* ityādikalinā kālanirṇṇayaḥ.
9. Mādhavan Ilaññippalli Emprān *Veṇvāroham*, *Muhūrttamādhavīyam*, *Praśnamādhavīyam* mutalāya granthannaḷkkum, *Aganitapañcāgattinum* karttāvākunnu.
10. Brahma-Sūrya-Vasiṣṭha-Romaśa-Pauliśāḥ pañca Siddnāntakarttāraḥ.
11. Mayo'pi *Sūryasiddhāntasya* praṣṭṛtvāt karttā.
12. Garggaḥ eteṣām samānakakṣyatvāt so' pi pūjyatamaḥ.
13. Śrīpatiḥ *Siddhāntaśekhara*-*Śrīpatipaddhatyādīnām* karttā.
14. Lallaḥ *Śiṣyadhīvṛddhidam* iti prasiddhasya tantrasya karttā.
15. Muñjālako *Mānasa*-karttā. *Mānasam* eva *Laghumānasam*.
16. Govindo *Muhūrtaratnādīnām* karttā.
17. Parameśvaraḥ *Dṛggaṇita*-karttā. Iti śrutam mayā."

Items 1-9 and 16-17 in this document refer to Kerala astronomers and its trustworthiness has been attested to by the details mentioned therein having been confirmed, except for a point or two, by evidences mostly contained in the works referred to in the

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document.[1] The document informs us that the date of Govinda Bhaṭṭatiri, author of *Muhūrtaratna*, is Kali day *rakṣet Govindam arkaḥ* (1564362, in A.D. 1237). Parameśvara, the Vaṭaśśeri Nampūri, author of *Dṛggaṇita*, is the father of Dāmodara. Dāmodara's pupil was Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī, who wrote the *Tantrasaṅgraha*, *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya* and other works. His pupil was Jyeṣṭhadeva, was the author of *Yuktibhāṣā*. His pupil was Acyuta Piṣāraṭi who wrote the *Sphuṭanirṇaya* and other works. This genealogy, as set down below with the dates and some links supplied from other sources, may be seen to cover a span of nearly 400 years : Govinda Bhaṭṭatiri (1237-95)→pupil : Grandfather of Parameśvara[2] (13th-14th cent.) →grandson-pupil : Parameśvara (*c.* 1360-1455)→son : Dāmodara (15th cent.)→pupil : Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī (1443-1545)→pupil : Jyeṣṭhadeva (1500-1600)→pupil : Acyuta Piṣāraṭi (1500-1621).

An eighteenth century astronomer Kṛṣṇadāsa (Mal. Kṛṣṇan Āśān), author of a *Pañcabodha*, a *Jātakapaddhati*, a commentary of the *Daśagītisūtra* of the *Āryabhaṭīya* etc., all in Malayalam, gives in his work entitled *Āranmuḷa-vilāsa*, the genealogy of his teachers, right from Acyuta Piṣāraṭi, in the following lines :

Rāman ennellāṭavum viśrutanāyiṭṭabhi-
rāmanāmāśāsitāvennuḷḷa kīrttiyoṭum/
guru-daivajñanmārkkum gurubhūtanām ente
guruvām pitāvinṭe caraṇāmbujam vande//
guruvin guru Vyāghramukhamandiravāsi
gurukāruṇyaśāli tanneyum vaṇaṅṅunnen
tadgurubhūtanāyiṭṭetrayum manīṣiyāy
hṛdgatabhāvajñanāy gaṇita-tattvajñanāy/
tāzhāta kīrttiyoṭum Nāvāyikkuḷattuḷḷor
Āzhātipravaranām guruve vandikkunnen//
Āyavan tanṭe gurubhūtanāyuḷḷa deham
āyatamatikaḷāl pūjitan āyuḷḷavan/

1. See K. V. Sarma, 'Oru jyotiṣa-granthavari', *Mathrubhūmi*, (Malayalam Weekly, Kozhikode), 19-5-1957.
2. For this relationship, see Parameśvara's own words towards the beginning of his commentary on the *Muhūrtaratna* of Govinda :

Govindapūjyapādena kṛpāsaṁsiktacetasā /
muhūrtāgamadugdhābdheḥ Muhūrtamaṇir uddhṛtaḥ /
tasmiṁs tacchiṣyapautreṇa kiyāṁścid Paramādinā /
bhāgo vivriyate svalpam Īśvareṇa yathāśrutam //

(Ms. Kerala Univ. Mss. Lib. T. 144)

(Parama-ādi Īśvara=Parameśvara)

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Kolattunāṭṭu Tṛppāṇikkare Potuvāla-
kkālattegguruvaranmāril vaccagresaran/
ennuṭe guruvinṭe guruvin gurubhūtan
tannuṭe guruvākum tapadam vaṇaṅṅunnen//
Potuvāḷinte guruv-Acyuta Piṣāraṭi-
yatimānuṣan avan sakalavidyātmakan/
anpattimūnnu vayassiraṭṭiyirunnuḷḷa
Melputtūr Paṭṭerikkum guruvāyirunnavan//
tannuṭe padapadmayugaḷam viśeṣiccum
ennuṭe manakkāmpil santatam ninaykkunnen//[1]

The above lineage, which extends to more than 250 years, may be represented as follows, with the addition of the dates of the authors as known from other sources : Acyuta Piṣāraṭi (1550-1621) → pupil : Tṛppāṇikkara Potuvāḷ (17th cent.)→pupil : Nāvāykkuḷattu Āzhāti (17th cent.) →pupil : Pulimukhattu (Vyāghramukha) Poṭṭi (1686-1758)→pupil : Rāman Āśān (18th cent.)→son-pupil : Kṛṣṇadāsa (Kṛṣṇan Āśān) (1756-1812).

The above line of astronomers continues further as follows : Kṛṣṇadāsa (1756-1812)→pupil : Dakṣiṇāmūrti Mūssatu of Maṅgalaśśeri, in Āranmula (18th-19th cent.)→pupil : Bālarāman Piḷḷa of Nālekāṭṭil family of Mānnār (19th cent.)→pupil : Prince Rājarāja Varma (Vidvān Karīndran Ceruṇṇi Koyittampurān of Kiḷimānūr) (1812-46).[2]

The three tables set out above, together form, in fact, one continuous chain of astronomers, whose period extends over six centuries, from 1237 to 1846. It is possible to identify in the annals of Kerala astronomy several shorter lines of teacher-pupil succession and instances of direct and indirect patronage to this set-up. If Kerala has made any impact in the history of Indian astronomy during the mediaeval times, due credit for this distinction has to be given to the academic succession of the exponents of this discipline.

1. See K. Śaṅkara Menon, Intro. to his edition of the *Bhāṣājātakapaddhati*, (Trivandrum, M.E. 1101); Ulloor S. Parameśvara Aiyar, *Kerala Sāhitya Charitram*, vol. II, (Trivandrum, 1954), pp. 321-22.
2. Ibid.

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THE ANONYMOUS SVATVA-VICĀRA : A LEGAL STUDY BY A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LOGICIAN

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

The work which is published for the first time below was translated by me with an introduction and notes at *B. S. O. A. S.* 18/3 (1956), pp. 475-498. In the interval I drew attention to another work in the short series of treatments of Property, the *Svatva-rahasya*, in the Centenary Volume of the *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras, pp. 42-48. About half a dozen treatments of Property exist, most of them unpublished, as explained in those articles. There is also the Svatva-janakatā-vāda to be found in the *Vādavāridhi*, published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (pp. 34-5). In order to obtain a better idea of the date of these works it is desirable to place them together and compare the development of ideas; but before that can be done all must be published. Perhaps Dr. Herambanatha Chatterjee Sastri, who has developed a reputation in this rather special field where dharmaśāstra and *navya-nyāya* overlap, may further this branch of study amongst his students ?

The date of this present work is evidently earlier than the flowering of the *navya-nyāya* techniques in the field, as exemplified in the *Svatva-rahasya*. A work called *Svatva-vicāra* is in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library (8/128) and it is dated 1693. I was not able to consult that text. The present edition is based on I. O. L. Skt. MS. 861 (Egg. 1538) and Asiatic Soc. Bengal MS I. B. 26.

Now that readers have the Sanskrit text in their hands they will be able to form their own impression of my translation. Since I published that I have changed my mind about certain passages. At p. 487 n. 6 I would draw attention to Medhātithi on Manu IV. 226, VIII. 197 and XI, 11 (12). At p. 488 n. 7 I would refer to Yājñavalkya cited in the *Vivāda-ratnākara* and the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi*, text 192 at p. 48 of Jha's translation of the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇī*. At p. 489, text to notes 2-5 I should experiment with an alternative rendering : 'It is indeed incorrect to ask why we require the consent of all...whereas the requirement of the consent of all presuppo-

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ses that (according to our view) all have property in the whole, for this rule is based on a text, as is the case of the consent of neighbours to a sale of land. For when the matter is logical there is no text, and if the matter were logical, etc.' At pp. 490-1, the last sentence onwards on p. 490, I would experiment with an alternative rendering, 'If one said that it would be going much too far to posit as the cause the death of the *grandfather* merely on the ground that there must be an exception in the nature of an anomaly when the Property of a son takes place as a result of acceptance, purchase, etc., in view of his capacity to be a transferee of an item sold, etc., by his father, I entirely agree, for when, during the grandfather's lifetime, Property is produced in a son born after the father's death, it is universally established that that very relationship of cause and effect (produces) the property in all items created after the death of the said grandfather on the part of the said grandson. Moreover, there is fear of an anomaly by positing a relationship of cause and effect in the manner previously mentioned. No...' At p. 494, the last sentence of (2) : 'Moreover, your view that knowledge that 'this is mine' manifests property is in conflict with the Mīmāṁsā.' In VII perhaps 'an unseen factor' is better than 'the supernatural'.

These works, for all their technicality, have a special call on Sanskritists' attention. This is the field (along with Marriage) in which the logicians applied themselves to factually verifiable topics. Yet, if they ventured into law, they had to use texts. Many of these texts were of doubtful meaning, since contact with the societies in which they first appeared had long been lost. Jurists used their work, for Mitra Miśra and others show an awareness of this kind of investigation. There is no reason to doubt but that jurists encouraged these studies in order to produce generalised propositions which could serve to throw light upon new problems, for which the *smṛti* texts alone could not be relied upon. Colebrooke found Bengali jurists fully persuaded that this class of research was valid for the furtherance of legal research. It is the coincidence of a theoretical enquiry, divorced from practical needs, with the practical urgencies of the jurists which produced this rather difficult literature, and it deserves to be rescued. A comprehensive, serial, treatment along the lines I suggested in 1956-7, is a desideratum. It is sad that the British period ultimately, though indirectly, put an end to such discussions : but they have an educational value and should not be allowed to slide into oblivion.

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SVATVA-VICĀRA

1. atha svatvaṁ nirūpyate. tatra "caitrasyedaṁ dhanaṁ na maitrasya" ityādi-pratyayāt svatvaṁ padārtha-viśeṣa iti bahavaḥ. "mamedam" iti jñāna-viśeṣa-janya-saṁskāra iti tu navyāḥ.

2. tatra svatvaṁ prati kvacit krayaṇasya, kvacit pratigrahasya, kvacit pūrvādhikāriṇaḥ maraṇa-sannyāsa-grahaṇa-pātityānāṁ, kvacit tyaktavastūpādānasya ca hetutvam.

3. para-svatvāspad-bhūta-dravye cauryasyāpi hetutvam ityapi kaścit. "kāraṇatvaṁ tṛṇāraṇi-maṇi[1]-nyāyena; anyathā krayaṇaṁ vināpi pratigrahādinā svatvotpādād vyabhicārāpatteḥ. tathā ca svatvāvyavahitottara[2]-svatvaṁ prati teṣāṁ hetutvam. tatra cauryāpahṛta-dravyasya caureṇa dāne vikraye vā kṛte uttarādhikāriṇaḥ svatvaṁ siddhyatyeva, kintu kartā pratyavaitīti Dāyabhāga-kāraprabhṛtayaḥ." atra vivadante bahavaḥ. svatvavati svatvānutpatteḥ katham ekasya puṁsaḥ svatvavaty aparasvatvotpādaḥ ? kathaṁ vāhṛta-dravyasya pūrva-svāmi-grahaṇe vinā caurānumatiṁ pūrva-svāmino na pratyavāyaḥ ? na ca cauryam eva pūrva-svāmi-svatvanāśakaṁ, mānābhāvāt, dvitīya-doṣānuddhārāc ceti.

4 (i). atra ca pitṛ-maraṇāditaḥ tat-svatvāspadī-bhūta-yāvad-dravye sakala-putrāṇāṁ svatvaṁ jāyate. teṣāṁ vibhāgottara-tādṛśa-svatva-nāśānantaraṁ tat-tad-dravya eva tat-tat-putrasya guṭikāpātādes tu svatva-janakatvam iti bahavaḥ. anye tu guṭikā-pātanaṁ tat-tat-svatva-vyañjakaṁ, na tūtpādakam. tathā ca pitṛ-maraṇādito vastu-gatyā vibhāgānantaraṁ yad dravye yasya svatvaṁ bhavati tatraiva tasya svatvaṁ jāyate, na tu sarvatra sarveṣām iti. na ca tarhi yat-kiñcid-dravyasya dānādau sarveṣām anumatiḥ katham apekṣitā, asman mate tu sarvatra sarveṣāṁ svatvam astīti sarvānumater apekṣeti vācyam, bhū-vikraye pārśva-vartyudāsīna-saṁmativat tasya vācanikatvāt; api ca nyāyaprāpte 'rthe vacanābhāvāt, tadarthasya nyāye tādṛśa-vacana-vaiphalyāc ca.

(ii). pitrupārjita-dhana eva putra-svatvaṁ prati pitṛ-maraṇasya hetutvam. pitāmaha-dhane tu pitari jīvatyapi putra-svatvotpādaḥ, "tatra syāt sadṛśaṁ svāmyam pituḥ putrasya cobhayoḥ" iti vacanāt. ata eva pitāmaha-dhane putrasya pitrā saha vibhāgo 'py uktaḥ. kiñca jīvati pitari tatra dhane putrasya svatvānutpāde tādṛśa-dhanasya dāna-vikraye putra-saṁmater apekṣā na syāt. na ca tat-puruṣīya-svatvaṁ prati tad-anya-puruṣīya-svatvasya pratibandha-

1. MS I.0.861 reads tṛnāraṇi.
2. MSS : sva-svāvyav.

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katve katham pituḥ svatvavaty aparasya svatvotpāda iti vācyam. pūrvādhikāriṇo dānavikrayasyottarādhikāri-svatvaṁ prati viśiṣya hetutve siddhe, kṛtam etādṛśa-pratibandhya-pratibandhaka-bhāva-kalpaneneti. api ca tādṛśapratibandhya-pratibandhaka-bhāvasya prāmāṇikatve svāmi-svatvavati dhane patnī-svatvotpādo na syāt. na ca tad-dhane patnī-svatvotpāda eva mānābhāva iti vācyam, "dampatyor madhyagaṁ dhanam" iti śruies tad-dhane patnī-svatva-siddheḥ. *madhyagam* avibhājyam, vibhāgānarham iti yāvat. tathā ca tādṛśa-dhane patnyāḥ svatvānutpāde 'vibhājyatvasya pradarśanaṁ kim iti kṛtam ?

(iii) na ca tarhi pitṛ-svatvāspadībhūta-dhane putra-svatvaṁ prati pitṛ-maraṇasya hetutva-bhaṅgaḥ syād iti vācyam. pitṛ-dattavikrīta[1]padārthasyottarādhikāritvāt pratigraha-krayādi-janya-putra-svatvasyāpādād vyabhicārātmakoddhāraḥ syād iti pitāmaha-maraṇasya hetutvakalpanam eva mahāgauravam iti cet, satyam, pitāmahe jīvati pitṛ-maraṇottara-jāyamāna-putra-svatvotpāde tādṛśa-pautrasya tādṛśa-pitāmaha-maraṇottara-jāyamāna-tat-tad-dhana-svatvaṁ prati tādṛśa-hetu-hetumad[2]-bhāvasya sakalatvābhisiddhatvāt. kiñca pūrvokta-yuktyā hetu-hetumad[3]-bhāva-kalpanena vyabhicārāśaṅketi. tad asat, tat-puruṣīya-svatvaṁ prati tad-anya-puruṣīya-svatvatvena pratibandhakatvāt. na cokta-krameṇa pitṛ-maraṇāder hetu-hetumad-bhāve kṛtaṁ tādṛśa-pratibandhya-pratibandhaka-bhāvādareṇeti vācyam, pituḥ pātityasya tat-sannyāsa-grahaṇasya viśiṣṭa-hetutve mahāgauravam iti lāghavāt. tat svatvāvacchinnābhāvatvena hetutvam iti.

(iv). na ca tarhi svāmi-svatvavati dhane kathaṁ patnī-svatvotpāda iti vācyam, svāmi-dhane patnī-svatvānutpādāt. anyathā pitṛ-maraṇottaraṁ mātari jīvantyāṁ putra-svatvānutpāda-prasaṅgāt tat-puruṣīya-svatvaṁ prati tad-anya-puruṣīya-svatvatvena pratibandhakatvāt. na ca svāmi-maraṇasya patnī-svatva-nāśaṁ prati hetutvam, mānābhāvāt, tathā-kalpane 'tigauravāc ca. tarhi "dampatyor madhyagaṁ dhanam" ity atra kā gatir iti cet, satyam, strī-dhane strī-svatva-sattve 'vivādāt, tatra ca svāmino 'pi svatvaṁ tiṣṭhati, strīṣu svāmi-svatva-sattvāt. tādṛśa-dhanasyaivāvibhājyatvam iti kṛtaṁ pallavitena.

5 (i). pratigrahasya svatvotpādakatvam iti mataṁ keṣāṁścit: tan na ramaṇīyam. tathā sati kāśi-sthaṁ puruṣam uddiśyātra kenacid dāne tādṛśa-dhane tasya svīkārābhāvena svatvānutpādād asvā-

1. MSS : pitṛ-vikrīta.
2. MSS : hetu-sad.
3. MSS : hetu-sad.

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mikam eva tad-dhanaṁ syāt. tathā ca tad-dhanāpahāre pratyavāyo na syād iti. atha tatra pūrvādhikāriṇā tyāgārha-svatvasya nāśaḥ; rakṣaṇāvekṣaṇopasāmānya-svatvaṁ tu vartata eva. anyathā yam uddiśya tad-dhanaṁ pūrvādhikāriṇā tyajyate, tad-anyena tādṛśa-dhanasyāpahāra-karaṇe tad-anyasya pūrvādhikāriṇā na daṇḍaḥ syād, iti cet, satyam. etādṛśa-svatva-kalpane mahāgauravaṁ syād iti tasmāt para-svīkārasya svatva-vyañjakatvaṁ kalpyate na tūtpādakatvam iti. na ca "dadāni : dadasva" iti vinā yad dānaṁ kṛtam tad vaidhaṁ na bhavatīti vācyam, "manasā pātram uddiśya bhūmau toyaṁ viniḥkṣipet" iti śrutyā tad-dānasyāpi vaidhatvāt.

(ii) atra kecit svīkārasya svatva-vyañjakatvaṁ svatvasyātirikta-padārthatvaṁ vinā na sambhavati, tasya svatvotpādaka-hetutve "mamedam" iti jñāna-janya-saṁskāraḥ svatvam iti, jñāna-saṁskārayoḥ kārya-kāraṇa-bhāvād eva prakṛta-nirvāha iti. athāhārya-jñānasya na saṁskārakatvam, tadā āhārya-jñānam iti "mamedam" iti jñāna-janya-saṁskārasya svatvatvabhāvāt. tādṛśa-vijātīya-saṁskāraṁ prati vijātīya-jñānatvena hetutvam iti, hetu-hetumad-bhāvaṁ vinā na niṣkṛtir iti cet, tathā 'pi tvan-mate 'tirikta-padārtha-kalpanam eva mahāgauravam. kiñca tyāgasya svatvanāśakatvam asman mate virodhi-jñānasya virodhi-jñāna-janya-saṁskāranāśakatvam. tādṛśa-nāśya-nāśaka-bhāvād eva prakṛta-nirvāhaḥ. tvanmate svatvasyātiriktatvāt svatva-nāśaṁ prati tyāgasya svātantryeṇa janakatva-kalpanam eva mahāgauravam. api ca "mamedam" iti jñānasya svatva-vyañjakatve Mīmāṁsā-virodhiḥ[1]

(iii). tathā hi devānāṁ yāge 'dhikāro 'sti. tatra dhī-japta[2]-devatoddeśyaka-havis-tyāga eva yāgaḥ. tathā "devatānāṁ, na mamedam" iti jñānāvyavahitottara-kāle "mamedam" iti jñānāsambhavāt. na tathā sambhavaḥ. tatra "na mamedam" iti jñānasya svatva-janakatvaṁ sambhavati. svatvavyañjakatve teṣām anadhikāraḥ kim iti cet, satyam, vācanikatvāt. tasya tvan-mata eka-devatoddeśyaka-havis-tyāge 'nyasya devasyāsambhavāt, kathaṁ devasya yāga sāmānyādhikāraḥ ?

(iv). api ca yadi "mamedam" iti jñānasya janakatve "manujebhyas tathātmana" iti śrutes tatrātma-śrāddhasyāpi sattvāt tatra "mamedaṁ na mamedam" iti jñānasyaikadā 'sambhavāt katham ātma-śrāddha-siddhiḥ ? na ca tatrātmanas tatra dravye tyāga eva bhavatīti vācyam, tatra śrāddhasya dāna-yāgātmakatvam iti Śūlapāṇi-kaṇṭharaveṇoktatvād iti, kevalatyāgasya śrāddhatve śrāddhaṁ jagatām eva syād iti vadanti.

1. MSS : virodheḥ.
2. The readings of the MSS are obscure here.

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6. atha svatva-nāśam prati kvacit maraṇasya,[1] kvacit sannyāsa-grahaṇasya, kvacit pātityasya,[2] kvacit tat-svatvāśraya-dravya-nāśasya, kvacit tyāgasya, kvacid vikrayaṇasya, kvacit kālaviśeṣasya hetutvam.

7. itthañca yatra sva-svatvāspadībhūta-dugdhaṁ dadhi jātaṁ tatra kathaṃ tādṛśa-dadhiṣu svatvotpādaḥ, pūrva-svatvāspadībhūta-dugdhasya nāśāt? atha tatra dugdhārambhaka-paramāṇor eva dadhyārambhakatvāt tādṛśa-paramāṇu-svatva-vidyamānatvāt, tādṛśaparamāṇusvatvād dvyaṇuka-svatvotpādaḥ, dvyaṇuka-svatvāc ca tādṛśa-traśareṇu-svatvotpāda ity avayava-svatva-krameṇāvayavi[3]-svatvotpattir iti cet, satyam. tathā sati tādṛśa-paramāṇuto jāyamāna-ghaṭādiṣu tat-puruṣīya-svatvotpatti-prasaṅgaḥ. na hi tādṛśa-paramāṇau svatvaṁ tadānīṁ nāstīti sambhāvyeta, tadānīṁ tādṛśa-svatva-janakābhāvād[3a] iti. na ca tasyādṛṣṭa-sahakāreṇaiva kvacit tādṛsa-svatva-janakatvam iti vācyam, tathā sati sarvatrādṛṣṭaviśeṣa-sahakāreṇaiva svatva-sambhave pratigrahāder api svatvājanakatvāpatteḥ. atra vadanti kāla-viśeṣa-sahakāreṇa tādṛśa-paramāṇuṣu svatvasya nāśaḥ iti, ghaṭādiṣu na svatvotpatti-saṁbhāvanāpīti. nanu kāla-viśeṣasya svatva-nāśakatvaṁ kvacana dṛṣṭacaram iti cet, satyam, svāmisamakṣaṁ balād bhūmer āharaṇe dvidaśa[4]-vatsaramadhye svāmino 'vivādina etasya svatva-nāśa iti tatra kāla-viśeṣasya svatva-nāśakatvam iti; atha tatra vilakṣaṇa-bhogād eva tasya svatva-nāśaḥ, na tu kālaviśeṣāt, tathātve bhogaṁ vinā 'pi svatva viśeṣasya svatva-nāśakatvāt.[5] na ca tatra pūrva-svāminaḥ svatvaṁ tiṣṭhatyeveti vācyam, tathā saty uttara-kālaṁ tādṛśa-dravye aupādānika-svatvānutpādāpatteḥ.

8. atha tat-puruṣīya-svatvaṁ prati tad-anya-puruṣīya-svatvasya pratibandhakatve puṣkariṇī-tyāge sarvoddeśyaka-tyāgena sarveṣāṁ svatvotpāde, tādṛśa-puṣkariṇī-tyāga-kāle 'vidyamānasya tad-uttaraṁ jāyamānasya puṁsas tādṛśa-jale svatvānutpāda-prasaṅgaḥ. na ca tatra sarvoddeśyaka-tyāga-mātraṁ kriyate. nahi tena karmaṇā sarveṣāṁ svatvotpāda iti vācyam, taduddeśyaka-tyāgasyaiva tat-puruṣīya-svatva-janakatvāt. katham anyathā? kāśi-stha-puruṣoddeśyaka-dravya-dāne kṛte tvan-mate tasya svīkārābhāvena svatvānutpādāt, tādṛśa-dravyasya kenacid apahāre, tasya pratyavāyo na syāt iti cet, satyam. tatra "na mamedaṁ kintu tasya puṁsaḥ" iti

1. MSS : pitṛ-maraṇasya.
2. kvacit pātityasya inserted by J.D M.D.
3. MSS : āvayava.
3a. MSS : nāśakābhāvad.
4. MSS : dvādaśa.
5. MSS : nāśakatvaṁ.

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jñānaṁ na dātuḥ svatva-nāśaḥ saṁpradānasya svatvotpattir vā. atra tu "na mamedam" iti jñānam bhavati, na tu "sarveṣāṁ bhavatu" itīcchā bhavati. kathaṁ tarhi puṣkariṇī-dānasya sarvoddeśyakatvam iti cet, satyam. "sarveṣāṁ bhogāya bhavatu" itīcchā 'pīti veśeṣaḥ. ata eva sarvoddeśyaka-tyakta-jalāśayasya jalaṁ svayam apı gṛhṇāti. brāhmaṇoddeśyaka-tyakta-suvarṇasya tasyāyam āśayaḥ : "brāmaṇasyedaṁ bhavatu, na mama" itīcchā bhavati; atra tu "sarveṣāṁ bhogāyetyeva" iti mahān viśeṣaḥ. api ca sarva-svatvoddeśyaka-dānam api na saṁbhavati, "pariṣad-dattam adattam" iti-pariṣad-adhikaraṇa-virodhāt, nānoddeśyakam eva dānaṁ na sambhavatīti tad-arthāt. atha tarhi "brāhmaṇebhyo dade" iti kathaṁ vākyam iti cen, na kartavyam eva tathā vākyaṁ, kintu "brāhmaṇāya dade" ity eva kartavyam iti saṁkṣepaḥ.

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ON THE INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT DHARMA-AND ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA-S UPON THE *NĪTI*-LITERATURE OF BURMA

1. THE *RĀJADHARMA* IN THE LOKASĀRA

LUDWIK STERNBACH

I. Introduction

1. The *nīti*-literature of Burma is not abundant. It was originally written in Pāli and some of the Pāli *nīti*-works were afterwards translated into Burmese. Most of the *nīti*-sayings included therein are of Sanskrit origin and many of the sayings occurred originally in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*; particularly, the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings were incorporated into the Burmese *nīti*-works.

2. Most of the Burmese *nīti*-works, although they form part of the Pāli Buddhist litterature of Burma, show seldom traces of Buddhist influence. They usually begin with a few verses containing invocations to Buddha, but the bulk of the stray *nīti*-verses is not Buddhistic; the verses are mostly of general, ethical nature and comprise thoughts usually found in the Sanskrit non-Buddhist aphorisms, maxims, sayings or epigrams.

3. In my "Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over 'Greater India'"[1] I dealt in detail with the following four *nīti*-works of Burma: the Pāli Lokanīti, Dhammanīti, Rājanīti and Suttavaḍḍhananīti and the Burmese Nīti *Kyan*. I have shown that the latter is the Burmese translation of the Pāli Lokanīti[2]. I also dealt with the Mahāraha-nīti, the Sihalanīti (for Siṁhala-nīti) and the Rājādhirāja.

4. Among the other Pāli *nīti*-works of Burma the following should be also mentioned; the Nītimālā compiled by Laytī paṇḍita U Maung Gyi[3], containing a number of *nīti*-verses culled from the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra, the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, the Bhojaprabandha, etc. as well as from the Pāli Buddhist canons; the

1. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1969 pp. 34-47 and in *Journal of the Greater Indian Society*, Vol. 18.
2. The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti *Kyan* and their Sources in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 26.2; pp. 329-345.
3. Ū[3] Moṅ Krī[3].

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Nītimañjarī *K*yan compiled by Laytī paṇḍita Maung Gyi[3] and the Lokas-ra ascribed to Kandaw Mingyaung.

5. In the present study I shall deal with one part of the Lokasāra (LS.), i.e. the *rājadharma* chapter only, since it is closely connected with the Sanskrit *dharma* and *artha-śāstra-s* and despite its Buddhist character it is possible to trace the origin of this part of this *nīti*-work to Sanskrit non-Buddhist sources.

6.1. The Lokasāra is a short Pāli *nīti*-collection of sayings (55 verses) composed of three parts; the first deals with general instructions and contains the first 22 verses; the second deals with instructions for kings and contains 25 verses (23 to 47); and the third deals with Brahmaṇs and contains 8 verses only (37 to 55).

6.2. The title of the book "Lokasāra" is formed by two Pāli words : *loka* (the world) and *sāra* (the essence); it means therefore "The essence of worldly wisdom." The work is well known in Burma and was used as a text-book in the Burmese Anglo-Vernacular schools.

7. Who was the author of the work and when he lived is not known. Probably he was Kandaw Mingyaung who was the tutor of the uncle of the king Narapati, brother of the king Minrekyaw Swa, one of the kings of Ava who flourished probably in the middle of the fifteenth century. This date of the composition of the Lokasāra seems to be quite likely, since other *nīti*-works in Pāli, such as the Lokanīti, the Dhammanīti and the Pāli Rājanīti were probably composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century[1] or not much later.[2]

8. The present study is based on the text published in the Anthology of fifteen books edited by Iksathara Pāli Scholars Society, Iksathara Piṭika Printing Press, Rangoon with explanations in Burmese (pp. 180-195).[3] Other editions are : Lokasāra pyui[1] (Lokasāra pyo) edited by Ū[3] Vaṇ (Maṅ[3] suvaṇ) with paraphrasing and notes, Rangoon, Kusalavatī B. E. 1317 (=A.D. 1955); and Lokasāra with an Introduction and Notes by Yeo Wun Sin, Rangoon 1902

1. Imitations from the Lokanīti occurred in a Burmese inscription at Pagan dating from 1408 or 1416 A.D. (Cf. E. Gerini, On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions in *Journal of the Siam Society* I; p. 180). The Dhammanīti and the Rājanīti were probably of the same period; in any case they were not much later.
2. Cf. The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms (op. cit.) p. 37 (para 49 F.).
3. I wish to express my thanks to Daw Khin Su, Research Officer at the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde at the University of Göttingen for helping me in translating the Lokasāra.

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(The British Burma Press).[1] The latter text was also translated into English by Yeo Wun Sin on the basis of the first edition of the text, but unfortunately this translation was not available to me. I used however the English "Notes" on the text, as prepared by Yeo Win Sin for the second edition of the text (pp. 21-120).

9. LS. in the last verse of the chapter on *rājadharma* states that it includes the essence of the law from various treatises (LS. 47)[2] and that this chapter was written for the benefit of the king in order to teach him how to get peace and prosperity in his country (LS. 47). In this way LS. explained that for educational reasons the chapter on *rājadharma* was included in the "essence of worldly wisdom."

10. Although the lessons on state politics were culled from various unnamed in LS. sources, the author of LS. invoked the authority of *ṛṣi* Manu[3] "whose judgment is impartial"; thus he imputed many of the rules of LS. to this Hindu law-giver and indirectly to the Mānava-dharmaśāstra (Mn.); he accorded thus recognition to the latter work. By that, the Indian origin of most of the *rājadharma* rules included in LS. was recognized, though the rules had to be applicable in a Buddhist country.

11. It was often noted that, in particular legal and political rules included in Buddhist treatises do not show important Buddhist influences and usually accept the rules of Hindu *dharma-* and *arthaśāstra-s*. That is particularly due to the fact that Buddha's teachings seldom contain specific legal rules for lay devotees. Legal Buddhist

1. Two editions of this work were published, since the text was used in the eighth and ninth standards of the Anglo-Vernacular schools of Burma.
2. A formula very often applied in Sanskrit texts, e.g. in the introductory verse to the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version.
3. According to the introduction to the King Wāgarū's (or Wārerū's) Manu Dharmasattham (p. 1 of the translation) king Mahāsammata (the Great Elect) had a councillor, a *ṛṣi* called Manu who was well versed in the law. Desiring the good of all men, Manu rose into the expanse of heaven and, having arrived at the boundary wall of the world, he there saw the law-books written in letters of the size of a full-grown cow; he committed them to memory and, having returned, communicated the same to king Mahāsammata.

   The Manu Dhammasattham of King Wāgarū (Wāgarū Dhammathat) which was adopted by the Talaing kings centuries ago and which was translated into Burmese (and then into English and published by the Superintendent Government Printing and Stationary, Burma, 1934, with a Preface by J Jardine, Esq). does not contain any mention of *rājadharma*; it deals with the 18 titles of law as set out in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, but departs in details often from that *dharmaśāstra*. The earliest MS. is from B.E. 1069 (=A.D. 1707), but the code dates from several centuries before. King Wāgarū (or Wārerū) was proclaimed king of Pegu in A.D. 1287.

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codes had to rely, therefore, on Brahmaṇic *dharma* and *artha-śāstra-s* from where they drew their material, except in the rare instances when native custom had been influenced by Buddhist teachings. Wherever, however, particularly in treatises on politics, general rules on behaviour of a worldly ruler were included in Buddhist scriptures, they were also reflected in the body of the *rājadharma*-chapters of Buddhist treatises, as is also the case in the Lokasāra.

12. Structurally the whole chapter of LS. on *rājadharma* is Hinduistic in nature; it accepts the rule that the state (*rājya*) is constituted of seven elements—*aṅga-s* or *prakṛti-s*, but shows also Buddhist influences and adapts some of its rules to Buddhist teachings; thus, incorporated are for instance, in the LS. mentions of the seven duties of the king taught by Buddha (LS. 33)[1]; or of the four rules of kindness (LS. 23)[2]; or of the five strengths of the king (LS. 40).[3]

13. If we accept that the *rājadharma*-chapter of LS. is basically Hinduistic and founded in the first place on the Brahmaṇic Mānava-dharmaśāstra and other *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*, most of the rules on *rājadharma* as found in LS., will vividly remind us of the description of the state and other institutions—legal, customary and political—which we find also in Indian sources. Though many of the ethical rules might be considered as common to everyone and to every civilisation, the similarity of institutions in *dharma-* and *arthaśāstra-s* and in LS. is too striking to be accidental. We see it in particular in the typically Hinduistic seven constituents of the state, in the specific role of the spies, etc.

14. 1. The chapter on *rājadharma* in *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s* is more methodical and contains many more details than the short and sketchy chapter in LS. In the former, the theory of the seven *aṅga-s* is usually given at the outset of the *rājadharma*-chapter and then each *aṅga* is described in detail. That is not the case with LS. where the theory of the seven elements of the state is found in the middle of the chapter and the description of each *aṅga* is scattered throughout the whole work.

14. 2. I shall try to follow however the more logical approach to *rājadharma* and shall deal first with the theory of the division of the State and then with the particular *aṅga-s*. In this way the whole *rājadharma*-chapter of LS. can be interpreted.

1. Cf. para 27.
2. Cf. para 23.
3. Cf. para 24.

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15 1. The following pages will show that the seven constituents of the state, as described in LS. are identical with *dharma*-and *artha-śāstra-s* and even that their order is identical with that given in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (Y.), the Kauṭilīya-arthaśāstra (KA), the Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra (KN.) and the Agni-purāṇa (AP.).[1] They will also show that the king in LS., similarly as in most *dharma*- and *artha-śāstra-s* is considered to be the father of his subjects[2]; their protector[3]; eyes of the people;[4] lord of the land;[5] leader, particularly leader in battle,[6] whose duties are carefully enumerated and very similar to those enumerated in the *dharma*- and *arthaśāstra-s*.[7] They will further show that, as in *dharma*- and *arthaśāstra-s*, the king had to act justly,[8] in particular in accordance with the rules of *dharma*,[9] keep law and order;[10] destroy the enemy;[11] pay respect to aged persons;[12] take care of the subjects of the kingdom;[13] and be a good example to them, so that they follow in his footsteps.[14] As in the *dharma-śāstra-s*, so also in LS., great stress was put on the role of public opinion in governing the state[15] and on the role of the advice of wise people; [6] as well as wisdom shown by the king in governing the country;[17] wisdom was considered the most precious power of the king.[18] As in *dharma*- and *artha-śāstra-s*, particular emphasis was laid on the activities of the spies in conducting foreign affairs of the state;[19] on the coercive authority of the king (*daṇḍanīti*)[20]; even such seemingly unimportant details as the division of time of the king

1. Cf. para 16.
2. Cf. para 20.
3. Cf. para 20
4. Cf. para 21.
5. Cf para 22.
6. Cf. para 20.
7. Cf. para 27.
8. Cf para 23.
9. Cf. para 23.
10. Cf. para 28.
11. Cf. para 33.
12. Cf. para 27.
13. Cf. para 28.
14. Cf. para 21.
15. Cf. para 29 (footnote)
16. Cf. para 37.
17. Cf. para 24.
18. Cf. para 24.
19. Cf. para 32.
20. Cf. para 30.

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are found in LS.[1]

15. 2. With regard to the remaining six *aṅga-s*, similar are in LS. and in the *dharma* and *artha śāstra-s* the conditions of appointment of ministers;[2] the need to consult them;[3] the secrecy of meetings of the council of ministers;[4] details about the fortress;[5] the benevolent way in which taxes ought to be levied;[6] the role of the army;[7] and even the military formations of the armed forces;[8] as well as the role of allies in the external policy of the king [9]

15. 3. *Passim* we also find similarities in enumerating sins or evils,[10] in quoting omina and portenda;[11] and even the comparisons (with a heron, lion, bull, cock, etc.)[12] strike our ears as identical in LS. and in the Hinduistic *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*.

15. 4. This proves that there can be no doubt that the similarities are not accidental and that the Buddhist Lokasāra was explicitly and unreservedly influenced in all its aspects by the straight rules and by the spirit of Hinduistic *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*.

II. Rājadharma-chapter in the Lokasāra.

1. The Seven aṅga-s.

16. 1. According to the Lokasāra the state was constituted by the seven traditional elements (*aṅgas-s. prakṛti-s*) (LS. 36); i.e. (i) the ruler (*svāmin*); (2) the minister (*amātya*); (3) the kingdom, i.e. the territory and its people (*rāṣṭra* or *janapada*); (4) the fortress (*durga*) or capital (*pura*); (5) the treasury (*kośa* or *koṣa*), (6) the army (*daṇḍa*) or strength (*bala*); (7) the allies or friends (*mitra, suhṛd*). The same enumeration and in the same order is also found in the Pāli Rājanīti[13] (LS. 27).[14]

1. Cf. para 29.
2. Cf. para 35.
3. Cf. para 36.
4. Cf. para 36.
5. Cf. para 39.
6. Cf. para 40.
7. Cf. para 41.
8. Cf. para 41,
9. Cf. para 42.
10. Cf. para 25.
11. Cf. para 29.
12. Cf. paras 20 and 41.
13. Cf. para 3.
14. The theory of *saptāṅga* was also current in Cambodia and Java; it was also of Indian origin; We find the expression *saptaprakṛti* in the beginning of the

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16. 2. The order of the seven *aṅga-s* differs in the various Sanskrit *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*, but the text of the LS. and the Pāli Rājanīti is identical with those of Y. [1. 53), KA. (6. 1. 1), KN. (1. 18 and 4.1) and AP. (239. 1); Mn. (9. 294) has the order somewhat different : at the third and fourth place it has *pura* and *rāṣṭra*; Matsya-purāṇa (220. 19) and Agni-purāṇa (225-11) change the fifth and sixth place and have *daṇḍa* and *kośa*; Viṣṇu-smṛti (3. 33) changes the order of the 5 last elements, viz. after *svāmin* and *amātya* and has *durga*, *kośa*, *daṇḍa*, *rāṣṭra* and *mitra*; similarly the Mahābhārata (12. 69. 62-3) where the last five elements are given in the following order : *kośa*, *daṇḍa*, *mitra*, *janapada* and *pura*; Agni-purāṇa (233. 12) and Viṣṇudharmottara[1] (2. 143. 3) : *durga*, *kośa*, *daṇḍa*, *mitra* and *janapada*; Gautama-smṛti (as quoted in the Sarasvatīvilāsa 45) : *suhṛd*, *durga*, *kośa*, *daṇḍa* and *jana*; and Mānasollāsa (= Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi in the R. Shama Sastry edition, Mysore 1925, p. 3) : *suhṛd*, *kośa*, *rāṣṭra*, *durga*, *bala* (with addition of two supplementary *aṅga-s* : *paura* (citizens) and *śreṇi* (guilds).

17. LS. explains that the seven elements of the state are necessary as requisites of a prosperous country[2] and gives explanations of the most of the seven elements of *rājya*.

2. *The King.*

18. LS. concentrates on the role of the king. In broad general lines the character and functions of the king as described in LS. do not differ from those which we find in the Hinduistic *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*; the latter undoubtedly influenced the presentation of *rājadharma* as found in LS.

19. According to LS. it was a good fortune to be a king (LS. 42);

inscription at Vat Praḥ Thāt of Tu'k Cha of Kaṁpoṅ Siem in the Province of Koṁpoṅ Cam (G. Coedes, Inscriptions du Cambodge V; p. 223, etc.) or in the stele of Tuol Ta Pec in the Province of Koṁpoṅ Thom near the village of Baray (39) (*idem*, p, 253). Also in the frame story of the Javanese Pañcatantra we read, for instance, that the king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty ruled in Paṭaliputra over a large kingdom "composed of seven *aṅga-s* (Saptāṅga) (A. Venkaṭasubbiah, A Javanese Version of the Pañcatantra in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute* 47 (p. 68); in the Sanskrit inscriptions in Java we find also the mention of *saptāṅga* (Cf. R. H. T. Friedrich, Over Inscription van Java en Sumatra No. 2 1/8. No. 578 and others).

1. The Viṣṇudharmottara has, however, instead of *svāmin* and *amātya*—*sāma* and *dāna*.
2. This is missing in the Pāli Rājanīti.

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the king was regarded as the head[1] and crown of the kingdom (LS. 29, 30, 34, 39) and as the father of his subjects (LS. 23, 47)[2] who had to love them, as the father loves his own sons (LS. 30); the king was also the guardian of his subjects, and like a hen who looked after her young ones (LS. 29) he had to protect them against danger (LS. 29); he had to show sympathy to the people and console them in grief (LS. 29); and behave like the moon (LS. 29), since every one liked the coolness of the moon which is surrounded by stars and shun the sun which is hot and has not attendants (LS. 29)[3]; such a king will be loved (LS. 29) and will enjoy peace and prosperity (LS. 29).

20. 1. The king should also conduct himself on the one hand like a heron (LS. 39) and on the other like a lion (LS. 38).

20. 2. Like a heron, who always looks for food roaming about the stream gently and composedly, the king had to be aware of everything; behave carefully; have in mind the future of the country and make necessary arrangements for it, as well as act quickly whenever an enemy appeared (LS. 39).

20. 3. Like a lion, the king of beasts, who governs the forest, looked straight before and chases and kills other animals whether they were small or big, so also the king had to press the enemy and conduct the affairs of his kingdom and enjoy sovereignty (LS. 38).

21. The king was looked upon as an important person and was like the eyes of the people (LS. 31, 42) because, similarly as the leader of the bullock-cart went straight on, so would also his subjects; they would follow him. He should be a good example to his people who will obey him (LS. 21) and act exactly like him (LS. 31).

22. The king was the lord of the land and replete with attendants (LS. 43). He was famous and renowned (LS. 43); he was the leader of the kingdom surrounded by glory (LS. 31, 42).

23. The king should act justly (LS. 24, 42, 43, 44)[4] and according

1. As head of the kingdom he was compared to a small projection on the roof of a building (LS. 30)
2. Similarly in Cambodia (A Barth and A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge p. 449 (No. 57 v. 4); 490 (No. 59 v. 7); G. Coedes, Inscriptions du Cambodge VI; p. 204 (v. 18) and p. 208 (v. 12).
3. Also so in the Dhammanīti 379.
4. And not in a crooked way (LS. 31).

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to *dharma* (LS. 23, 24, 33, 42)[1] and then his kingdom would bear beautiful fruit (LS. 43)[2] and he would be loved by his subjects (LS. 43, 44); otherwise the kingdom would be ruined (LS. 43).[3] The king should follow in the footsteps of the good ancient kings (LS. 24) and by so doing he will be praised and admired by every man (LS. 33, 44). In particular he should behave like a Mahāthamada (LS. 23) who was the first king chosen unanimously by the people at the beginning of the world to rule over them; and practise the four Buddhist rules of kindness : *mettā* (love), *karuṇā* (pity, compassion), *muditā* (sympathy) and *upekkhā* (indifference) (LS. 23); then the people would settle in his country (LS. 23) and would not leave his kingdom.

24. The king should be endowed with five kinds of strengh taught by Buddha (LS. 40). These strengths (*bala*) are enumerated in Jātaka (521) as well as prevalent in Burma (Dhammanīti 148), as the strength of arms (*bāha*), the strength of wealth (*bhoga*), the strength of ministers (*amachcha*), the strength of ancestry (*abhjachacha*) and the strength of wisdom (*baññā*); they should be like ornamental jewels (LS. 40). The most precious of these jewels was the power of wisdom because it brought the highest benefit to the king and was his leading guide (LS. 40).

25. Being wise, the king could avoid evil and could drive out the three Buddhist evils (sins)—avarice (greediness), hatred and delusion (LS. 40).[4] As small streams, 500 in number, and as the five big rivers filled the ocean without the ocean making a demand upon them, so should the king show no greediness and should not long for different sorts of precious things which are given to him (LS.

1. Laws of the country. Cf. Mn. 8.15-6. Similarly also in Cambodia (cf. R. Lingat, L'influence juridique de l'Inde au Champa et au Cambodge in *Journal Asiatique* (1949): p. 273-90.
2. Also so in the Dhammanīti 274.
3. Also so in the Dhammanītī 272.
4. The Indian twelve great sins are : wrath, desire (lust), avarice (greediness) delusion (want of discrimination between right and wrong), craving (desire to taste worldly objects), mercilessness, censoriousness, vanity, grief, attachment (for worldly objects), envy and reviling others. Hatred was one of the eighteen defects which were an obstacle to self-restraint (Sanatsujātīya 3). In Cambodia we find six enemies of the king(*ṣaḍari*): lust, wrath, greed, vanity, illusion and envy (e. g. A. Barth, Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge p. 13 (v. 4). Cf. also Jātaka 521 according to which the king should avoid anger, falsehood and lightness.

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41).[1] Greediness is not easily contented and it leads to overpowering the king (LS. 42).

26. For his own protection the king should have bodyguards; they had to sleep by turns in his palace and keep a night-watch (LS. 25).

27. 1. The duties of the king, according to LS. could be divided into two kinds : (1) seven duties taught by Buddha, i.e. a kind of religious duties; and (2) ten general duties to be followed by a just king. Here we find a good example when Buddhist teachings, included in Buddhist canons, were incorporated in a *rājadharma*-chapter of a Pāli, *nīti* work prevailing in Burma.[2]

27. 2. The seven duties taught by Buddha are : (1) respect the guardian spirits of the country by making offerings to them; (2) respect near relatives and aged persons; (3) refrain from forcibly taking the wives and daughters of the citizens; (4) hold consultations in all affairs; (5) act in harmony with the people; (6) feed and look after monks and Brahmiṇs who have arrived from different quarters and show favour to those who have not yet come from places far and near in order to prevent them from going away; and (7) not to transgress the prescribed laws in governing the country and follow in the footsteps of good old kings (LS. 33).

27. 3. The ten other duties of the king are : (1) piety (meritorious religious offerings); (2) charity (almsgiving); (3) rectitude (poor and upright heart); (4) gentleness or mildness; (5) observance of precepts; (6) suppression of anger;[3] (7) forbearance; (8) self-denial; (9) mercy, humanity (without oppressing and giving trouble); and (10) unobstructiveness (increasing and extending love and not showing opposition to the people) (LS. 23).[4] With these duties the king should be well acquainted (LS. 30).

27. 4. The ten duties of the king are well known to Pāli *nīti*-works

1. In the Pāli Rājanīti we find an almost identical verse. It reads in J. Gray's translation : "As small streams fill the ocean without the ocean making a demand upon them, so should the king not long for all wealth; this not making a demand is the character of the ocean".
2. See above para 11.
3. This is one of the main duties taught by Buddha; it is also known in the *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra*-s (Mn. 7.45 sqq.; KA. 8.3.4 sqq.; KN. 1.54 etc.). According to LS. the king, even if in anger, should control himself and keep his mind firmly (LS. 32, 46). If the king was angry his subjects were afraid of him (LS.32) and if he controlled his anger by wisdom his subjects would love him and he would be famous.
4. Cf. Jātaka 385.

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of Burma (although sometimes they are quoted in a different order). And so, we find them in the Pāli Dhammanīti (263) and in the Pāli Suttavaḍḍhananīti (62). According to J. Gray's translation of the Dhammanīti the ten duties of which the king should not be in the least forgetful are: almsgiving, piety, liberality, rectitude, mildness, religious devotion, good temper, freedom from oppression, patience and unobstructiveness. According to J. Gray's translation of the Suttavaḍḍhananīti the ten duties of the king which he should observe without neglect are: charity, virtue, liberality, rectitude, gentleness, devotion, good temper, humanity, patience and unobstructiveness.

28. LS. emphasised several times that the king should keep law and order (LS. 29) for the sake of his subjects, as well as show kindness to them (LS. 23, 29); he should seek happiness and welfare of the people (LS. 24); and live in harmony with them (LS. 33); then the people would settle in his country (LS. 23), love him (LS. 29, 46) and the country would enjoy peace and prosperity (LS. 29).

29. LS. appreciated that it was difficult to know the turn of internal affairs of the state (LS. 26);[1] therefore the king should study the internal situation of the kingdom in order to perceive the state of things beforehand (LS. 26); examine the changed situation, and consider all facts which led to it (LS. 32); he should think ten times more than others (LS. 25) and sleep less than others (LS. 25).[2] If the bad omens[3] forecast unfortune, the king, in order to

1. LS. compares it with the difficulty of distinguishing between the leaves of the butea-tree and the parrots perched on it, on account of the resemblance of their colour.
2. The Pāli Lokanīti and the Pāli Dhammanīti say that the king should sleep during one watch only, the wise man (or priest) during two, a householder during three, and a beggar during four watches (LN 112 DhN 184). According to KA. (1.19.20) the king should sleep during two eighth parts of the night.
3. Horoscope, unfavourable aspect of the stars, bad dreams to be explained by looking into the book containing a detailed account of good and bad omens (a book of fate), birds flying in groups not in the usual time and whispering among the people showing some displeasure of the king's action (LS. 28).

   The Burmese, as the Indians, were very superstitious. Omina & portenda were often quoted in Sanskrit literature (e g. Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (MR) chapter 43, partly quoted also in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, chapter 162. For unfavourable aspect of stars see also MP. 43. 2-4; for bad dreams see MP. 43.15 sqq., 27,31 etc ; for flight of birds see MP. 43.9). The whispering among people was not necessarily a bad omen but was a sign of dissatisfac-

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protect the kingdom from evil, should make offerings of food, perform the ceremony of washing the head and, in particular, adhere to the three Buddhist jewels; Buddha, *dhamma* and *saṅgha* (LS: 28).

30. Like in *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s*, so also according to LS., the king had to govern the country by punishment.[1] He had to inflict punishment to all those who broke the law (LS. 45) depending on the gravity of the act committed (LS. 32), but even if the gravity of the act would warrant the penalty of death, LS. being a Buddhist *nīti*-work, forbade capital punishment (LS. 42) and only admonished the king not to punish the perpetrators too severely (LS. 42).[2]

31. In order to administer his kingdom properly, the king had to be liberal and boost his administrative staff by granting better conditions of service and giving privileges in accordance with the services performed by the officials of administration (LS. 30); he should recruit brave men (LS. 30). His administrative duties required also the suppression of theft and of those who commited it (LS. 24).

32. In foreign affairs, the king had to be well informed about the conditions existing in the neighbouring countries, particularly by the aid of spies whom he should send constantly in order to gather the necessary information (LS. 27). The use of spies is also found in the Pāli Rājanīti prevalent in Burma (42), but according to the latter *nīti*-work the spies had to be used by the king in internal affairs, i.e. in order to know all about his subjects. The use of spies by the Burmese kings came undoubtedly from India where we find in the *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s* numerous instances[3] of the use of

tion of the king's subjects. In LS., as in some *dharma* and *artha-śāstra-s*, the king had to take into consideration public opinion in order to safeguard his throne (Cf. R. Choudhary, Public Opinion in Ancient India in *Summaries af Papers presented to the XII All-India Oriental Conference* 89 and in *Studies in Indian Law and Justice*, Patna 1953; V. R. C. Dikshitar, in Ancient India in *Mélanges, Kuppuswami Śastri*, 1937; K. Sundarama Aiyer, Dharma and Life, Śrirangam 1924; etc.

1. Cf. Mn 7.13 sqq,. Y. 1,352 sqq., 367, Gautama-smṛti 12.51, Vasiṣṭha-smṛti 19.9 sqq., Viṣṇu-smṛti 3.91 sqq., KA. 1.4 3 sqq., KN. 2.16 sqq., Śukranīti 1.45 sqq., Mahābhārata 12.15.34 and together with Matsya-purāṇa in Vīramitrodaya, Rājanīti-prakāśa 286 sqq.
2. According to the Pāli Rājanīti (89) punishing the bad, honouring the good, increasing property lawfully, being impartial and looking after the kingdom were the five things declared by the wise as characteristic of a king.
3. E.g. Mn. 7. 153-4, 122, 223; 9.256, 261, 298; Y. 1. 336 sqq., 329; Nārada-smṛti in Vivādaratnākara 293; Mahābhārata 12.87. 11-12; KN. 12.25; Śukranīti. 1.751-2, 677; and particularly KA. book I ch. 11-12 and others.

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spies; Indian kings were often advised to use them in internal and foreign affairs.[1]

33. Although the king had to keep carefully his friendship with the neighbouring kings (LS. 27), he had to be watchful of his enemies and keep outposts on land and water at the four directions of the country and do not let others pass the landmarks (i.e. the frontiers) which devided his own territory from that of another king (LS. 26); if necessary, the king had to strike and extinguish the source of danger for his kingdom (LS. 30) and destroy the enemy (LS. 36, 38, 39) by a fierce attack; his blow should be as quick as thunder (LS. 30) and as strong as a lion's leap (LS. 36); then the enemy would never appear again (LS. 30) and the people would reside in peace (LS. 30, 38), and he would live in glory and become famous (LS. 36).

3. *The Ministers*

34. The second of the seven *aṅga-s* described in LS. was the minister.

35. As Sakka, the king of *deva-s*, assigned duties to the four gods in order to take care of the four cardinal points of the world, so also the king should have four ministers to protect the four cardinal points of his country (LS. 45); they should be noble-minded, brave, skilful in solving difficult problems (LS. 45) and clever (LS. 37);[2] they had to look after the people and protect them against poverty and oppression (LS. 45). Ministers were considered as one of the five strengths of the king (LS. 40)[3] and had to be chosen by him from among trusted men who loved him (LS. 25); they had to discharge all their duties satisfactorily (LS. 25) and the king had to love them, have complete confidence in them and not the slightest suspicion about them should even cross his mind (LS. 25).

36. The king had to discuss always all the matters of state with

1. For use of spies in foreign affairs see in particular KA. 1.11.20, 24 and Mn. 9.298.
2. According to the Pāli Rājanīti (96-7) the ministers had to be nobly descended, pure, brave, learned, amicable and well versed in *nīti*; a good minister had to be learned, virtuous and brave, industrious, accustomed to be victorious and powerful, not covetous, have an amiable appearance and be perfect in his organs.
3. Cf. para 24 above.

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his ministers (LS. 26)[1] in secrecy (LS. 37).[2]

37. 1. Other advisers of the king were wise men (LS. 34, 37), physicians (LS. 37) and astrologers (LS. 26) because good friends could show the right way when one (i.e. the king) was wrong (LS. 37).

37. 2. Wise men had to be esteemed by the king and he should not remain apart from them; they were able to foresee the future and therefore the king had to listen to their advice and govern the country accordingly and carefully (LS. 34). He should remain in union with wise men, like the celestial flower *mañjūṣaka* and the Nandamu cave which were inseparable (LS. 34).[2]

37. 3. Astrologers should be assembled by the king so as to enable him to enquire from them about the fortune and destiny of the country (LS. 26). Knowing about the future of the country the king was considered to be able to govern it better.

4. *The Kingdom and its People*

38. 1. The third of the *aṅga-s* described in LS. was the kingdom, i.e. the country (territory) and its people. Little space is devoted in LS. to this topic. LS. states only that the country should be prosperous agriculturally and commercially (LS. 37); it had to be self-sufficient as far as food is concerned (LS. 37); rice, maize, beans and millet had to grow and the whole land had to be under cultivation so as to avoid wasteland (LS. 37); the country had to be also prosperous with trade (LS. 37).

38. 2. With regard to the population, LS. supplies an important information : it mentions as citizens Brahmiṇs and traders only (LS. 37) and states that the former should be fed and looked after (LS. 33). This information together with part 3 of the LS. entitled "Brāl maṇas" depicts the early stage of the Burmese society and the importance of the Brahmiṇs in the Burmese state at the time of the composition of LS.

1. Holding consultations in all affairs was one of the duties of the king enumerated above (cf. para 27.2 above).
2. Similarly Mn. 7.148-9; Y. 1.343; KA. 1.15. 3-4; Agni-purāṇa 225.17 sqq.; Matsya-purāṇa 220.32-3; Viṣṇudharmottara 2.65.31-2; Mānasollāsa 2.700-5; cf L. Sternbach, Place and Time of the King's Counsel with Ministers according to the Dharmaśāstra-s, Arthaśāstra-s and Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s in *India Major, Congratulatory Volume presented to J. Gonda*, Leiden 1972; pp. 200 sqq.
3. *Mañjūṣaka* was believed to bloom in the precious stone cave in Mount Meru called Nandamu; these two were considered to be inseparable.

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5. The Fortress

39. The fourth of the *aṅga-s* described in LS. was the fortress or the capital. The fortress had to have a moat full of water, as deep and wide as the sea and in a good position; it had to be walled; a fenced pathway had to lead to the fort opened wide at the entrance and gradually narrowing for the purpose of entrapping the enemy; strong bastions had to be erected near the gate of the palace and placed one upon the other (?); there had to be also a large beam suspended horizontally against the wall of the fortress to crush the enemy; camps of guards possessing good ammunition had to be placed around the fortress which should be also supplied with banners (?), an instrument for the hurling of large stones[1] and other missiles, as well as other kinds of war material (LS. 30). This description of the fortress gives us more details about the building of a fortress (capital) than we usually find in Sanskrit sources.[2]

6. The Treasury

40. As far as the fifth element of the state, the treasury, is concerned, LS. deals only with taxation in the most general way. No information is supplied in LS. as to the kind of taxes levied[3] and only some information is given regarding the taxation policy which is very similar to that found in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and the Mahābhārata.[4] LS. states that taxes should be levied according to custom and should not be heavy (LS. 29);[5] they should be so levied that the taxpayer's ability to pay be not damaged. LS. and the Pāli Dhammanīti stated that he who plucked a ripe fruit from a large tree bearing fruit experienced its sweetness and did not destroy the fruit's seed (LS. 41). The income gained from taxes had to be used for the sake of the country and the king was entitled to spend it (LS. 41).

7. The Army

41. With regard to the sixth *aṅga*, the army, LS. explained that

1. A catapult.
2. See Mn. 7.70-6; about the building of a fortress according to KA. see D. Schlingloff, Arthaśāstra Studien II in *Wieser Zeitschrift fur die Kunde Ostaiens* 11.44 and D. Schlingloff, Die altindische Stadt, *Abhandlungen der Wissenschaften und der Litteratur*, Mainz, 1969.
3. We only know from LS. that the tax amounted to one-tenth of the produce of the field (LS 23). Cf para 22 above.
4. E.g. Mn. 7.128-9; Mahābhārata 12.71.20; 12.88.4; 12.88.12; 12.71.16; 12.87, 22; 12.83, 2; 12.71, 17; 12.71, 19; 12.8.15; 12.8, 17; 12.8, 18, etc.
5. Identically in the Pāli Dhammanīti 273.

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there were four kinds of armed forces, viz. elephanteers, cavalry, charioteers and infantry (LS. 35).[1] Particular attention had to be given to brave soldiers (LS. 37). In case of war, the army, under the command of officers, should attack the enemy valiantly like a brave cock and bring victory to the king (LS. 35); in case of an attack on the king the army had to fight quickly and weaken the enemy; then, the enemy would be afraid and the war might end soon; if the battle became fierce, the command over elephants should be given to the bravest of brave, i.e. to a veteran soldier and the elephants, cavalry and infantry should be thrown into the battle; the army should then be arrayed in three ways: in the form of a lotus flower, in the form of a circle or in the form of the front part of a bullock-cart (LS. 35).[2]

8. *The Allies*

42. With regard to the last *aṅga*, allies or friends, the king, according to LS., had to keep his friendship carefully, in particular the friendship with other (neighbouring) countries (LS. 27). He had to give presents and express good wishes and salutations to the kings of other countries, send them royal messages and goodwill missions so that they would look at him as a friend (LS. 27).

43. The above given description of the state as depicted in the second chapter of the Buddhist Lokasāra[3] shows clearly that the Burmese kingdom (the population of which, as well as the king's advisers were Brahmiṇs[4]) was in its general outline identical with a Hinduistic *rājya* as described in the Brahmaṇic *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s* and differed only in some details from its Brahmaṇic

1. According to the *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s* the army was also composed of the same four elements.

2. According to Mn. (7.187) the army could be arrayed in the form of a staff (*daṇḍavyūha*), of a cart (*śaka a*), of a boar (*varāha*), of a *makara*, of a needle (*sūci*) or of a *Garuḍa* (similarly, though not identically KA. 10 2, 9). In KA. 10.6,8 sqq. there are over 30 kinds of army formations; Śukranīti (4.7.265-6) gives the classical array of the army: *makara*, bird (*śyena*), needle (*sūci*), carriage (*śakaṭa*), thunder (*vajra*) octogonal (*sarvatobhadra*), wheel (*cakra*) and snake (*vyāla*). KN. (18,48-9) distinguishes the arrays of the army called: *makara*, *śyena*, *sūci*, *śakaṭa*, *vajra* and *sarvatobhadra*; similarly Agni-purāṇa (242.7) but calls the "needle" *sūci* or *varīvaktra*. The circle of LS. is probably identical with the *cakra* formation and the bullock-cart with the *śakaṭa* formation.

3. Paras 6-42 above.

4. Part III of the Lokasāra. See also para 38 above.

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model; it further shows that whenever some Buddhist scriptures dealt specifically with *rājadharma*-topics,[1] they were sometimes inserted in the appropriate places in the *rājadharma*-chapter not changing, however, the general Brahmaṇic approach to the organisation of the state.[2]

1. Cf. for instance para 27 above.
2. The other Pāli *nīti* works prevalent in Burma and described above (para 3) are even more Brahmaṇic in nature than the Lokasāra and contain less verses with Buddhist leanings than the LS.

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THE PAUṢKARASAṀHITĀ ON LIBRARY SCIENCE

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Amongst the various kinds of religio-philosophical works, the palm should undoubtedly be yielded to the *Pāñcarātrasaṁhitā*. The *Brahmasūtras* composed by sage Bādarāyaṇa have fully recognised the int insic worth of the works of this School and established their unassailable and unimpeachable authority. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to them in most respectful terms. All the eminent teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaita have successfully exploded the unfounded and unreasonable theory that they are non-Vedic in character and have proved to the hilt that their roots are deeply laid in the Vedas. Śrīmad Yāmunācārya has discussed this question threadbare in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* and established the unquestioned authority of this Śāstra. Śrīmad Rāmānuja, the illustrious propounder of Viśiṣṭādvaita, has also upheld in his own inimitable way the supreme and sacred authority of the *Pāñcarātra* with irrefutable, convincing and cogent arguments. Śrīmad Vedāntadeśika, that multi-faced genius of the Śrīvaiṣṇavite order and the Ghaṇṭāvatāra of Lord Viṣṇu, has examined this question in all its implications in his celebrated work, viz., *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* with rare vigour and lucidity which are but the characteristics of his writings and has placed it beyond the pale of controversy.

The *Pauṣkarasaṁhitā* is one of the three bright gems adorning the diadem of the Pāñcarātra School of conduct followed very faithfully by all the ardent devotees of Śrīmannārāyaṇa and is so named because it records the dialogue between Bhagavannārāyaṇa and Brahman, the lotus-born, bearing in great detail on subjects like the mode of temple-worship, the rituals connected therewith etc. It is interesting to note that the Supreme Being, viz., Śrīmannārāyaṇa, is Himself the exalted author of this glorious work. Though only forty-three Adhyāyas thereof have been printed, it is firmly and fondly believed that more chapters remain to be unearthed by the indefatigable efforts of the research-scholars working on this subject. The present article is mainly concerned with the

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establishment of a Library which has been dealt with in the forty-first Chapter under the appropriate caption of ज्ञानप्रतिष्ठानम् meaning the 'Installation of Knowledge'. It is apt to remark in this context that many a temple of this sacred land of ours, भारतवर्ष, has been the richest depository of manuscripts written on birch-bark, palmleaf, paper etc.

The topic begins thus :

अथ ज्ञानप्रतिष्ठानमिदानीमवधारय ।
यत्कृत्वा जायते ज्ञानं विवेकसहितं हि यत् ॥

By the installation of knowledge is meant the establishment of a Library enshrining works meant to bestow Supreme Knowledge on the readers. This is defined in the following verses so that one can attain discreet and discriminating knowledge.

A Library worth its name should contain collections of works on a variety of topics which would confer on the readers not only spiritual salvation but also practical wisdom. Hence does this Saṁhitā insist on the collection of all good works purifying men and leading them to beatitude, like the four Vedas, their Aṅgas or Ancillaries, the *Pāñcarātra* texts, Law-books, Legends, works on Metaphysics, Politics and other subjects of consequence. These works should be kept in closed, non-decaying caskets, filled with disinfectant leaves (neem-leaves and the like), secured from the river-sides and cities :

नदीनागरकैः पर्णैर्विविधान्वर्णसंचयान् ।
पूरयित्वा विनिक्षिप्य संपुटेष्वक्षयेषु च ॥

If पर्णैः is substituted by वर्णैः, it will mean that the works must be written in inks extracted from plants grown on the river-side and in cities. That the caskets should be made of non-decaying materials is in consonance with the modern stipulation prescribed by the Library Science that books should not be kept on wooden racks which are prone to decay in course of time but on steel-racks.

The works, the Saṁhitā proceeds to say, must be tied up with strong threads of black and other colours (ग्रथयित्वासिताद्येन सूत्रेण सुदृढेन तु). Further, they should be stacked in a building (in the vicinity of a temple) which is strong, widely known, frequently resorted to by kings and citizens, surrounded by the residential quarters of Brāhmaṇas, protected by well-behaved communities of people, easily accessible to the seekers of knowledge, built of rocky stone provided with mechanical devices, made of strong iron-doors and bolts, white-washed and auspicious.

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सुस्थिरे सुप्रसिद्धे च नृपनागरसेविते ।
द्विजोषितेभ्यः संकीर्णे सत्समूहेन पालिते ॥
समीपेऽश्ममयं वेश्म लोहयन्त्रसमन्वितम् ।
सकवाटार्गलोपेतं सुधाधवलितं शुभम् ॥

It is very interesting to note as to how almost all the requisite conditions enjoined upon by the Library Scientists relating to the construction of Library-buildings, their equipments, their surroundings, the attitude of the readers etc., have been anticipated by this ancient Saṁhitā. The word लोहयन्त्र makes one think of the lifts operated in modern Libraries for moving books from one floor to another.

Pictures or statues of the Goddess of Speech, वागीश्वरी, showing Her as seated on a lotus, decked with charming embellishments bearing the Conch, Disc, Mace and Lotus in Her hands, wearing a rosary of beads, holding sacred books, assuring protection and granting boons to Her devotees and also those of inspired Seers, like Vyāsa, must be installed in the Library.

The qualifications of the Librarian prescribed by the Saṁhitā are such as would instil piety and purity in the minds of the readers. He must perform the न्यास, must be clean and dressed in pure white (शुक्लाम्बरधरः शुचिः), offer worship to the sacred works on a variety of Sciences collected from diverse sources, after having wrapped them with woven silk (नेत्रवस्त्रैस्तु वेष्टितान्) and installed in the prescribed manner in the place equipped with mechanical devices made of iron and consecrated with प्रणव. He should utter the twelve-lettered holy Mantra (द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्र) and pray thus :

विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय विष्णवे परमात्मने ।
सुप्रतिष्ठितमक्षय्यं तिष्ठ शास्त्रात्मनेह वै ॥
अज्ञानामुपकारार्थं प्रबोधजननाय च ।
मुक्त्वा त्वामेवमक्षय्यं क्षयवन्तोऽमरादयः ॥

"Lord Viṣṇu, possessed of a body of pure knowledge, who is the Supreme Soul is requested to abide here (in the Library) permanently, so as to help the ignorant gain real knowledge. Because the divine beings failed to worship Him—the Eternal, in this manner, they met with disaster.

The Saṁhitā lays down that Lord Viṣṇu who is the very embodiment of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, should be worshipped at this विद्यापीठ (Library) adorned with works which lead to the attainment of Godhead. Further, this auspicious seat of knowledge

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must be scrupulously worshipped daily with the performance of प्रदक्षिण, the burning of incense and the like.

It is simply remarkable that this Saṁhitā speaks of the circulation of works, corresponding to the Circulation-Libraries of the modern conception. It says that for the circulation of works enshrined in the Library, a band of devoted men who are in quest of higher knowledge must be enrolled as members :

संचारदानेऽर्थिनां च संचयं तत्र संचयेत् ।

Look at this sensible stipulation too ! "Orders should be issued for the full development of the Library."

शासनावनिबन्धां च तस्य वृत्तिं सुपुष्कलाम् ।
कृत्वा तच्छासनं दद्याद् ज्ञानकोशानुपालने ॥

The necessity for and the importance of this injunction may be fully realised in the context of very many modern libraries languishing for want of official support, lack of funds, etc.

After saying that Brahmacārins should be taught at this sacred Institution, the Saṁhitā observes that this will dispel the mental darkness of these blinded by ignorance and establish real knowledge. In conclusion, it prays to Lord Viṣṇu that He be delighted over this commendable result viz., the spreading of real knowledge through the Library.

एतस्मादुत्थितेनैव फलेन महता हरिः ।
प्रीतिमायातु परमां फलं मे नोपयुज्यते ॥

It may not be out of place in this article dealing with the establishment of a Library containing manuscripts, to quote the following verse in conclusion.

संभूष्यं सदपत्यवत्परकराद्रक्ष्यं च सुक्षेत्रव-
त्संशोध्यं व्रणिताङ्गवत्प्रतिदिनं वीक्ष्यं च सन्मित्रवत् ।
बध्यं वध्यवदश्लथं दृढगुणैः स्मर्यं हरेर्नामव-
न्नैवं सीदति पुस्तकं खलु कदाप्येतद्गुरूणां वचः ॥

"It is to be decked like one's good child, to be protected like one's virtuous wife, to be treated like an injured limb of one's body, to be looked up every day like one's good friend, to be tied up like a prisoner with strong threads and to be ever remembered like the name of Hari ; if one does all this, one's manuscript will never come to grief."

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SANSKRIT CULTURE IN ANCIENT TURKISH

LOKESH CHANDRA

It is not usual to associate Turkish with Sanskrit studies. But it is high time that the riches of Sanskritic culture among the Uigur Turks be explored by Sanskritists. The archives of German, French British, Chinese and Japanese museums and libraries treasure thousands of Ancient Turkish fragments, still awaiting patient research in the fascinating domains of intercultural symbiosis.

The Turkish-speaking peoples are the largest Altaic demographic group with the widest geographic expanse in the countries of Europe and Asia. The Ancient Turkish texts are mostly adaptations and translations from Sanskrit, besides official documents. Most of them are written in the Uigur script derived from the Sogdian. An Old Turkish script is the Runic, used in inscriptions on stele found in East Siberia, in the Valley of the Orkhon River in the Mongolian People's Republic, dating from the 8th century.

For Sanskrit studies, it is most interesting that the Ancient Turks employed the Indian Brahmi script for writing their language. Diacritical marks were added to the Brahmi letters to represent sounds peculiar to Turkish. These Brahmi Turkish texts date from the 8th-9th centuries A.D. Though the Brahmi texts are few and fragmentary, this precious little is of outstanding importance. The other two scripts (Runic and Uigur) do not clearly distinguish the vowels and thus raise insoluble problems. The Brahmi script did differentiate the vowels and herein we have a precise picture of Ancient Turkish vocalisation. (See A. von Gabain, *Alt-Turkisches Schrifttum*, Berlin 1950, pp. 17-19). It is a unique phenomenon for Turkish linguistics, for we can see how the ancient Turks spoke their language.

In the Berlin collection there are over a 100 Turkish fragments in the Brahmi script. Most of them are bilingual, where Sanskrit words are followed by Turkish equivalents. These word-to-word translations must have been first drafts, before the translations were finalised in the proper syntactic sequence and in due literary style. The external appearance of some of the Ancient Turkish manuscripts is also identical with that of Sanskrit manuscripts;

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that is, they are in *pothi* format, the folios running from 45 to 25 cm. in length.

Sanskrit words found their way into Ancient Turkish, e.g. *Vishnu* for *Viṣṇu* विष्णु, *batir* for *pātra* पात्र, *chadik* for *jātaka* जातक, *vrxar* for *vihāra* विहार, *Irjhi* for *ṛṣi* ऋषि.

In the 9th century the Uigur Turks founded their empire with its metropolis at Turfan. There they assimilated the local Tokharians as well as their Buddhist literature, religion and art. The Uigur empire continued to flourish till the 11th century and during these cenuries an Uigur literature arose wherein the Sanskritic tradition was fully assimilated. It constitutes the most ancient literature of the Turkish people and their earliest classical heritage.

Among the sand-buried literary remains in Ancient Turkish, the most numerous fragments are of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, besides those of other sūtras like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Maitreya-sūtra*, *Amitāyus-sūtra*, *Rājāvavādaka-sūtra*, or the tantric text of *Yitihān-sudur*. The *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* was translated into Uigur by Prajñārakṣita.

Uigur Turkish has preserved abundant remains of a rich avadāna literature, for instance, those of Haricandra, Kañcanasāra Mahendrasena, Priyaṁkara, Ṣaḍdanta, Āṭavaka. Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma, Dantipāla, Kalyāṇaṁkara and Pāpaṁkara, and even a *Daśa-karma-patha-avadāna-mālā*. The Jātakas are represented by the *śaśa-Jātaka*. The text entitled *Tishastvustik* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Diśā-svastika*, which recounts the tale of Trapuṣa and Bhallika.

Among philosophical texts may be cited the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, *Abhidharmakośa*, and a letter of Nāgārjuna (now in the National Library at Peking). Fragments of Āgamas may be seen at Stockholm in the Sven Hedin Collection. the *Kshanti qilγuluq nom* or the Prātimokṣa fragments speak of the dynamics of the monastic life in the Uigur Empire.

Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra and the dialogue between Sarasvatī and Samantabhadra may also be mentioned. Tantric literature also flourished among the Uigurs e.g. *Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* or the *Saṁvara-tantra* translated by Puṇyaśrī. The didactic Udānavarga has been preserved in Ancient Turkish written in the Brahmi script.

Medical texts, like the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta were in vogue among the Uigur Turks, as is evidenced by its fragments in Ancient Turkish.

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KHANTI : KĀNTI : KṢĀNTI

P. V. Bapat

(i) The Pali word *khanti* is used in two different senses : (A) liking, mental inclination, disposition, view or sight, (B) forbearance, patience, endurance, capacity to bear etc.

The first interpretation we find in the following :—

(A) (i) *Porāṇaṁ ṇābhinandeyya, nave khantiṁ na kubbaye* (Sn. 942). One should neither exult in old things, nor should one have a special liking for things that are new.

(ii) *Diṭṭhe sute khantim akubbamāno* (Sn. 897) : One who has no liking for what is seen or heard.

(iii) *So (dhammo) tayā dujjāno aññā-diṭṭhikena, aññā-khantikena, aññā-rucikena* (M. i. 487) : this dhamma is difficult to be known by you, who hold a different view, whose inclination is elsewhere and whose liking is different.

(iv) There is also (a) an active and (b) impersonal use of the root *khama* in the sense of "being prone to, inclined to, liable to, susceptible to, tend to, acceptable to, subject to, fit for; or liking, approving, permitting etc." as in the following :—

(a) *Dhammā nijjhānaṁ khamanti* (M. i. 480) : The dhammas become prone to, conformable to, fit for, being reflected upon. This expression has led to the compound, *Dhamma-nijjhānakkhanti, Dharma-nidhyāna-kṣānti*, which later in the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivādins and the philosophical literature of the Mahāyānists assumed greater importance. It is mentioned as one of the three kinds of *kṣānti*, which has the nature of knowledge, *jñāna* (Sūtrā. XVI. 21-22).

(b) *Sabbaṁ me na khamati* (M. i. 499), the last word being explained in the Commentary as *ruccati*. : All this I do not like.

Khmati Saṅghassa tasmā tuṇhī (Vin. iv. 219) : The Saṅgha approves it and so is silent.

Yathā te khameyya tathā naṁ vyākareyyāsi (M. i. 481) : You can explain it as you like. The Chinese translation also says : you can answer as you like (lit. as your mind pleases : *ju sui yi ta* (Plate, 1).

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Tañ ca pana amhākaṁ ruccati ceva khamati ca : tena c'mhā attamanā (M. ii. 176). It is liked by us and is acceptable to us and so we are pleased.

(B) The other sense of forbearance, patience, endurance is seen in the following :—

(a) (i) *Khantī paramaṁ tapo titikkhā* (Dhp. 184) : Forbearance is the highest penance.

(ii) *Khantyā bhiyyo'dha vijjati* ? (S. i. 215) : Is there anything higher than forbearance or patience ? This corresponds to *parāpakāra-marṣaṇa Kṣānti* : forbearance for the harm that is done to oneself by others. (Sūtrā. XVI. 21-22).

(b) *Khamo hoti sītassa uṇhassa* (M. i. 10) : He endures cold, heat. This corresponds to *adhivāsana-kṣānti, kṣānti* of endurance. (Sūtrā. XVI. 21-22).

(2) So in Pali we find that the sense of the word *khanti* is to be determined only according to the context. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, however, on account of emphasis laid on the Perfection of Forbearance, there appears to have arisen some confusion between the two senses. Even where the sense of "liking", "view" "inclination" appears to be more natural and reasonable, the interpretation of forbearance or patience is attributed by several scholars. But there are some "left-outs" even in Buddhist Sanskrit where the Pali word *khanti* is not rendered by *kṣānti* but by *kānti*, liking. There is also a passage in an Abhidharmic text where the word *ruci*, liking, is substituted for *kṣānti*, suggesting that the word does not mean forbearance but liking.

In *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (p. 33 Dutt's edition) there is a verse in the last quarter of which we read :

dṛṣṭe śrute kāntim a-samprakurvan : having no liking for what is seen or heard. This exactly corresponds to *diṭṭhe sute khantim a-kubbamāno* (*Sn.* 897). This meaning is further confirmed by the Chinese translation of this very verse, in which we find the expression *pu ai* (Plate, 2), which means 'not loving.' The use of *kṣānti* in the sense of forbearance would be altogether repugnant in this context. Here *kānti* is used as an equivalent of Pali *khanti*. The use of aspirated *kha, tha, pha, bha* in Pali-Prakrit for un-aspirated *ka, ta, pa, ba* respectively in Sanskrit is not unknown. See for example :—

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Sanskrit	Pali-Prakrit	Sanskrit	Pali-Prakrit
Kubja (hunch-backed)	*Khujja*	*Kīla* (nail)	*khīla*
karpara (potsherd)	*khappara*	*kāsita* (coughing)	*khāsia*
Puṣya (Name of a constellation)	*Phussa*	*bisa* (fibrous stalk of a lotus)	*bhisa*
śunaka (*a dog*)	*sunakha*	*paruṣa* (harsh)	*pharusa*

(3) The mechanical use of *kṣānti* (instead of *kānti*) is found in the compound word *Dharma-nidhyāna-kṣānti* for Pali *Dhamma-nijjhāna-khanti*, liking for contemplating upon the dhammas. The following passages in Pali are helpful to determine the correct sense of the latter :—

(i) A passage in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* (M. i. 133; no. 22) explains the word *Dhamma* as the ninefold literature: Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhutadhamma and Vedalla. There are people who learn the text (by heart), but they do not think over the *meaning* of the text. As they do not understand the meaning of the texts, these texts do not tend to be closely studied (*na nijjhānaṁ khamanti*) by them and the different topics are not easily spotted out. These people learn the texts merely for the advantage of finding fault with others and getting through a debate.

(ii) On the contrary, says *Kiṭāgiri-sutta* (M. i. 480: No. 70), it becomes possible to reach the state of perfect knowledge, the realisation of the highest truth by successive steps. A man with faith approaches his master, waits upon him, is attentive, listens to the Dhamma he teaches, bears that in his mind, thinks over its meaning (*attham up-parikkhati*) and then the dhammas tend to be closely studied by him (*dhammā nijjhānaṁ khamanti*). Aftert this is created in him an intense liking (*chanda*) followed by an enthusiastic zeal involving weighing and diligence which culminate into his bodily realisation of the highest truth.

(iii) This position of *nijjhāna-khanti* is further supported by another passage from A. iii. 437, where we are told that *khanti* (which is here qualified by the word *anulomikā*, conformable) follows the understanding of the meaning.

(iv) *Caṅkī-sutta* (M. ii. 175; No. 95) is further supporting : *Dhamma-nijjhāna-khanti* is very helpful to *Chanda*. If there is not the former, the *chanda* would not spring up. So also reflecting upon the meaning is very helpful to *Dhamma-nijjhānakhanti*. If the former would not exist, the latter would not spring up. *Thera-gāthā* 1029

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(1033 of Nāgarī edition) says : *Khantyā chandikato hoti* : it is by means of *khanti* that *chanda* is produced.

This will make it clear that the stage of *khanti* is between understanding the meaning and excessive liking. Therefore it must mean liking, proneness, kindly disposition (*attamanatā cittassa*, the pleasure of the mind). This last meaning of *khanti* is found in *Dhamma- saṅgaṇi* (§ 1341).

Now let us see if this very sense would not be more reasonable and more natural for *kṣānti* when it is not used as one of the Perfections, Pāramitās.

(4) The word *kṣānti* is found to be used in several Buddhist Sanskrit books like *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*, Candrakīrti's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūla-madhyama-kārikā*, and Ābhidharmika-works of the Sarvāstivādi school like *Abhidharma-kośa*, its *Bhāṣya* and *Vyākhyā* on the same by Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmāmṛta* of Ghoṣaka, *Abhidharma-dīpa*, Asaṅga's *Abhidharma-samuccaya* etc. Where *Kṣānti* is used as one of the Pāramitās, Perfections, (the perfection of *Kṣānti*), there is no doubt about the correctness of its rendering as Patience, Fobearance, endurance. But when the word is used as one of the earlier stages, a stage prior to the ultimate realisation of Fruit, or the Fruit of the Path, then the translation of *kṣānti* as forbearance, patience, endurance is un-warranted, is indefensible.

There are various kinds of *kṣānti* : the *kṣānti* of *dharma-nidhyāna* contemplating upon dharmas, of *duḥkhādhivāsana* enduring suffering, of *parāpakāra-marṣaṇa* forbearing harm done to oneself by others, *ghoṣānugā* following listening to the teaching of Truth, *ānulomikī* conformable to Truth and *kṣānti* of *anutpattika-dharma*, that is *kṣānti* that dharmas do not originate etc.

Sūtrālaṅkāra (XVI. 21-22) has a comment upon the first three of these :—the first is distinguished from the other two. *Dharma-nidhyāna* is of the nature of knowledge (*jñāna*); the second is of the nature of the suffering; and the third of the nature of forbearing harm done to oneself by others.

This word is translated by various scholars in various ways : Patience (Pussin, who depended more upon the Chinese translations which were his sources), resignation (Maxmüller), forbearance (Alex Wayman), receptivity (Edgerton), agreement (Jayatilake), acceptance or submission (Suzuki), forbearance or capacity (Venkat Ramanan). All these translations are based upon the common interpretation of the Sanskrit root *kṣam*, to bear, endure, suffer.,

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which corresponds to Pali *khama*. But the Pali root *khama* has also the meaning of liking (*rocana*). In Buddhist Sanskrit books, as we shall see later, *kṣamate* is also explained as *rocate*. We have a cliché: *kṣāntī rucir matiḥ prekṣā dṛṣṭiḥ*, which means *kṣānti* is liking, opinion, observation, view. These will be special interpretations in addition to the usual interpretation of bearing, enduring, suffering etc.

(5) We will refer to an important representative passage which will throw light on the position of *kṣānti* in the process of understanding truth, or attaining the Noble Path. According to the theory concerning Noble Truths, all kinds of *jñānas* (knowledge) are preceded by a stage called *jñāna-kṣānti*. It is not *jñāna* in its own nature, though it lies within its sphere (*parivāra*). It does the function of investigation (*parimārgaṇa* or *santīraṇa*). *Abhidharmakośa* VI. 25-27 says :—

Duḥkhe	*Dharma-jñāna-kṣānti,*		*dharma-jñānaṁ,*		
Samudaye	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Nirodhe	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Mārge	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Duḥkhe	*anvaya-jñāna-kṣānti,*		*anvaya-jñānam*		
Samudaye	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Nirodhe	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Mārge	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

From the table given above it is clear that *kṣānti* represents a stage prior to *jñāna*.

The word *Dharma* in *dharma-nidhyāua* or *dharma-jñāna* has changed its meaning from the original meaning of "Buddhist literture" as given in the *Alagaddūpamasutta* referred to above. This change in meaning has taken place in the later Pali literature like *Paṭisambhidā* (ii. 236-242) or *Vibhaṅga* (324-25), where we find the use of a word like *saṅkhāras*, entities, or things. So *dharma-nidhyāna* or *dharma-jñāna* came to mean "considering all things or entities as impermanent, painful or substance-less (*anitya, duḥkha, anātma*)". In the above table, we see that *kṣānti* precedes *jñāna*, knowledge of the four truths : suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering and the Path leading to the cessation of suffering. So it is a preliminary stage, a stage of proneness to, inclination towards knowledge. This stage prepares the mind for the acceptance of each of the Truths. The stages of *kṣānti* are mere *dṛṣṭayḥ, na jñānam*. It is only *sammukhībhāva*, coming face to face. So the translation of forbearance, endurance, patience of *kṣānti* in this stage is not correct.

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Sūtrālaṅkāra (XIV. 26) describes it as *āloka*, which it explains: *āloka iti dharma-nidhyānakṣānter etad abhivacanam.* Āloka is given in *Amarakośa* (couplet 2346) as an equivalent of *darśana*, a glimpse, a casual view. This will *lead to dharma-jñāna* as Yaśomitra explains *dharma-jñānārthaṁ kṣāntiḥ* (VI. 25; p. 541 of Wog. edition) Incidently it may be remarked that Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana is wrong when he explains : *dharma-jñānena jāyamānā kṣāntiḥ* (VI. 25).

(6) *Kṣama, kṣamaṇa, kṣānti* seem to be used in the sense of liking (*ruci*).

Yaśomitra in his comment on *Abhi. Bhāṣya* (VI. 18-20; p. 533) says :—"*Uṣmagatāvasthāyāṁ mṛdu satyaṁ kṣamate rocate.....tadanantaram idānīm adhimātra-satya-kṣamaṇāt kṣāntir utpadyate* : In the stage of "warming up", there is liking for the lower stage of Truth..... Later when there is liking for the intense stage of Truth, *kṣānti* arises. Corresponding to the cliché mentioned above from *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, we have another source of *Daśabhūmīśvara* (Jap. ed. p. 38) which repeats the same.

Yaśomitra in another place (VII. 1; pp. 611-12) says : *Kṣamaṇarūpeṇa ca kṣāntayaḥ utpadyante, na niścaya-rūpeṇa* : The different kinds of *kṣānti* spring up merely by way of tendency or inclination, not by way of certainty.

But there is an un-challengable evidence supplied by *Abhidharma-dīpa*, which actually uses the word *ruci* for *kṣānti* of *Abhidharmakośa* (VI. 25). Here is the stanza .—

Dharma-jñāna-rucir duḥkhe nirmalaṁ dharma-darśanam/
tatas tatraivāvadhṛtir dharmajñānam anantaram//
(VI. 423; p. 331)

This *dharma-jñāna-ruci* is used exactly for *dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* of Abhk. This is explained as *dharmamātra-īkṣaṇa-dṛṣṭiḥ*, merely a glance of *duḥkha*, which is followed by certain knowledge of suffering. (*duḥkhe dharma-jñānaṁ niścayātmakam*). So *Kṣānti* is only an *adaptive* stage, not adoptive.

(7) This meaning of *kṣānti* as proneness to, inclination or tendency towards, liking for, is also attested by Chinese translations of early Buddhist Sanskrit texts. *Kāśyapaparivarta*, an old Buddhist Sanskrit text, has four Chinese translations from 2nd to 10th Centuries A.D. Where the text uses *kṣānti* as one of the Pāramitās, Perfections, the translation is given as *jěn-ju* (Plate, 3) (pp. 53-55). But elsewhere the translation is different.

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1 如 隨意 答 . 2 不愛 . 3 忍辱 .
4 心念 常 捨 非我所 . 5 解無吾我 .
6 知一切法無有吾我 . 7 入無我無願門 . 8 無我無願門 . 9 忍 . .
10 [illegible] .

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Nairātmyañ cāsya (Bodhisattvasya) *kṣamate, arvasattveṣu mahākaruṇa-nirvāṇagataścāsy āśayaḥ* (p. 35).

Nairātmyakṣāntyā samatā-pratiṣṭhito (verse p. 35).

In both these places, forbearance or patience is impossible. Let us see how these passages are translated into Chinese.

First, *Nairātmyañ cāsya k amate*—

Han (2nd cen. A.D.)—*hsin nien wan wu chieh fei wo so* (Plate, 4) : Thinks in his mind that all the 10 thousand things (in the world) have no *ātmā* in them.

Djin (3rd-6th cen. A.D.)—*chieh wu wu wo* (Plate, 5) : Understands that there is no *ātmā*.

Chin (3rd-6th cen. A.D.)—*chih i ch'ie fa wu yu wu wo* (Plate, 6): Knows all the dharmas as having no *ātmā*.

Sung (10th cen. A.D.)—*ju wu wo wu yüan men* (Plate, 7) : Enters the gate of *anātmā* and *apraṇihita*.

Nairātmya-kṣānti—

Sung (10th Cent. A.D.)—*wu wo wu yüan men* (Plate, 8) : The gate of *anātmā* and *a-praṇihita*.

Here it may be noted that the usual translation of *kṣānti* in Abhk. by *jēn* (Plate, 9) by later Chinese translators is not found. So it is clear that these Chinese translators did not understand *kṣānti* as patience, or endurance. Later Chinese translators like Yuan Chwang and Tibetan translators were misled by the ordinary interpretation of *kṣānti* as forbearance, endurance. They were not very careful to distinguish between the two interpretations pointed out above. They used the Chinese word *jen* (Plate, 9) and Tibetan translators used *bzod pa* (Plate, 10) everywhere without making any distinction. Dr. Venkat Ramanan who wrote his book *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy* (1966) has mainly as his basis Chinese texts and commentaries and so he mostly understands this word as forbearance, endurance. Sometimes he interpretes it as Capacity or ability (pp. 369, 389).

(8) Gauḍapāda also in his *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* (iv. 92) uses the word *kṣānti*, which also is mis-interpreted by some scholars. The stanza runs thus :—

Ādibuddhāḥ prakṛtyaiva sarve dharmāḥ su-niścitāḥ

yasyaivaṁ bhavati kṣāntiḥ so amṛtatvāya kalpate (iv. 92). The last line is translated by one scholar as "one who has self-sufficiency in this way is capable of securing immortality." Where is self-sufficiency described in the preceding line ? The word *kṣānti* in the last line is merely to be understood in its Buddhist sense of *ruci*, liking, or disposition, or inclination. This would be quite befitting

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as we know Gauḍapāda was immensely influenced by Buddhism and he used several Buddhist technical terms like *dharma*, *tāyin*, *vaiśāradya*, *saṁvṛti*, *alāta* etc. in the *kārikās*.

(9) Following Pali, in Buddhist Sanskrit also we have the following expressions :—

Yathā te kṣamate (Divy. 70. 18); As you think best, as you please, as you like.

Sarvaṁ me bho Gotama na kṣamate (Av. ii. 187. 10) : All this, O Gotama, I do not like; I cannot stand all this.

Yeṣām āyuṣmantānāṁ kṣamante te tūṣṇīṁ.....na kṣamante bhāṣantām : those of friends who like this may remain silent.....those who do not like may speak (Gil. Mss. III. ii. 158).

Kṣāntam anujñātam saṅghena (Gil. Mss. III. ii. 158) : it is liked, (approved), by the Saṅgha, the Order of the Buddhist monks or nuns.

The interpretations given above are not very peculiar to Buddhist texts. Some of the interpretations are found in non-Buddhist Sanskrit also. Do we not see an echo of the same in the following non-Buddhist text ? Uttara-Rāma-Carita I. 14.

Tam no yad uktam aśivam
na hi tat kṣamam te

Whatever nasty things we have said do not befittingly apply to you.

Kṣama, befitting, conformable—this sense we have already noted above.

(10) Thus *kṣānti* in *Dharma-nidhyāna-kṣānti* or *Dharma-jñāna-kṣānti* is not forbearance, patience or endurance as is supposed by some scholars, but it is proneness, conformability, disposition, inclination. We owe this interpretation to Pali sources confirmed by verses from sanskrit Buddhist texts. Early Chinese translations also do not support the interpretation of forbearing, enduring or patience, when that word is not used for any of the Pāramitās. If we substitute the word *kānti* in all the expressions given above, we get perfectly good, natural and reasonable meaning from *Dharma-nidhyāna-kāntiḥ*, love or liking for contemplating upon the Dharmas, *Dharma-jñāna-kāntiḥ*, liking for the knowledge of dharmas, *anvaya- jñāna-kānti* liking for the knowledge of succeeding truths.

And the use of the word *kānta* with Buddhist terms is not altogether un-known. We have *Ārya-kāntaiḥ śīlaiḥ samanvāgato bhavati* : one is possessed of virtuous conduct which is very dear to the Noble (*Artha-viniścaya-sūtra*, p. 47).

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MŪLAVARMAN, KING OF BORNEO

BAHADUR CHAND CHHABRA

Sanskrit is great. India owes her greatness to Sanskrit alone. If India is counted as a sub-continent today that is due to Sanskrit. And it has its history behind it, with which an average Indian is not at all familiar. English in the recent past has served India very well indeed inasmuch as it has united the peoples of different regions and states, having different languages, different customs, different food habits, different traditions, different dresses and even different complexions, all into one Indian Nation. English served as a unifying factor for more or less two hundred years and, to some extent, is doing it even today. But Sanskrit has done exactly the same for more than two thousand years, from the dawn of history, so to say. Its role as a unifying factor *par excellence* is not so apparent because it has become part and parcel of Indian life and culture down to the man on the street. A man from the extreme south, say from Kanyakumari, considers the one from the extreme north, say from Kailasa in the Himalayas, as his brother, both paying homage to Umā and Maheśvara in the same fashion, the backbone of which is Sanskrit. In the same way, a person from the extreme east, say from Puri, considers the one from the extreme west, say from Dvaraka, as his brother, both worshipping Viṣṇu in some form or other, the common medium being Sanskrit again. We need not expatiate on this basic unity which is so obvious. What stands much more to the credit of Sanskrit, in considering the greatness of India through the greatness of Sanskrit, is that it carried her culture—and when we talk of culture, we imply all aspects of life such as religion, philosophy, commerce, politics, customs, traditions and what not, extending to lands and islands far beyond her bounds and shores. This cultural expansion of India again has been taken for granted, generally speaking. Very few realize what a vital role Sanskrit has played in the tremendous process of dissemination of culture, spread over centuries and extending to the far-flung regions of the globe, crossing mountains and oceans. Scholars are busy discovering vestiges of Indian culture in yet unsuspected corners of the earth, especially in the islands—and how many there are not—of the Pacific ocean. Incidentally, it may be mentioned

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here, that the Lalit Institute of Pacific Archaeology at Ootacamund, the respected Queen of Hill stations in Tamil Nadu, in South India, is one such research centre.

We may here cite just one small example—a mere sample—of the nature and extent of the expansion of India's culture, thanks to Sanskrit. This is a four-line Sanskrit inscription, beautifully engraved on a stone pillar, called *yūpa* in the inscription itself, coming from Kutei in the eastern part of Borneo, the biggest of a group of some four thousand islands that constitute what we today call Indonesia, Sumatra, Java and Bali, the next biggest in that order and more well known island of that tiny world—tiny on the maps. The interior and the greater part of Borneo is even today inhabited by so-called wild tribes and primitive people. The inscription cited here, judging from its Pallava-Grantha script belongs to about the fourth century A.C. (After Christ) and records the fact that king Mūlavarman had given away in pious devotion a mountain of sesame seeds along with a large number of earthen lamps and that he caused the stone-pillar to be erected with the inscription recording the said *mahādāna*, the Great Gift. The four lines of the inscription constitute but one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, each quarter of the verse occupying one line. This is how the inscription reads :

śrī-Mūlavarmmaṇā rājñā
yad-dattam=tila-parvvatam
sa-dīpa-mālayā sārddhaṁ
yūpo=yaṁ likhitas=tayoḥ

Never mind the slips, the redundant addition of *sa* in the beginning of the third line and the usage of *parvvata* in the neuter gender instead of in the masculine gender, which rather emphasise the popularity of Sanskrit in those remote parts in that remote past.

What about king Mūlavarman ? Yes, he was a Hindu or a Hinduised ruler of that region, a patron of learned Brāhmaṇas (from India), a devotee of Lord Śiva, and a generous donor. He gave away more Great Gifts, according to Paurāṇika tradition of Eighteen *Mahādānas*, as recorded in half a dozen similar more stone-pillar inscriptions of his, now kept in the State Museum at Djakarta in West Java, the Capital of Indonesia. For all these and other relevant details, the reader is referred to the *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, 1965 edition, published by Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Book-sellers and Publishers, Delhi.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

I

"*The Ṛgv.—Saṁhitā—Palimpsest*"—A ESTELLER S. J.

The author regrets that circumstances beyond his control made it impossible for him to correct the proofs and thus to elimi-some misprints and to incorporate some minor improvements that would clarify a few controversial points. And first, for the more important **corrections** (a line-number with—means : "from below," while page+line are given as, 45(—13); and the corrections are separated by a slanting dash (/) for clarity) :

45(—13) : for "avasai" / 48(20) SK : / 48(21) : cítrăm(!)/ 48(—7) : haplologies are in / 50(13) : !c) / 51(—2) : madai- / 53(—18) : răthayā/ 53(—17) : I.1./ 53(—2) : mahatsu/ 54(2) : vajaiṣu/ 54(4) : athā/ 54(7) : ăviṣaḥ/ 54(9) : in lld/ 54(—5) : 10a) gavyā+/ 55(—15) : +16,/ 55(—5) : virāj of/ 56(2) : obtuse/ 56(19) : madai(ṣu) gāya/ 57(18) : *su*-āyudhaḥ/ 59(21) : arăm-iṣai/ 59 (—11) : (*pace*/ 60(11) : *loc.*). The SK/ 62(3) : 18-20/ 62(8) : sumnam (!)1/ 62(—10): "greatly"/ 64(11) : indr*a*/ 64(22) : "modern" kṣ/ 64(—15) : susanitaḥ/ 64(—10) : 2b)+/ 65(—16) : for c+24/ 66(6) (="/sahasrā/ 66(12) : =aśv*ānām*/ 66(14) : b) uṣṭrāṇām(:)/ 66(—9) : "ayutā" in/ 66(—5) : SK/ 66(—3) : śrăvasaḥ/ 67(7) : śṛa/ 67(12) : sadyaś/ 67(13) : aśvaibhiḥ/ 67(23) : ma*i* imam/ 67(—6) : raja(ḥ)/ 68(—10) : 18+/ 69(16) : homogeneous/ 69(—18, —10) śat—*ā*/ 70(14) : + ×/ 72(—1) : dross of/ 73(19) :+8/ 73(—21) : ((!a)/ 73(—20) : (*for *revised*/ 73(—2) : *8/ 73(—1) : *u*ta/ 75(6) : daśa/ 75(16) : yah*i*/ 75(—19) : amand*a*dā/ 75(—4) : (cf. 21/ 75 (—2) : śat-ā/ 76(5) : (cf./ 76(—1) : mission.—/

If we now come to the **clarifications and modifications** of particular points in the above article, we have the following remarks to make :

In 4b : the pāda entrance is faulty, whether as "yaṁ marutaḥ" or (as emendatcd) "yaṁ varuṇaḥ"—hence it must have been originally (because of "sunīthaḥ" in 4a !) : "*sajauṣasaḥ* yam aryamā

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—mitraḥ *nayanti* (!) *vāruṇaḥ*" (cf. X, 126, 1cd !)—and consequently we should read VIII, 25, 13c: "mitraḥ p*aa*nti varuṇaḥ yat aryamā" (*without* the SK's *first* "yat" !), and in X, 126,1 : "na tam aṁhaḥ na dūritam-daivāsaḥ aṣṭa martiyam (!)—sajauṣasaḥ yam aryamā-mitraḥ *paanti* (!) väruṇaḥ" (vs the SK's "nayanti, ati dviṣaḥ"—borrowed from VIII, 19, 34ab+X, 187, 1d-5d, q.v.), which the SK perversely tries to change—together with 2d-7d, in pseudo-imitation of X, 187, 1c-5c !—into a final jagatī with *his* doctoring. And note that in *our* VIII, 46, 4c the SK gets *his* "adruhaḥ" from the many such pāda—*end* parallels : I, 19, 3b; VIII, 27, 9a, and especially IX, 102, 5ab+VIII, 19, 34ab+27, 15a+c(q.v.).—The above comparison shows that the SK has *swapped* "nayanti vs. p*aa*nti" in the two (*originally* nearly identical) texts : VIII, 46, 4c+X, 126, 1cd. **In 20ab** : "sanit*āram*" stands as emendated; but "citr*am*" (in b), though plausible enough (cf. above), is *not necessary*—hence we should *keep* the transmitted "citra" on sound text-critical principles, all the more since it more fully explains the SK's "sanitar" in such a vocative-riddled context.—**In 21ab** : the text should be almost as transmitted without the above emendation of "ādadai" : "ā (!) sa aitu yaḥ ivat ā (?)—adaivaḥ pūrtam ādadai", with an echo-repetition "ā-dadai" at the symmetrical end of each hemistich. The plausible reasons advanced above for an emendation (as against an odd pleonastic repetition of "ā") are persuasive, but the emendation proposed above is very doubtful. Better would be : "ā sa aitu yaḥ iv*a*—*tāt* (!)—adaivaḥ pūrtam ādadai", with a kavi's haplology ("iv*a tāt*") and the meaning (for "tāt") : "so long, so far, upto now", corresponding to "yāt" (cf. Grassm. and Geldner+Oldenb., *ad loc.*). The haplologies in 26c, 27b, 32c go to confirm that. And the SK *would* miscorrect *his* "īvat ādadaivaḥ", as seeing no sense in "āt" or misanalysing it as an erroneous "ā+dadaivaḥ", under the influence of the double "ā" in a+b.—**In 27** : the text is likely to be : "yaḥ mai imam cit u tmanā—ct*i*ram amand*a*dāvanai—aratv*āy*—akṣ*āi* nahuṣai (!) sukṛtvan*ai*—sukṛttarāya(!) sukratuḥ." There is a strong likelihood that the presence of the two *datives* "nahuṣai+sukṛttarāya" means that *all* the words in 27c are original *datives* and mean only one person (the poet !)—changed into *locatives* because the SK could not metrically accommodate *his* "akṣāy*a*"; but *this* kavi *can* have a *complementary haplology* : "araṭv*āy- a*kṣai- (akṣāy- ?)". This makes a better sense than the SK's text—cf. Oldenb.+Geldner's doubts and twisted translation, especially in conjunction with 27ab.

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In the latter the SK is misled into *his* (unmetrical !) "citrám dāvanai" (which leaves "imam" in the air !) by the closely preceding "bhūri+mahi dāvanai" in 25cd, forgetting the numerous cases of "dāvanai" *without* a complement (cf. the close-by VIII, 45, 10b, etc., cf. Grassm., s.v.).—**In** 29 : in 29c the text should rather be : "aśvānām it na vṛṣṇ*aam*", since the trochaic rhythm in 29a, being in the first pāda, does *not demand* a pair in the *same* stanza—cf. 1c, 2c, 3a,—but it is to be paired with 32a (cf. below).—**In** 30 the text should be, *as transmitted* : "gāvaḥ na yūtham upa yanti vadhrayaḥ —upa mā yanti vadhrayaḥ", this being better in keeping with the kavis' style in an echo-rhyme—as against our reasoning above.—**In** 32 : in 32a the text should be " "śatam dāsai b*a*l*a*būthai" with a *trochaic* rhythm symmetrically corresponding to 29a (cf. above). The archaic protraction and svarabhakti allow us to keep the transmitted text.

This completes and concludes our text-critical reconstruction of VIII, 46 out of the SK's Saṃhitā-Palimpsest.

II

The Authorship of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa-ṭīkā*—Ashok Aklujkar

P. 166 fn. 4 lines 3-4 : "fn. 4 on p. 167"
P. 167 fn. 2 line 5 : "fn. 3 on p. 166"
P. 167 fn. 4 line 5 : "fn. 4 on p. 166"
P. 167 .fn. 4 line 8 : "—*ṭīkāḥ*"
P. 168 fn. 1 line 13 : "fn. 1 on p. 167"
P. 171 lines 3-4 : "vowels, doubling, etc." The"
P. 174 line 22 : "159.6) (e) Employment"
P. 174 line 24 : "fn. 2 on p. 173"
P. 174 line 30 : "words"
P. 176 line 9 : "5.1 below"
P. 176 lines 11-25 : The page numbers given here could possibly be based on confusion in the sense that the author might not have distinguished between two different or partially different editions of the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*—one by Mādhava Śāstrī Bhāṇḍārī and the other by Madan Mohan Pathak. Subsequent to the printing of the article, the author has had access to the former edition. According to it, the references here should be : pp. 111 (cf. *BSS.* p. 217), 337 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965 : 223; cf. *BSS* p. 137), 609 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965 : 226; cf. *BSS* p. 157), 616 (in *Kuñcikā*; cf. *BSS* p. 160), 684 (Abhyankar-Limaye

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1965 : 234; cf. *BSS* p. 232), 817 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965 : 220; cf. *BSS* p. 115), 1188 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965 : 217; cf *BSS* pp. 69-70), 1367-68 (Abhyankar-Limaye 1965 : 238; cf. *BSS* p. 274). Also on p. 1494, Nāgeśa uses the expression *puñja-rājādayaḥ*. However, that must be an oversight, as the intended reference is clearly to Helā-rāja on 3.11.2 p. 103. 22-23.

P. 176 fn. 1b : Nāgeṣa's reference on p. 1133 (Bhāṇḍārī's edition), on closer examination, turns out to be not to *BSS* p. 266 as the author had suspected earlier, but to Helā-rāja on 3.3.4-11. However, on p. 1161 (*ata evāktāḥ śarkarā upadadhātity-ādau tejo vai ghṛtam iti liṅgād aktā ity-asya ghṛta-sādhanāñjana-paratvam iti Helārājādibhir uktam.*), Nāgeśa does refer to *BSS* p. 216 (*yathā aktāḥ śarkarā upadadhātity atrānekasyāñjana-dravyasya saṁbhave tejo [vai ghṛtam iti] ghṛtasya stutir uktā. tasmāl liṅgād ghṛtasādhanatvam añji-kriyāyāḥ śarkarākarmikāyā nirdhāryate.*) as Helā-rāja's work.

P. 176 line 19 : "*śekhara* p. 797 (cf. *BSS* pp. 69-70"
P. 176 lines 24-25 : "indicating that"
P. 177 line 1 : "*mātrā-*"
P. 178 line 7 : "is full of gaps"
P. 182 line 5 : "Puṇya-rāja with Puñja-rāja."
P. 183 line 1 "*upasṛtya*"
P. 183 line 39 : "of one sort"
P. 183 line 40 : "—rāja/Phulla—"
P. 184 line 27 : "Sharma, H. and"
P. 185 line 12 : "fn. 1a on p. 176"
P. 187 line 14 : "*vyāsa's* [?] *Bhāṣya*"
P. 187 line 34 : "(Eds.) Indralala and"

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ERRATA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
2	13	द्यभिः	द्युभिः
32	17	Asya Vāmsya	Asya Vāmasya.
85	35	uṣnīṣa	uṣṇīṣa
103	6, 7	Martus	Maruts
127	14	Hariṇaṣya	Hariṇasya
139	27	वहंस्पतिः	वृहंस्पतिः
142	34	दूणाशंम्=दुःजनशम् (RV. I.176.3)	दूणाशंम्=दुःनशंम् (RV. I.176.4)
142	35	दडभम्	दृडभम्
143	4	संस्कृतः	संस्कृंतः
144	13	सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ'	सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ'
208	4	pefinition	definition
213	40	tiṅṅatiṅa	tiṅṅatiṅaḥ
217	8	Arvan	Aryan
230	2	expecially	especially
231	13	fo m	form
233	30	V. M. Apte	V. S. Apte
237	28	subhanmiittādika ṁ	subhanimittādikaṁ
248	8	शुको	शुक्लो
252	22	studing	studying
258	34	1171	1971
259	6	form	from
"	24	P. 1.24-54	P. 1.4.24-54
274	30	IV.26.5	IV.2.65
275	31	what Vardhamāna says that	what Vardhamāna says is that
283	2	overides	over-rides
"	39	descernible	discernible
287	28	2337	2347
"	37	davaḥ	devaḥ
289	33	dyutbhyaḥ	dyudbhyaḥ
290	16	hrasvas	hrasvaś
291	3	yaño aci	yaño'ci
293	12	aṣṭādhyāyi,	aṣṭādhyāyī,
311	17	previde	provide
312	15	or or	or
"	23	lacative	locative
320	31	pakalpike	prakalpike
321	36	3.1.69	3.1.68

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359	14	ordinory	ordinary
362	3	Gods	gods
374	16	Avaita	Advaita
”	31	practice	practise
381	32	कर्मसयोगाल्लोकवत्	कर्मसंयोगाल्लोकवत्
382	28	बलम	बलम्
388	1	from	form
389	5	kāla	kāla (=initial.)
390	22	vyavahārika	vyāvahārika
413	1-2	the the	the
415	21	कि	किं
419	24	द्रूविप्यति	द्रूविष्यति
421	22	Dima	Ḍima
”	24	prahasana	Prahasana
422	34	character	characters
424	6-7	godhikas	godhikās
427	32	kony	koṇa
429	1	Tilakamañjarī	Tilakamañjarī
456	17	est	lest
497	2	उत्सङगे	उत्सङ्गे
501	f.n. 1	सूत्रयो:	सूत्रयो:
”	” 4	कृशाश्विनौ	कृशाश्विनो
”	” 5	अख्यातोप...	अख्यातोप...
502	14	Ranganatha	Raṅganātha
513	35	Prima facie	prima facie
542	32	Tha	The
”	36	esctasy	ecstasy
544	2	TILKAMAÑJARĪ	TILAKAMAÑJARI
546	f.n. 2	समुच्छिता...	समुच्छ्रिता...
”	6	...शालिकाङगण-	शालिकाङ्गण...
547	f.n. 9	...भित्तिचित्रं	...भित्तिचित्र...
”	11	वालुका	...वालुका
549	f.n. 9	मागेनेकेन	भागेनैकेन
555	36	exagerated	exaggerated
556	32	Kushāna	Kushāṇa
558	17	prejected	projected
630	10	सहितं	सहितं
637	30	Aftert	After
638	20	Fobearance	Forbearance

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